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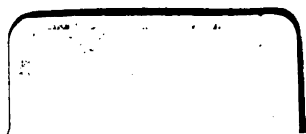
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JOURNAL
OF THE
Architectural, Archaeological,
AND
Historic Society,
FOR THE
COUNTY, CITY, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD
OF
Chester.

VOL. III.



CHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXXXV.



Archaeological, Architectural, and Historic Society,

FOR

The County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester.

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Ladies and Gentlemen desiring to become Members, are invited to send in their names to either of the Secretaries, under the above addresses, or through any Subscriber.

Subscriptions are due from January 1st, and should be paid by March 25th in each year, to Mr. GEORGE FRATER, The Old Bank, Chester.



PREFACE.

AFTER numerous delays and disappointments,—for many (probably all) of which, the EDITORIAL SECRETARY fears, he must himself alone be held responsible,—the MEMBERS of the CHESTER ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY are here presented with the Third VOLUME of its PROCEEDINGS.

For all those at first sight unseemly and unreasonable delays there is but one excuse to offer, viz:—long protracted Illness of a most dangerous and distressing kind, and from which it cannot be said that he is even now more than partially recovered. And yet this one plea, it is hoped, will be regarded as valid and sufficient by that always friendly and sympathetic tribunal of critics,—his brother MEMBERS. And now along with a gradual, even if but temporary, return to rather better health has come the desire to prove of some little further service to the Cheshire Antiquarian Cause; and as an earnest of that wish, this completion of VOLUME III. of the *Journal* will he trusts be generously and lovingly accepted.

Of the Contents of the present VOLUME it will not be necessary to say much by way of PREFACE. Prominent as a contribution to Archaeological Literature generally, but to that of this COUNTY and CITY OF CHESTER in particular, we have the learned and exhaustive Paper by DR. BRUSHFIELD on “the ROMAN REMAINS OF CHESTER,” as exemplified by those discovered in BRIDGE STREET in 1863. Of that Lecture (or rather Lectures, for it had perforce to be divided in twain and so form the material for two consecutive Meetings,) it is only due to record that no previous work done for our Society had drawn larger audiences, or received from outside critics such high and well-deserved encomiums.

MR. WORTH HOARE’s Lecture on “the OLD ENGLISH MANOR OF STALEY or *Stayley*” (now largely merged in the Borough of STALYBRIDGE), was the first attempt, and that a successful one, at a History of the Modern town, traced from its Roman origin through its *Bucton Hill* and the not far off *Milandra Castle*, and so, by occasional glimpses at its modest life in the middle ages, leading us down to the more ambitious ‘Cheshire Cottonopolis’ of to-day.

MR. BEAMONT’s Lecture on “RICHARD III.” forms a scholarly chapter of English history, based on the dramatic story immortalised

by *Shakspeare*, and rendered charmingly local to us Cheshire readers by the poetic prose of a venerated friend,—one of the few still living Original Members of our SOCIETY!

But perhaps the chief literary treasure of the Volume is, and will continue to be, the Lecture on “the ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL,” by England’s greatest authority on the later Gothic Revival,—SIR GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.. Nothing could exceed the graphic power of the gifted Lecturer, as he first of all described in lecture-form to his large and influential audience, the Architectural History of the sacred structure which had been confided to his “restoring” care. Nor could anything have rivalled the wondrous minuteness with which, in his after perambulation of the Cathedral itself, he pointed out the leading features and structural peculiarities that had been made manifest, some of them for the first time for centuries, in the grand work of the original Architects, as well as in the efforts—not always so uniformly happy—of the successive Restorers. All this has been preserved to us in these pages, and illustrated by a native architect, MR. EDWARD HUGHES, under the watchful eye of the late SIR GILBERT himself, in a manner that could not possibly be improved upon.

The Papers respectively of DRS. ROBSON and KENDRICK,—the former on “THE ROMAN ROADS OF NORTH CHESHIRE, and the latter on “THE ROMAN STATION regarded as the semi-classical *Condate*,” and by those two industrious but now alas! deceased Antiquaries set down as at WILDERSPOOL, on the Cheshire confines of Warrington,—are alike Papers of great intrinsic value to the local Archaeologist and Historian of the future. MR. BEAMONT’s Paper, again, on Shakspeare’s “HENRY IV.” forms an excellent local sequel to his “RICHARD II.” above referred to.

Then follows “CHESTER IN ITS EARLY YOUTH,” in which an attempt has been made by its author to depict some of the characteristics and a few of the relics of our Roman “DEVA.” CANON BLOMFIELD, too, in his “PURITANISM IN CHESTER IN 1637” tells us, as few save he could have presumed or been able to do so well, what the old City’s life, religious and social, was like in the 17th century: while *en suite* to this, Dr. KENDRICK’s “WARRINGTON LOCAL SKETCHES” form an appropriate variety to the more severe and solid Papers which go to make up the Volume.

MR. EWEN, in an interesting and well-thought-out Paper on "ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER," has given the cue to other students and labourers in the local Antiquarian field, as to the infinity of Historic material lying almost untouched in the Parish Chests of the city and county. He has pointed out—from the example of ST. PETER'S,—the whereabouts of documentary and other evidence which, judiciously handled, would make the old churches and mansions, the picturesque farmhouses and even the quaint village streets and cottages in and about Cheshire, scenes of living interest in the world of Local By-gone.

Full of deep research, equally so of ripe scholarship and charming poetic truth, is Miss EMILY S. HOLT's article on "ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF CLARENCE," daughter-in-law to King EDWARD III. In this little cameo from English history in the 14th century, the life and fortunes of a spendthrift royal lady are set forth, by means of the original Public Records of the period, down to her death in Ireland and the passage across the channel of her body to its first resting-place at NESTON in this county, and thence by way of CHESTER to its final home in Suffolk. No more accurate Paper has ever graced the annals of an Antiquarian Society.

DEAN HOWSON's Lecture on "MILTON AND THE RIVER DEE," valuable and instructive as it was of itself at the date of its delivery, has acquired an additional and a melancholy interest for us his associates by the fact of his recent and lamented decease,—just at a time too, when every one hoped there might be reserved for him a few more years of that intelligent and thorough "work" which had through his life so eminently distinguished him!

A Paper entitled "THE CITY AGAINST THE ABBEY," treats of certain misunderstandings and disputes rife in the middle ages between the CATHEDRAL and the CORPORATION Authorities of CHESTER. Other Lectures, contributed by staunch friends of the Society, appear in the Volume; among which may be named Mr. THOMAS RIGBY's valuable compilation on "the Ancient CHESHIRE BOROUGH OF OVER."

The concluding Paper in Volume III., by the SOCIETY's and CHESTER's revered friend, the late CANON KINGSLEY,—on "PRIMEVAL MAN,"—will of course be regarded by our brethren merely as a newspaper digest of his remarks; and as simply a

skeleton of what we might have expected, had not the good Canon's death prevented the completion of an important scientific Essay. But meagre though it is, it will serve to keep us sensible of the mine of wealth we have lost, and of the genial fellow-worker and helper we once had, in the universally beloved CHARLES KINGSLEY!

During the progress of the Volume, numerous and valuable Additions have been made to the SOCIETY'S Collection of LOCAL ANTIQUITIES, especially those of the ROMAN period. For these the COUNCIL are indebted to the generosity of the MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF CHESTER, the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, the DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CHESTER, the UNITED GAS COMPANY, Messrs. FREDERICK POTTS, F. BULLIN, Miss PEACOCK, and numerous others. Nor must it be forgotten, neither left unsaid that, during the last few years, the duty of securing and caring for the large proportion of the Roman Antiquities brought to light in "under-ground CHESTER" has been mainly performed by the SOCIETY'S Honorary Curator, MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S. To him has been chiefly due the careful storage and arrangement of that COLLECTION, the public exhibition of which, as well to citizens as to strangers, will henceforward be one of the prominent SIGHTS OF CHESTER. Let us here express an earnest hope that Owners of Property, the Clergy, Architects, Contractors, and Builders, will each loyally aid us in preserving to our old City, and to Archaeological and Historic Science generally, every Object of Antiquarian interest that may occur in Excavations from time to time in CHESTER and its Neighbourhood, thus adding greatly to the usefulness, popularity, and glory of the Collection!

VOLUME III. by the way, reaches its conclusion just at the Opening of The New "GROSVENOR MUSEUM," a Building which,—by the munificence of His Grace the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G., supplemented by other valued Friends and Subscribers,—the CHESTER ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY is hereafter, side by side with the NATURAL SCIENCE SOCIETY and SCHOOL OF ART, to have and enjoy as its truly palatial HOME! As, however, the Ceremony of Opening has, at the time we write, not actually been performed, and as the whole story will doubtless hereafter be more circumstantially put on record, we refrain from further reference to it here.

July, 1886.

R U L E S .

Objects.—The leading Objects of the Society shall be—

- 1.—The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction.
- 2.—The illustration and preservation of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest, in the city, neighbourhood, and county ;
- 3.—The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works :
- 4.—The collecting of Historic, Archaeological, and Architectural information, documents, relics, books, &c.
- 5.—The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects.

Constitution.—The Society shall consist of Associates, Full Members, Life, and Honorary Members.

The ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *Ten Shillings* per annum, and shall have the right of *personal* attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have the use of the *Library*, a copy of the Society's Illustrated *Journal*, as published, and be invited to join the occasional Excursions.

The FULL MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum. These shall enjoy *every right* and advantage of the Institution, be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing Visitors, under restrictions hereafter named.

LIFE MEMBERS.—Donors of Ten Pounds or more shall be Full Members for Life.

LADIES may also be Members of this Society on subscribing Five Shillings per annum, and shall have a right to attend all Lectures, to purchase the *Journal* at a moderate price, and to present communications through the Secretaries.

The Visitors to be admitted by any Full Member shall be either the ladies of his family, children between 10 and 15 years of age, or strangers from such a distance as the Council shall specify.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

Management.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to consist of the following persons, being Subscribers of One Pound per annum :—The Presidents and Officers of the Society ; the Archdeacon of Chester ; the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Chester Town Council ; the Canon in residence ; the Principal of the Training College ; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society ; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Rural Chapel Society ; and four Architects or Builders. To these shall be added other Laity and Clergy in equal numbers, not exceeding six of each, to be elected by the Full and Associate Members from among the Subscribers of One Pound per annum.

Two of these elected classes, viz., Laity and Clergy, and two of the Architects or Builders, shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be immediately re-eligible. Five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. The Council shall re-appoint the Secretaries annually, or choose others in their room.

The Council may appoint Sub-committees for special purposes, or make Bye-laws, yet so as not to violate any of the fundamental principles of the society, in which no alteration shall be made without the further concurrence of a General Meeting, and sanction of Patrons and Presidents; and if any Full or Associate Member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the discretion of the Council; and before any Bye-law shall be passed by the Council, notice thereof shall have been given at a previous meeting, or specially in writing to each Member of the Council.

There shall be an Annual General Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and also Monthly Meetings, if the Council see fit, for the specific objects of the Society. There shall also be as many Extraordinary Meetings as the Council may appoint, at which Lectures may be given on any literary or scientific subject, with the sanction of the Council.

Property.—When the Council shall consider any Paper read at a Meeting of the Society worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the Author to furnish the manuscript for that purpose.

FULL MEMBERS will receive a copy of the *Journal* gratis, and the remaining copies shall be sold at a sum to be fixed on by the Council for the benefit of the Society.

The Author of any Paper printed in the *Journal* may receive 20 copies of his own paper gratis.

All Books, Prints, Relics, &c. which may be purchased by or presented to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the Members in such place and custody as shall be appointed by the Council; and all orders for payment, &c., shall be signed by the Chairman, and counter-signed by the Secretary; and accounts audited in Council by persons appointed for the purpose, preparatory to confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Library and Museum of the Society are at present deposited in the large room of the late Episcopal Palace, Abbey-square.

Admission of Members.—All Subscriptions shall be counted due on the First day of January, and shall be paid within three months of the date of admission; and, in all future years, between the 1st day of January and 25th day of March. The Council shall also, if they find it desirable, appoint a certain amount of Entrance Money, to be paid on admission.

The Society may be connected with other Literary or Scientific Associations, on such terms as to the Council may seem fit; provided always, that the foregoing fundamental Rules of this Society shall be consented to as essential to the union; and that every new Member shall acknowledge the same as the conditions of admission.

Ladies and Gentlemen wishing to become Members, are requested to communicate with either of the Secretaries, or with any Member of the Council.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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 1861 Owens Benjamin, Architect, Shipgate-street

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 1868 Rigg James, George-street

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 1870 Wynne Miss, Watergate Mews
 1869 Wyse Napoleon P., J.P., Manor of St. John, Waterford
-

SOCIETIES IN CONNECTION.

Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
 Liverpool Philosophical Society
 Somersetshire Archaeological Society
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ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER.
General View, looking towards Bridge Street, showing Columns

The Roman Remains of Chester,

WITH A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THOSE DISCOVERED

IN BRIDGE STREET, IN JULY 1863.*

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

AT the very onset of my paper it is a duty I owe to the Society, to explain in a few words, my position as a lecturer in this instance. Most of my brother members are aware of the highly important discoveries of Roman remains in Bridge-street, which took place in the summer of the year 1863,—some of the grandest that have ever been found in Chester, with regard to both their extent and character; and important to us as archaeologists, on account of the essential portions of them having been found in the original position in which they were placed more than fourteen centuries ago.

As a member of the "Chester Archaeological Society," I was requested to take notes of the respective discoveries, with the ultimate view of their forming the basis of a Paper, to be read at some future period before the Society. To this I unwillingly assented, feeling that there were members who had much more experience than I had had upon this class of antiquities, and who could better explain the disinterred remains. I regret my assent the more now, because the discovery has excited a very large amount of interest in the archaeological world, through a paper which was read before the Society of Antiquaries in January last, by Mr. W. Tite, M.P., to which I shall have to refer occasionally in the course of my remarks.

* This Paper formed the matter of two Lectures delivered at Monthly Meetings of the Chester Archaeological Society, in 1864.

The plan I purpose adopting is, to give as an introduction, a brief historical sketch [of the causes that led the Romans to select the present site of Chester, as one of their most important military posts : followed by a few remarks upon the 20th Legion settled here ;—and then to give a general description of the remains of the Roman structures so recently discovered, As the subject of Roman buildings and their local peculiarities has not hitherto been brought under the special notice of this Society, I have been requested to take advantage of the present opportunity, and to describe, more fully than would otherwise have been desirable, all the structural details,—contrasting them with remains of the same great people found in other parts of England, and on the Continent ; and to conclude with an enquiry into the probable character, dimensions, and uses of the original buildings.*

In commenting upon these Roman remains, we are compelled to go back a few years in the tide of time, so as to understand *how* and *why* it was, that the Romans founded a city *here*. It is as conventional to commence English history with the landing of Julius Cæsar in 50 B.C., as it is for nursery tales to open with “once upon a time,—we will, however, take as our starting point about a century afterwards, at the time when Ostorius Scapula defeated Caractacus and his forces in Shropshire, and waged a predatory warfare with the local tribes of North and South Wales. Up to this time we have no evidence, nor is

* It was at first intended to have entered into the questions of the causes which led to the destruction of these edifices ; of the probable period of such taking place ; and whether their discovery threw any light upon the origin of the formation of those well-known Chester peculiarities, the Rows, which have been such a puzzle to antiquaries. But the great length of the present paper, owing to the causes above stated, has compelled the enquiry into these matters to be deferred to some future occasion. It may, however, here be noted, that the usual explanation of the origin of the Rows is thus recorded in Hemingway's *History of Chester*, (Vol. 1, p. 393). “It has already been assumed, as an undeniable fact, that the streets and Rows were originally on a level ; and if there be not equal certainty, there is good reason to believe, that the first dwellings of the Romans occupied precisely the same site as the houses and shops in the Rows now do, with the balustrades or openings in front of them.” This explanation, however, cannot now be accepted as satisfactory, as the recent discoveries in Bridge-street, described in the following pages, have for almost the first time afforded an opportunity of ascertaining the ground level of the Roman buildings (*vide* “section” attached to “Ground Plan”), and which has been corroborated by some remains discovered on the opposite side of the same street, the levels of which were taken at the time by Mr. James Harrison. These prove that the Roman ground level was considerably *below* that of the present Rows. There are other reasons for believing that their construction was of a much later date, but as a paper on this subject is being prepared for the Society, further notice is not necessary here.

there any reason to believe, that the Romans had penetrated as far as Chester, nor that they did so until the time of Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 58. That astute general soon discovered that the great power, which incited the Britons so stubbornly to resist the Roman arms, was that of the Druids, and that their head-quarters in Britain was *Mona*, the present Isle of Anglesey—paralleled, in the case of Gaul, by the Channel Islands. Suetonius resolved to attack this hotbed of Druidism, and carried out his design in the year 60 A.D., when it is probable that the Romans for the first time passed over, or near to, the present site of Chester. He had to hurry back with his army, on account of the great Boadicean revolt, so that beyond its occupancy as a temporary camp, the site of Chester was still unoccupied ground.

Eighteen years afterwards, there arrived in Britain, as its governor, the illustrious Julius Agricola. It was by no means his first appearance in the island; he had commenced his military life under Suetonius Paulinus, and under Petilius Cerealis, had had his full share of fighting honors, as commander of the 20th Legion, the one that subsequently performed such an important part in the early history of Chester. He alone, of all the Roman generals in Britain, appears to have understood and practised the most effectual manner of subjugating the fierce and stubborn islanders. He not only conquered tribes, but he secured his conquests, by leaving garrisons in the conquered district; by making roads, so that his forces could pass rapidly from one spot to another, &c.; and in the end he firmly established the Roman rule in Britain, partly by these means, and partly by teaching the natives to copy the Romans in their dress, buildings, manners and customs, and as Tacitus describes, "he led them to adopt the pursuits of peace and the refinements of the then civilisation."

Was Chester a British or Celtic town before the Roman period? I need not refer to any of the numerous fables of the early chroniclers, but at once make a quotation from the great Cheshire historian, Dr. Ormerod, who, in his 1st vol. (p. xxiii) states "it must be allowed that there are very strong circumstances of general probability of its existence *before the Roman invasion*," appearing to base his opinion upon the great eligibility of the site. This was published in 1819:—during the 45 years which have elapsed since then, the study of Archaeology, more especially of the British and prehistoric period generally, has been pursued with great vigor, and engaged the especial attention of some of our best Antiquaries. It has been ascertained, that wherever the primeval inhabitants dwelt, they left their marks in the form of earthworks, funeral remains, &c.; of none of which we have any record as having been discovered in the immediate vicinity of

Chester.* Further than this, all modern researches prove the aboriginal inhabitants to have been

"An iron race,

Foes to the gentler genius of the plain;"

and, instead of dwelling on the lowlands, to have occupied the tops and slopes of hills. It is scarcely probable that the site of this city was occupied by them, when we reflect upon the position of the Peckforton and Runcorn hills, and the successive ranges of mountains in Wales—places which we know to have been occupied by the Britons. This fact has been proved by the researches of many recent Antiquaries, among whom may be mentioned with great honor, our worthy chief secretary, Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes; whilst in the immediate site of Chester no traces of the aboriginal inhabitants have been discovered. The Rev. W. H. Massie,† than whom no one was better able to form an opinion on the subject, believed that "Chester was essentially a Roman and not a British foundation," and this is the view now entertained by Antiquaries generally.

Tacitus mentions distinctly, that Agricola subdued the tribes of North Wales (the *Ordovices*), and of *Mona*, during his first campaign; and it is probable that he selected the site of Chester as his principal basis of operations, forming there a large entrenched camp after the ordinary Roman model, the stamp of which Chester, in its surrounding Walls, bears to the present day. Although we possess no authentic account of the founding of this city by the Romans, we may reasonably assume it to have taken place between A.D. 78 and 80.

Within sight and easy distance of the first range of Welsh hills—on a sloping bank on the east side of the largest river in that part of the country, near to which it expanded into a broad estuary—and overlooking a large plain, the Romans founded the ancient *DEVA*, the modern CHESTER, almost coeval in time with that great convulsion of nature, which led to the destruction of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*. The historian of the Roman wall remarks that, "military reasons directed the choice of the stations," whilst "commercial facilities give rise to modern cities." What striking examples we have in this locality!—*Liverpool* being the type of the latter, *Chester* of the former.

There cannot be a doubt that the Romans looked upon *DEVA* as one of their most important military posts, otherwise it is scarcely

* There are several British Coins bearing the name of *Uriconium*, which prove the existence of a British city there, previous to the Roman one; none have been discovered of *Chester* of a parallel kind.

† *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, vol. 1, p. 459.

probable, that it would have formed the head-quarters of one of the principal of the Roman legions, and remained so during nearly the whole of the Roman occupation of Britain; and when we reflect upon its site, we cannot but own, that in a military point of view, it was admirably situated. Its position, with regard to the plain before it and the river in its front, materially assisted in preventing its being surprised by an enemy:—it was within easy distance of the hill country, inhabited by some of the most obstinate tribes the Romans encountered,—the *Ordovices*,—and but a few marches from what had been the centre of Druidism, and might be again were it not for the proximity of the Roman arms. It was adjacent to the large extent of country inhabited by the warlike *Brigantes* (represented in great part by the great manufacturing counties, Lancashire and Cheshire), as well as to the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland. It was easy of access for ships, and was probably one of the points of embarkation for Ireland;—was within easy marches of Eburacum (York) and Caerleon, the head-quarters respectively of the 2nd and 9th legions;—and by its position protected the country from the ravages of the Irish pirates, who frequently landed on the shores of the Dee.

In these days of 'historic doubts,' it is hardly to be wondered at, that a writer has been found hardy enough to doubt, whether Chester be the site of the Roman *DEVA* after all. An article of this character appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1862, in which the author assigns the situation to Frodsham! His reasons I need scarcely mention here, but, in support of Chester being the true site, I may state, that the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (compiled about 320 A.D.) places the 20th Legion at *DEVA*, and "invariably, when the name of a legion is added in this *Itinerary* to that of a station, the town can be identified by existing remains."* Chester is the only place in this neighbourhood where remains of the 20th legion have been discovered to any extent; and, moreover, it is somewhat singular that no other legionary marks have been found in it. In the "*Saxon Chronicle*" it is called *Lega Ceaster*, the Camp of the Legion—a striking allusion to its occupancy by a large Roman force. I need hardly further allude to this, except to repeat the words of one of the authors of the *Magna Britannia*, "That Chester was the *DEVA* of the Romans is a matter beyond all controversy."†

The 20th legion, the one so intimately connected with the early

* C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 6, p. 45.

† "Deva, by the universal agreement of Antiquaries, and by all manner of evidence, appears to be Chester." (Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 416.)

history of Chester, appears to have first visited our shores under the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 43. In the army that Suetonius hurried together to defeat the Britons under Boadicea, the *vexillarii* of this legion took a prominent part. We may gather some idea of the importance of this particular section of the Roman army in Britain, by the circumstance that after Suetonius had left, the island enjoyed unusual tranquillity, and was disturbed only by a quarrel between the proprætor (Trebellius) and the lieutenant of this legion, Roscius Cœlius, which ended in the flight of the former. Under the subsequent command of Agricola it performed important services, and when he was elevated to the proprætorship, it is by no means improbable, that he looked upon *Deva* as one of the most important military posts in the whole island, hence his reasons for founding the city, and for placing his own tried legion there, from which time until the departure of the Romans, it remained the head-quarters of the same legion.

All the Roman legions had their particular animal, &c., for their standard or sign, which originally appeared on the top of the *vexillum* or standard, but in the Consulship of Marius B.C. 104, all other emblems were laid aside, the eagle alone being used on the standard, but the distinctive badge was still used on coins, inscriptions, &c., that of the 20th Legion being the *boar*.* But although Chester was the head-quarters, yet detachments (*vexillations*) of the legion were employed in other parts of Britain.†

Funeral inscriptions of soldiers of this legion have been found at Bath,‡ Ribchester,§ Wroxeter,|| and London.¶ Along the line of the great Roman Wall, and in Scotland, we have abundant proofs of their presence, and of the important operations in which they were concerned. At the former, the numerous inscriptions discovered, prove

* On the obverse of a coin attributed by the Rev. Beale Poste (*British Archaeological Association's Journal*, vol. 2, p. 33) to Cunobeline, is the figure of "a boar rushing to the right."

† "It is not meant that the main body of the legion did not march into the field whenever its services were required; but here they returned in winter, leaving detachments of their auxiliaries to secure the proper posts in the conquered country; here their wives and children remained in security during the campaign; and here a numerous and warlike race of young men were continually growing up to fill their ranks, who, though natives of Britain, had no religion, interest, or manners but theirs, and in fact no country but the camp of the legion itself."—(Lysons' *Cheshire*, p. 435.)

‡ Scarth's *Roman Bath*, pages 58, 59, 62.

§ *British Archaeological Association's Journal*, vol. 6, p. 240.

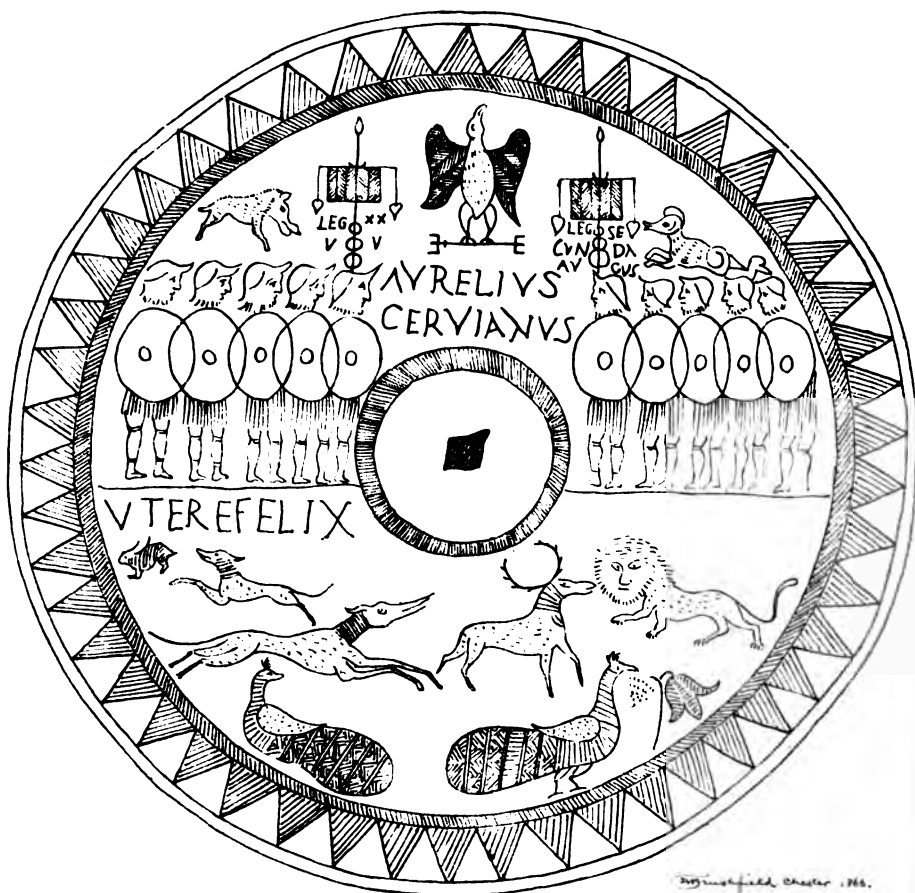
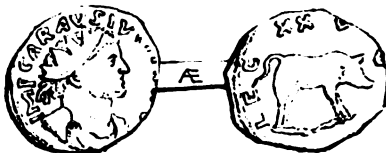
|| *Ibid*, vol. 15, p. 311.

¶ C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, pages 23, 29.

LEGIONARY TABLE FOUND AT BREMENIUM, NEAR
HADRIAN'S WALL.



LEGIONARY COIN OF
CARAUSIUS.



BRONZE PATERA.

CONTAINING REPRESENTATIONS OF FIGURES AND EMBLEMS, OF THE SECOND AND TWENTIETH

ROMAN LEGIONS. [FROM BUONAROTTI'S 'ANCIENT MEDALS'.]

that the vallum and wall were one and the same work.* Amongst others was found an altar dedicated by them to the god *Cocidius*† (supposed to have been the god Mars), the representation of a boar being sculptured at its lower part. Frequently the word *vexillatio*, or its contraction, is found added, as at *Bremenium*.‡ In one inscription found in a fort near Netherall,§ the 2nd Legion is associated with the 20th, (the head-quarters of the 2nd was at Caerleon,) and it is singular that a similar recorded conjunction has been found elsewhere. During the usurpation of Carausius (A.D. 287—293) these two legions appear to have favored his claims, as coins bearing their names and symbols were struck during his reign. Akerman, in his "*Roman Coins relating to Britain*," (p. 134), and also in his large work on "*Roman Coins*" (vol. 2, p. 165), appears to refer these coins of the 20th to the 25th Legion. ("LEG. XXV. V. A boar standing.")|| In Buonarotti's great work on ancient medals, there is represented a "brass patera," containing figures of the soldiers of these two legions with their emblems.¶

* Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., p. 247.

† *Ibid.*, p. 401.

‡ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 3. p. 165.

§ *Archaeologia*, vol. 10, p. 137, figured also in Bruce, p. 392.

|| I was enabled through the kindness of Mr. J. Peacock, to exhibit to the Society, an electrotpe copy of one of these coins of Carausius, the original of which is preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. A reference to the sketch of this rare coin in the accompanying plate, will show, that the first V of the inscription is removed to some distance from the XX. There are other reasons for believing Akerman's opinion to be incorrect.

¶ This work, published in Rome in 1698, and entitled *Historical Observations on several Ancient Medals, belonging to his Serene Highness Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany* ("Osservazioni Istoriche sopra alcuni Medaglioni Antichi,"), contains an engraving of the patera above mentioned. The attention of English Antiquaries was first drawn to it by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Antiquities of Richborough, &c.*, p. 24; as however a copy of it has never yet appeared in any English Archaeological work, it is introduced in the accompanying plate on account of its local interest. Buonarotti does not state from what locality the patera was obtained, but in the account of it which he gives in the Introduction, states his opinion that the *Aurelius Cervianus* inscribed on it, was a principal officer who "proceeded to England under orders from Rome." The figures of the five soldiers of each legion, with their standards and emblems, require no description. The collection of animals and birds, may perhaps represent a hunting scene; and it may be remembered that the representations of the stag, hare and dogs, bear a very close resemblance to those often found on pottery, manufactured by the Romans at Castor (Durobrivæ), in Northamptonshire. It will be observed that the words, VTERE FELIX, are inscribed below the figures of the soldiers of the 20th Legion, a vacant space being left below those of the 2nd. They appear to have been used as a kind of good omen, and from being con-

Both of these legions were employed at the Caledonian wall; and of the 20th, two nearly perfect inscriptions have been found in different spots recording the length of wall built under its direction. And about them there is this point worthy of notice, that the legionary emblem "the boar," is figured "in opposite directions, so that when the slabs were placed on the Southern or Roman side of the wall, where they would be seen from the adjacent military road, the boars of the twin legionary stones would be facing each other."* Tending thereby to confirm the suggestion, that "the legionaries were wont to erect these stones in pairs at the beginning and the end of their labors, thereby the more distinctly defining the extent of the work dedicated by them to the favorite Emperor."†

The presence of the term *vexillatio* in many of these inscriptions is of some importance. Tacitus frequently alludes to the *vexilla* or *vexillarii* of the legions, as "being those soldiers who after having served in the legion for sixteen years, became *ex-auctoritati*, but continued to serve in company with that legion under a *vexillum* of their own, until they received their full discharge. Hyginus states the number attached to each legion as usually about five or six hundred."‡ It is very remarkable that amongst the numerous legionary inscriptions found in Chester, we have no record of the term *vexillatio* having been included in any of them,—another proof, if such were required, that DEVA was the head-quarters of this Legion §

The period when the 20th Legion quitted Britain, is generally stated to have been somewhat before the cessation of the Roman occupation (A. D. 409), from the circumstance that the "*Notitia Imperii*," which was compiled between A. D. 395 and 407,|| does not name it.

* Wilson's *Scottish Archaeology*, p. 377.

† *Ibid*, p. 376.

‡ Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. *Exercitus*.

§ The annexed plate contains representations of the only legionary stamps that were found amongst the Bridge Street remains; and are fair samples of the ordinary type of these stamps.

|| Smith's *Students' Gibbon*, p. 132.

finned to one side of the patera, would almost seem in some way or other, to be connected with the 20th Legion; this opinion is further strengthened by the circumstance that Alex. Gordon (*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726, p. 118) describes having seen in the collection of a Glasgow Antiquary, "a Cornelian Seal, found near a *Roman Tumulus*, in the Parish of Kilbride, four miles south of Glasgow, having these letters upon it, Intaglio way, VTERE FELIX"—there is abundant evidence of this locality having been visited by a portion of the Devan legion.

From this, the early part of the 5th century, history tells us of the subsequent invasions of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans. We will, however, not dwell on any of these, but take the liberty accorded to Chroniclers and Archaeologists, and, aided by the wings of time, will skip the historic pages of fourteen centuries, and from noticing the "DEVA of the Romans," we will now change the title to the "CHESTER of the moderns." Dating from June, 1863, we will attempt a description of certain remains of the Roman period, which after remaining latent and quiescent for so many centuries, have been recently discovered, and to the great regret of all Archaeologists, been removed from their site to make way for more modern utilitarian structures. It must be presumed that all members of this Society know the peculiar formation of Chester, with regard to its Walls and principal streets, and that in the southern or Bridge-street there existed, about half way down, on the eastern side, a comfortable, old-fashioned, rather tumble-down-looking hotel, called the 'Feathers,' adjoining the site of one of the many Antiquarian attractions of Chester, the so-called "Roman Bath." This hotel, together with some adjoining property, was condemned to be pulled down, to make way for the erection of some spacious business premises. For this purpose, the ground was required to be excavated below the street level, and for the most part below the level of the mediæval foundations, as well as for a considerable distance backward from the line of the present street.

The Rev. W. H. Massie once tritely remarked, that "if we would look for '*Britannia Romana*,' we must seek it in a stratum some yards under ground,"* and certain it is, that "a large part of the knowledge which we possess of the early history of our country" has been literally *dug up*. This is true of Chester as of all Roman towns, hence it is that we so often avail ourselves of any excavations that may be going forward, on purpose to witness the labors of those practical Archaeologists, the navvies. Thus, when on the site of the old 'Feathers,' on June 20, 1863, a fragment of a pillar of classic origin was unearthed, its discovery was regarded by local Archaeologists as a certain indication that other and more important remains would soon be found. This opinion was almost immediately verified, for two days later (June 22) whilst excavations were being made, to lower the floor of a cellar situated beneath the 'smoke-room' of the old hotel, the laborers laid bare what were evidently the remains of an extensive hypocaust, the pillars of which were within a foot of the old cellar floor, which latter indeed they assisted to support. So close were they, in fact, that it is hardly

* *Chester Archaeological Journal*, vol. 1, p. 70.

possible to conceive but that, during the original construction of the cellar, some of the pillars must have been bared; and, as many of these were missing from their places, they may have been removed at that very period. About ten days afterwards, the base of a large pillar, then still occupying its original position, was found; and from this time until the termination of the excavations, but few days passed during which portions of shafting, other bases, portions of tessellated pavements, &c., were not discovered.

There were also uncovered some remains of a much later date, to which allusion must be made, as they considerably modified the character of certain portions of the ruins; and as moreover, they were thought to be Roman by several Archaeologists, it will be an additional reason for noticing them here. On the site of, and also outside, most Roman stations, are found deep pits containing large quantities of animal matter, intermingled with fragments of bone pins, metal ornaments of various kinds, coins, &c.;—and when on the site of the Bridge-street remains, three rubbish pits were found, they were thought to be probably of Roman origin. Of these, one was of an irregular square form, and occupied the middle of the fourth room,—one, an equal sided square, was in the interspace between the rows of pillars and opposite the sixth pillar from the west,—the third, of circular form, was found close to the north side of the second row of pillars, upon the site of one of which it considerably encroached. That they were not Roman was evidenced by their position, and partly and principally by their contents being wholly devoid of remains of a Roman character. They contained a large quantity of animal matter amongst other debris, together with large quantities of burnt wood and fragments of mediæval pottery,—and they were in all probability mediæval cesspools.*

Another excavation, situated nearer Bridge-street, contained a large number of animal bones,—this may or may not have been of Roman origin, bones being frequently found in large quantities on Roman sites; but beyond their presence, there was no indication of the period of their being deposited. Opposite the junction of the fourth and fifth rooms, and close to the outside of the main wall, a deep well, four feet in diameter, was uncovered,—the upper boundary of which was of masonry. The presence of mortar of very friable character, and the juxtaposition of the well to the main wall were proofs of its late construction. Entering the south side, and over the site of the wall, was a portion of leaden suction pipe. The well contained twenty-nine feet of water.

* At the north-east corner of the first apartment containing the hypocaust, was a deep ash and rubbish pit—and at the adjoining corner one still deeper, which contained amongst the rubbish a large number of broken 16th and 17th century pipes.

Of all the Roman remains thus briefly described, not one is now visible to us in its original position—some have been used in the buildings now in progress—some have been removed to the grounds attached to the Water Tower Museum—and some are in private hands, so that with regard to their original site they are now practically obliterated.* In their original position they were of the utmost interest to us as lovers of local archaeology, and of practical use to antiquaries in general, as exhibiting some new phases of Roman work, as well as for the sake of comparison with other remains of the same era in other parts of Britain;† but once removed from their original position, they become, except in the case of works of art, little else than unmeaning stones. It is one of the unfortunate circumstances attending modern improvements, that early remains when discovered are usually found just in the way of some important portion of the projected new structure, and as in towns and cities land is daily increasing in value, these remains are soon swept away, everything being sacrificed to utility.

The excavated portion, which contained the bulk of the Roman remains, was about 128 feet in length by 88 feet in width; and these will now be briefly described, the details being reserved for a subsequent fuller description. Commencing, then, with those discovered at the western end of the south side, there first appeared the foundation courses of a massive stone wall, running almost due east and west. Projecting from this at right angles on the southern face, were other walls of the same character, but of less thickness; and which, placed at unequal distances, divided the space into what were apparently rooms

* At the rear of the newly-erected premises, portions of two bases have been preserved, and upon them have been placed fragments of some of the columns and capitals, mainly with a view to identify the site of the discoveries.

† Thanks however to Mr. Hodgkinson, the architect of the site, and to Mr. Lockwood, another Chester architect, we possess accurate plans of the whole of the remains so far discovered. The latter gentleman has also taken the levels of the pillars, &c., compared with that of the present street, and has thus—not without a great expenditure of time and trouble—been enabled to assign the position which the old “Roman Bath” bears to the other remains. I have to thank Mr. Peacock for very much information about the discoveries; and had it not been that he attended personally to sketch and measure tessellated pavements, &c., as soon as found, and to identify and preserve several interesting remains as soon as they were unearthed, much valuable information would have been lost. The Chester Archaeological Society owe this gentleman a deep debt of gratitude for his exertions. Many thanks also are due to Mr. Bellis, the builder, for much kindness, courtesy, and forbearance, at a time when a large number of visitors must have been a considerable hindrance to his practical operations as a builder.

of different dimensions, to which the thicker wall formed the outer boundary. A noticeable feature in the whole of these walls was their tolerably uniform height. Enclosing these spaces on the south, was a stone wall of considerable height, which from its forming the divisional wall belonging to the adjoining property, constituted the boundary of the excavations on that side. This appeared at first sight like Roman work, for which it was frequently mistaken, but there appears no reason to doubt that it was erected at a much later period, and most probably with the material derived from the Roman buildings on its site.*

The main wall at the first angle was defective, and it at first appeared as though the original building had commenced here, but it was soon evident, that there had been one or more rooms between the apartment first discovered and the present line of the street, as although the upper courses of the main wall had been removed, it was found on excavating, that some of the lower ones, in advance of the cross wall, still existed. Passing the first partition wall, we entered the site of a spacious room, the floor of which was covered with broken, irregular masses of concrete, of unmistakeable Roman character, but no tesserae were found. On clearing away the concrete, we came to two layers of thick red tiles (all much starred and fractured), interspersed here and there with a sandstone flag. On raising these, it was at once apparent that they formed the roof of a hypocaust, as their removal exposed to view the heads of the supporting pillars, each consisting of a single block of red sandstone; the interspaces being occupied by a compact solid mass, composed of ashes, drainage material, and general rubbish, derived from the numerous cesspools, drains, and ash-pits in the immediate vicinity. Although many of the stone supports, particularly at the east end, were absent, and many that remained were fragmentary, yet all that were found occupied, apparently, their original positions.†

Crossing over the next partition, we entered another room of considerable dimensions, and the first object that struck the attention, was a peculiar square opening in the base of the outside wall. Tesserae were here found amongst the rubbish in considerable numbers; and in the south-west portion of the room was bared a large fragment of a pavement, composed of black and white tesserae on a thick bed of concrete. This had apparently been wilfully mutilated, as the mass was not only much fractured, but occupied a slanting position, owing to

* Under the heading of 'Roman masonry' this wall will be again alluded to. In the photograph of the hypocaust it will be seen to form the background.

† These *pila* are admirably shown in the accompanying photograph.

some of the supports having been removed; and, moreover, one of the broken pilæ was found lying upon the surface of the pavement. There was satisfactory evidence, of the whole of the base of this room having been occupied by a hypocaust, as some of the sandstone pilæ still remained *in situ*. This was also the case with a small apartment, partitioned off from the larger one, but here the pilæ were remarkable for consisting of two different kinds of material, some of them being of sandstone as in the other examples, and some built up of thick red tiles: they supported a black and white tessellated pavement of simple pattern. Beyond this was a small apartment having a tessellated pavement ornamented with some curious figures, and also possessing a hypocaust. Beyond this again was another and larger room, which had, likely enough, originally possessed a hypocaust and pavement, but the whole of the remains of these were probably removed, at the time when a large excavation was made, apparently for drainage purposes. So that from one end to the other, there was a succession of quadrangular rooms of different sizes, all having hypocaust arrangements, and nearly all possessed of tessellated floors.*

Commencing again at the western extremity, and at a few feet to the north of the main wall, we first arrived at a peculiar square excavation in the solid rock, which had been included in the site of a modern wall, and, for some time, it was thought probable, that it was not of early date. Beyond this were found the bases of five pillars in succession, each resting on a large square block of sandstone, partly sunk in the rock; then a square excavation, followed by another base, and terminating with the sites of two others; the noticeable feature being that the sites were equi-distant from each other, and parallel to the outside wall of the rooms, which have just been noticed. Between 30 and 40 feet to the north of these pillars, and parallel to them, were found the remains of another row, of which three only exhibited the bases, but the sites of seven others were evident. On comparing the bases with those on the opposite side, the 2nd and 3rd were opposite to bases in the first row. The first deserves a special mention. It was the only base which was surmounted by a portion of the original shaft, and had formed part of the boundary of some modern room; in which position, the exposed portion had been whitewashed. Its position moreover was exactly opposite that of the square excavation, already alluded to, as having been at first thought of comparatively modern date,

* The commencement of a fourth pavement of this character has been laid bare at the extreme eastern end of the excavations, and within the boundary of the main wall.

and which was similar in appearance and character to the sites of the other absent bases.*

So that we possess ample evidence of the original erection of two rows of pillars (ten on either side), parallel to each other, and to the apartments already noticed. But there was no evidence whatever (and repeated search was made) of the original existence of any pillars, bridging or connecting the interspaces of the terminal pillars of the two rows. The sites of the lateral ones, where the bases were absent, were so clearly marked, that it appeared scarcely probable for pillars to have originally occupied the wide spaces at the two ends, and yet to have left no traces of their existence. It appears unreasonable to believe that the foundations of these latter should have been of slighter character than the rest. Had they existed and been of the same depth as the others, they must have been discovered, as the ground on the site they were suggested to have occupied, was undisturbed.

Principally within the large quadrangular space formed by the pillars, there were exhumed large portions of the shafts and capitals of columns; some of them much broken, all recumbent, and apparently lying on the original level, except a portion of one shaft which was found lying horizontally in the debris, about two feet above this level. Fragments of the capitals were found in several of the modern walls, and at the Bridge-street end, several portions of pillars of a smaller size. Beyond the last pillar at the east end, were the remains of a narrow wall, a few feet from the main wall, to which it ran parallel; this was met by another at right angles to it, about the same distance from the last pillar that the pillars were from each other: there were evidences of another angle at the foot of the latter most distant from the main wall. Beyond the first angle just alluded to were the remains of an irregular pavement, formed partly of herring-bone bricks, and partly of common tiles, not uniform in shape or size, bedded upon a substructure of concrete of some thickness. At the west end, between the pillars and the line of the street, was a mass of concrete, the evident foundation of a wall—and I am informed that some remains of Roman walls were also discovered close to the line of the street.†

* In the "general plan" it will be observed that the modern buildings forming the northern boundary of the excavations, intersect the line of the sites of two of the pillars. In one of these a portion of the original site was still evident.—In the second, the base was found, although displaced from its proper position. It is on record that several portions of pillar shafts were found during the erection of these buildings between thirty and forty years ago, which were worked into common steps, and continue to be used as such to this day.

† I was absent from Chester when the excavations revealed the remains of these front walls, and they had been covered with rubbish prior to my return. They

At this end were also found a few fragments of some smaller pillars. Neither in the inter-space of the two rows of pillars, nor between the first row and the wall, were there any indications of paving or masonry.

Such were those portions of the remains which were indisputably of Roman work. Amongst the debris were discovered large quantities of fragments of tiles of various kinds, charcoal, and some miscellaneous antiquities to which I shall hereafter direct attention.*

* The following is the explanation of the references in the Plate of the Ground Plan and section of the Bridge-street remains, which also includes a plan and section of the existing hypocaust and "Roman Bath," and their relative position to each other:—

- A, B, C, D, E. Portions of the sites of five of the rooms of the Roman building. In A, the shaded squares represent the pillars of the hypocaust which remained in their original position.
- F, F, F, F. Modern walls, forming the north and south boundaries of the excavations.
- G, G. External wall of the rooms. The dotted line close to the right hand G shows the position of the square opening in the base of the wall.
- H, H, H, H, H. Inner walls.
- I, I. Remains of foundations of Roman walls, adjoining the buildings fronting Bridge-street, to which they were *exterior*.
- J. Fragment of wall forming a portion of a passage, &c.
- K. Small brick pavement, arranged in a herring-bone pattern. Much worn, irregular, and patched with portions of large tiles.
- K². Remains of similar pavement with a greater share of large tiles, found at a subsequent date to the other discoveries.
- L, L, L. Remains of tessellated pavements.
- L². Fragments of a fourth tessellated pavement, found at a much later date.
- M. Position of portion of columnar shafting as found in rubbish.
- N. Square tank, excavated in solid rock, and containing water.
- O. Doorway to hypocaust.
- P, P. Roman walls.
- Q, Q. Walls of late (medieval?) period. N, O, P, Q refer wholly to existing hypocaust and 'Roman Bath.'
- R, R. Un-excavated portion of rubbish.
- S. Well.
- T, U, V. Excavations in rock, of post-Roman period. U, V contained medieval pottery. V was partly walled.
- W. Excavation in rock, containing animal bones.
- X. Mass of concrete, through which a drain had been made.
- I to IX. Bases of pillars. All of which were found *in situ* excepting VIII, in which instance the dotted line shows the position it occupied at the time it was discovered.
- 1 to 11. Sites of pillars excavated in the rock.

were, however, seen by Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes and Mr. Hodgkinson, by whom they were examined and pronounced to be decidedly of Roman origin. The main front wall of the modern buildings recently erected is built immediately within the line of these remains of Roman masonry, so that the original Roman street was probably of less width than the present one.

We will now pass on to examine the remains of these Roman buildings in detail, and first of those materials made from clay.—

We have to thank the Romans for the introduction of many useful arts into Britain, but for none more than for sundry operations connected with the manufacture of articles from native clay; *e.g.*—1. The art of converting the immense beds of clay into bricks and tiles for building operations. 2. The introduction of the potter's wheel for the production of fictile ware, for useful domestic purposes, as well as for ornament. And 3, for the introduction of the art of kiln baking.

By the researches of archaeologists it has been proved that bricks and tiles were unknown to the Britons, prior to the arrival of the Romans; and all articles of pottery were fashioned and ornamented by hand, being built up as it were piecemeal, and then sun dried. All who have made Roman remains their study testify to the wonderful durability of their building materials in clay; so much so that a slight examination is usually all that is required to assign their origin. In comparing tiles from different parts of England, and of different epochs of the Roman occupation, it is wonderful to see how closely they resemble each other in texture, color, and all essential points; this was due to the extraordinary care they employed in every stage of their manufacture. In the works of Vitruvius—the only Architect of Classic times whose writings have descended to us—one chapter—the 3rd. of the 2nd. book—is devoted to the article *Bricks*, and points out how carefully the clay ought to be selected and tempered, the proper seasons for brickmaking, &c., and contains the following sentence which ought to be learnt by heart by all modern brickmakers, who have no regard to the durability of their manufactures, providing they only hold together during their generation. Vitruvius writes, “those bricks are best that have been made *at least two years*; for in a period less than that they will not dry thoroughly.” Their evenness and closeness of texture, uniformly red color, hardness, and absence of stones, show the extraordinary amount of care exercised by the Roman workman.*

Wherever these tiles were made, we judge that the places were unenclosed, and that they were dried in the same manner as bricks are in this part of the country, viz. spread out singly on the ground.† We learn this from the circumstance that many of them exhibit the im-

* Owing to the clay building manufactures of the Romans being thin, flat, and of a character similar to our modern tiles, rather than to the bricks of the present day, they are generally called by the former name.

† In the South of England, the modern process of manufacture does not require this plan to be followed, but, as soon as moulded, the bricks are built up like loose walls, so as to allow the free passage of air between them.

pressions of the feet of various animals, and even of man; evidencing that the clay was at the time pliable enough to receive the impression, and also that the tile remained long enough on the drying ground to make such impression permanent. There is a well marked one, shewing the feet of a dog, on one of the roof tiles used in the construction of a tomb, found a few years since in the Infirmary field, Chester, and now in the grounds attached to the Water Tower.* Marks of the feet of goats, sheep, pigs, cows, horses, cats, ravens, deer, &c., have been found on Roman tiles in various parts of the country. In this simple manner, we are enabled to prove the common existence of these animals and birds in Britain during the Roman period, and they are as interesting to us as Archaeologists, as the discovery of the impressions of the feet of an antediluvian animal, the Cheirotherium, (figured in Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*) found in one of the beds of stone at Storeton, near Bebington, in this county, was to Geologists. At Leicester,† tiles impressed with the feet of "the wild boar, the fox, and the wolf," have been found. One "retains the distinct impression of a naked (human) foot."‡ At Wroxeter, Caerleon, York,§ Church

* The discovery of this tomb is thus described in the *Chester Chronicle* of June 5, 1858:—

"DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN INTERMENT IN CHESTER.—The men employed in making the necessary railway preparations for a siding, to accommodate the exhibitors at the Royal Agricultural Show, in the field adjoining the Infirmary, discovered, on Thursday afternoon, a quantity of stones and tiles, of an unusual size and character, about four feet below the surface. Mr. J. Peacock was immediately sent for, and superintended the excavation, which proved to be a Roman interment, resembling in form and character the tomb of a soldier of the 6th Roman Legion found at York. In the tomb were found a very pretty terra cotta lamp; a clay vessel, of the same ornamentation as the one in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection of 'London Antiquities'; a lesser clay vessel, in fragments, in which was found a second brass coin of Domitian, of the *Moneta Augusti* type, (a female figure, standing, holding balance and cornucopia); a few bones and teeth, apparently those of a young person; and a large iron nail, of the size and shape usually found in Roman tumuli. The tiles, &c., which composed the tomb, have been removed to the Water Tower Museum, there to be arranged as discovered. We are pleased with this antiquarian *trouvaille*, and congratulate the city upon its Local Society, formed for the protection and preservation of these 'silent memorials of the past.'"

† *Roman Leicester*, by Mr. J. F. Hollings, in the 'Leicestershire Mercury' for January 7, 1851.

‡ Vide also *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 6, p. 16.

§ Vide Bateman's *Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 127.

Stretton* in Shropshire, and elsewhere, tiles have been found bearing the imprint of the nails of sandals; and of that form used by the ordinary Roman soldiers, which were heavy and thickly studded with hobnails, and known as Caligæ.† In the museum of our associate, Mr. Frederick Potts, is a tile, found in Chester, bearing a legionary stamp, at right angles to which is a well marked impression of a sandal of this description. In the same collection, another tile, of the flanged variety, bears six distinct marks of dog's feet.‡ It is interesting to know that specimens of this very description of sandal have been found in London, &c.§ At Leicester, on a tile was "a rude figure, evidently sketched with the point of a stick by some careless bystander;"|| whilst on one found at Caerwent, the word 'Bellicianus' had been rudely written four times, the interest attaching to which "arises from its being a very fair specimen of what may possibly have been the cursive hand of the British Romans."¶

In Rome, it was the law that every brickmaker should impress his manufactures with his own stamp—such mark being the figure of a god, an animal, &c., encircled with his own name, and often with the name of the place (Smith's *Classical Dictionary*.) This appears to have been the case (as far as the maker's name was concerned) with pottery also, especially in the Samian ware. In Britain, however, this does not appear to have been urged as a law, as large numbers of the tiles

* *Archæologia*, vol. 31, p. 343.

† The Emperor Caligula is stated to have received that name when a boy, in consequence of wearing the Caliga, which his father Germanicus put on his son in order to please the soldiers.

‡ Each of these tiles is figured in the accompanying plate. This is a fitting opportunity to acknowledge the liberality of Mr. F. Potts in permitting the free use of many valuable local antiquities at the meetings of the Society, in illustration of this paper.

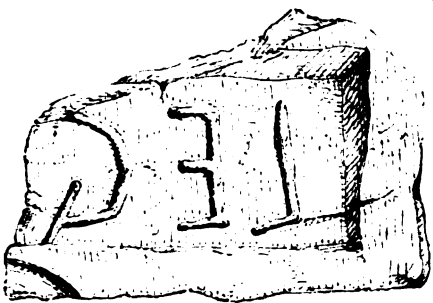
§ Illustrations of these sandals appear in C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, pp. 132-3; *Archæologia*, vol. 10, p. 478; and in an interesting paper *On Ancient Shoes*, by Mr. Mayer, in vol. 1 of the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*.

|| *Roman Leicester*, ut supra. A similar example, found in Chester, is drawn in the accompanying plate.

¶ *Isca Silurum*, p. 44, and figured in plate 24. There are several notices of written inscriptions on tiles, in Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, vol. 2, p.p. 360-1; and in *Archæologia*, vol. 8, p. 80, is an engraving and description of a *tegula*, "having three rows of scrawling cursive writing upon it, which cannot be deciphered."



Legionary
Stamp on a red-
tile (1 1/4 in. long) with
impression of Gorgon.
Size 6 1/2 in. x 5 in.



Reversed Legionary inscription on a Tegula
Size 3 1/2 in. x 2 1/2 in.

LEGIONARY

Inscription on a reversed D,
on a fragment of a tile, Gorgon.

(MDEI)

Altars stamp with a
ligatured D. (Gorgon)



Legionary inscription on a tile 2 in. thick Size 8 1/2 in. x 3 1/2 in.

TILES FOUND IN CHESTER AT VARIOUS PERIGOS, AND
NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF FRED POTTES ESQ

reversed front.



bear no stamp whatever. Others again bear letters, apparently the maker's initials, as in some examples found at Bisley, in Gloucestershire, marked with the letters TPFA.* A tile at Cirencester bore the mark TC.M, the third letter probably signifying *manu*; whilst "a portion of a flanged tile from the Leauses, was marked with the letters TPLF (*ecit*)."[†] At Chedworth, in Gloucestershire, was discovered a hypocaust constructed of tiles, all of which were marked "ARVIRI, in Roman capitals about two inches long."[‡] Amongst those found in Bridge-street, I am only aware of two having been discovered with marks of this description, which through the kindness of Mr. Hodgkinson are now exhibited (vide plate). In Chester, at Caerleon, York, London, &c., and in fact at almost every Roman station, numerous legionary inscriptions are found on tiles, thus not only identifying the places where the legions were stationed, but materially assisting to confirm the statements of writers with respect to the history of England during the Roman period. To show the importance of these marks I may mention that Mr. P. E. Wiever has been enabled to trace the 22nd Legion through a great part of Germany by means of them.§

The only stamp impress on Roman tiles hitherto found in Chester, has been that of the 20th Legion. The usual formula is LEG.XX.V.V. (*Legio Vicesima Valeria Victrix*), and the two examples found in Bridge-street, are of this kind. In some instances one V only (for *Victrix*) is employed, as in the inscription partly defaced by a sandal mark already

* *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 1, p. 42.

† Buckman and Newmarch's *Cirencester*, p. 68.

‡ Rudder, in his *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 334, renders this as *A Romanis Viribus*; but a reference to the potters' stamps in C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, will point out the true meaning to be, more probably, the tile maker's name in the genitive case, M (*anu*), F (*ecit*), or OF (*ficina*) being understood.

§ Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, art. *Later*. Several tiles discovered in London bore the letters PPBR.LON, rendered as "*Proprætor Britannia Londini*," the Proprætor of Britain at Londinium. (C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 31.) Again on the Kentish coast, others marked CL.BR have been found, supposed to mean "*Classiarii Britannici*,"—the mariners of the British fleet; if this rendering be correct, we have *one*, if not *the* earliest historic notice of a British fleet. Mr. C. R. Smith's explanation of these letters is confirmed by the fragment of an altar found at Lymne, containing an inscription, where the CL.BR, is extended to CLAS BRIT. (Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, pp. 131–2.)

referred to.* In others the letters are reversed, and whenever this is the case, they are usually more rude in character.†

The collection formed by Mr. F. Potts. contains a tile, bearing a legionary mark of a singular and unique character; at the end of the usual formula is a double letter, like CE joined together, which has been suggested to be an abbreviation for CEASTER, CESTER, or CESTRIA. None of these terms, however, appear to have been applied to Chester, until the cessation of the Roman occupation in Britain. There appears to be reasonable grounds for believing that the letters were meant for DE, the former being reversed and attached to the E. If this be the correct explanation, it is remarkable for corroborating the entry in the 2nd *Iter* of Antonine:—"DEVA LEG. XX VICTRIX;" as well as for containing the name of the Station, as hitherto, London has been "the only instance of the preservation of the name of the city in an inscription."‡

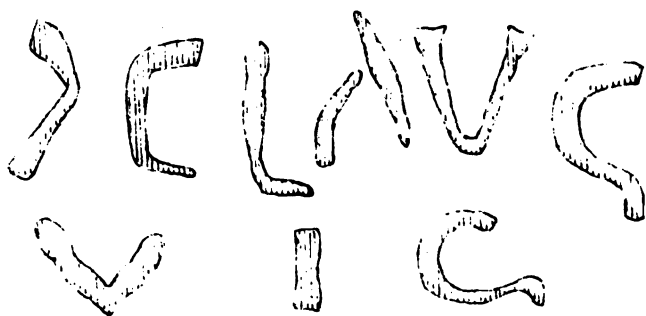
It is a singular fact, that out of the large number of legionary marks, on tiles dug up in Chester, scarcely two appear to have been struck from the same stamp:—whilst some are extremely rude in character,

* The first illustration of Cheshire antiquities, figured in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, is that of a legionary stamp. containing a single V; and in the MS. notes appended to the copy in the British Museum (probably in the handwriting of Dr. Ward, its original possessor), is the suggestion at p. 314, that "the letter V may be wanting, as not having taken the impression on the brick:" this explanation is, however, unnecessary, as the works of Goltz and Gruter contain numerous examples, of the formula of the 20th Legion being complete, without the second V; corroborated in the Chester specimen, by the presence of a line of enclosure, as seen in the plate.

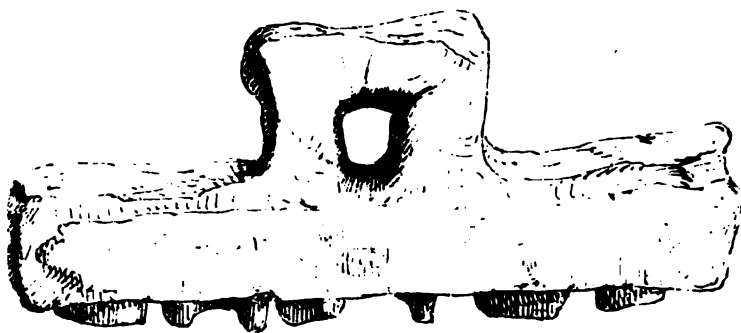
† A local example, from Mr. F. Potts' collection, is figured in the accompanying plate: another appears in a plate at p. 84 of vol. 1 of the *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*. In plate 23 of Lee's *Isca Silurum*, a reversed mark of the 2nd Legion is represented.

‡ C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 32. Although the junction of two, and even of three, letters, and also their reversal whether single or joined, are very common in Roman inscriptions, yet there appears to have been a repugnance to reverse the letter D, or to join it to others, which perhaps arose from some antipathy to alter its form or position, from being so frequently employed to denote a deity at the commencement of dedicatory and funeral inscriptions. A reversed D appears on the back of a painter's palette found at Wroxeter, and engraved in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 15, plate 28; and a banded example appears in a potter's stamp, figured in C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 101. These are the only examples yet met with, after a somewhat extensive research. This is perhaps the most important objection which can be urged against the attempted explanation of the legionary mark above described.

SIZE OF ORIGINAL.



FAC SIMILE OF IMPRESSION.



LEADEN STAMP, WITH RAISED LETTERS
FOUND IN CHESTER

IN THE MUSEUM OF FREDERIC POTTS ESQ.

Engraved by J. G. Smith

others are tolerably regular and graceful. It is further a matter of surprise, that none of the original stamps (i.e. of the legionary ones) have been discovered. That some of these may have been made of wood, stone, or baked clay, is by no means improbable; but a close examination of some of the impressions from them, tends rather to show that they were frequently constructed of lead. This metal is known to have been in common use by the Romans; and, according to Pliny, was so plentiful in Britain, that its exportation from that province was by law placed under a certain amount of restriction. The stamp was probably formed from a thick piece of lead, on the surface of which the letters were easily indented, by means of a blunt chisel struck with a hammer. In one of the marked tiles found in Bridge-street, the second V appears to have been formed a second time, from the first blows having been too slight.*

This plan of working the stamp serves partly to explain the origin of the reversed impressions, as a novice would be apt to forget that to obtain a correct consecutiveness of the letters, the form would have to be reversed in the stamp itself.†

An original Roman leaden stamp, possessing some peculiarities, was found in Chester a few years since, and fortunately found its way into the museum of Mr. F. Potts. It is of a square form, 3½ in. long by 1½ in. broad, and having a rudely perforated leaden handle. The inscription is contained in two lines, the first consisting apparently of the letters CLAVG, preceded by a centurial mark, and the second of VIC (*Centuria Claudii Augusti Victricis?*)‡

* In the accompanying plate, where this mark is figured, the first limb of the V is seen to be double. In two other examples, the G has a second curve appended to it, to distinguish it from a C, and which approximates closely in character to the primary curve, as though the same rounded chisel had been used for each purpose; and also, the ends of all the letters are bifurcated.

† In plate 23 of Lee's *Isca Silurum* is a singular example of a reversed inscription, the individual letters of which are not reversed.

‡ As represented in the accompanying plate, it will be noticed that the letters are raised, like ordinary printers' type, so that their impression would be sunken; this is just the reverse of what is usually found on tiles and pottery. The general character of the stamp approaches that of the potters' marks found on amphoræ and mortaria. (Vide C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, plate 50; Lee's *Isca Silurum*, plate 23, and woodcut at p. 22; a centurial mark in plate 41 of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; and plates 64 and 65, in vol. 3 of the Supplement to Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, which contains several representations of stamps and their impressions, some of which approximate in character to the Chester example.) It is somewhat hazardous to offer any

There is yet another point of interest connected with these stamps, namely, the *idea* of printing which they convey, but which, although, to a certain extent, practised in Assyria and Egypt long before the foundation of Rome, yet did not emerge from this idea until the 15th century; when, after having endured ages of darkness, it sprung forth to illumine the world with its dazzling rays, never to be dimmed until time shall be no more!

The first, simplest, and most common form of tile to notice is the ordinary square kind (*lateres*), found in immense numbers on almost every Roman site;—varying in size from 8in. square and 1in. thick, as at Bignor in Sussex, to 24in. square and 3in. thick found in Chester. They were used for all kinds of building purposes, their employment being partly governed by the presence of clay in or near the site, and partly by the readiness with which stone could be obtained. It is somewhat singular, however, that in Chester, where clay is abundant and the stone not particularly good, articles made from the former are comparatively rare. One of their chief uses was as bonding courses in walls, generally in beds of two or three layers in England, but on the continent usually more. Their presence is remarkably characteristic of Roman work, and must have afforded a pleasing relief to the eye, as all who have visited Wroxeter may perhaps recollect. Sometimes the entire wall was constructed of them, as in an example in Lower Thames-street, London.* It is singular, that, in all the Roman remains of Chester, we have no record of the discovery of any wall having these bonding courses; a peculiarity which will again come under our consideration when describing Roman masonry.

But they do not appear in Britain to have been used so extensively, as was the case on some parts of the continent, of which latter two examples may be noted. At the village of Cinq Mars, four leagues from Tours, there is a square column "upwards of ninety feet high, the shaft being about 4½ ft. square, except towards the base, where it expands to 17 ft. by 19 * * * built of tiles to the depth of 3 ft. on each face, the body being a concrete of great hardness."† At

* Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 2nd edit., p. 158.

† *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 4, pp. 11-12.

suggestion, as to the purpose for which this stamp was originally intended; nevertheless, when it is recollected that articles of daily consumption—as in the instance of loaves found in a baker's shop at Pompeii—were frequently impressed with a stamp, it does not appear altogether improbable that the example in question, was for the purpose of marking the bread made for a certain section of the Roman soldiers at Deva.

Frèjus, where "there is a well entirely built of Roman tile," there is a noble archway, the masonry having remarkably deep courses of bonding tiles, some of which contain as many as six layers.*

Tiles frequently entered into the formation of arches of windows, doors, gateways, &c.,—sometimes being confined to a single course, set at right angles to the radius of the arch, as in the archway at Frèjus, to which reference has already been made; or alternating with the proper stones of the arch as at Lillebonne; sometimes laid flat and overlapping each other, thus forming a pseudo-arch, as in the example discovered in London;† and frequently the entire arch is found constructed of these tiles, as in examples at London, Colchester, Wroxeter, &c.—When thus formed, there may be one, two, or even three circles of tiles. In none of the Roman arches hitherto discovered in Chester have tiles been employed.

Their next most common use was to form the pilæ, or small pillars of the hypocausts, as well as the basis of the floor supported by them. An example of this kind was found at that outpost to DEVA,—Caer-gwrlle,—during the last century.‡

The pillars were generally built of 8in. tiles, from 1½in. to 2in. thick, the first layer of tiles upon them from 12in. to 18in. square, and the uppermost 24in. square. This was the form of construction at Wroxeter, where, however, the tiles were loosely placed on each other—whilst in the instance of the one found on the site of the Corn Exchange, London, a layer of mortar intervened between each tile.§

In the Chester Bridge-street remains, some of the pillars in the third apartment, were constructed of these small tiles; and in all four of the rooms containing remains of hypocausts, the base of the floor supported by them, was constructed of tiles of the largest size; there

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 5, p. 23.

† *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 1, p. 45. A similar construction is met with in some hypocausts, of which examples are shown in plate 8 of Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, and also in plate 22, fig. 11, of Lee's *Isca Silurum*.

‡ At Caer-gwrlle was found "what could have been nothing more than an hypocaust begun by the Romans, who, as luxury increased into wealth, made great use of baths. It was five ells long, four broad, and about half an ell high. It was enclosed with walls of hewn stone, the pavement of brick set in mortar; on brick pillars rested a vault formed of polished tiles, and in several places perforated, on which stood brick fiefs, by which the heat was lessened, and as the poet expresses it, the hypocausts deepened the steam (*volvunt hypocaustas vaporem*).” The bricks had "Legio XX" stamped on them. (Gough's Edit. of Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 2. p. 589.)

§ *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4, p. 40.

was however a marked absence of fragments of this class of tiles amongst the rubbish covering the remains. At the Roman villa at Hartlip, the steps leading to some of the lower chambers were wholly composed of ordinary square tiles.*

They frequently formed the seats in the warm bath, as at Caerleon. At Wroxeter a large floor, supposed by Mr. Wright to have been a bath, was found constructed of them.† At the Bartlow hills in Essex, they assisted in the construction of some of the tombs.

Now it happens that in many of our English churches, more particularly in those situated in the southern and eastern portions of the country, there are examples of quoining, circular headed windows, walls, &c., partly or wholly constructed of Roman flat tiles, known to be such by the remains of Roman concrete still adhering to them; notwithstanding which, the existence of these materials must not be accepted as proof that the buildings were erected by the Romans. For instance, at the church of Lyminge, in Kent,‡ and that of All Saints, Brixworth, Northamptonshire,§ there are window arches, constructed of Roman tiles, associated with masonry of a much later date. At Lyminge there is also a small cupboard or almery, for holding some of the utensils used in the Roman Catholic service, formed wholly of them. At the west angles of the nave of the church of Bedfield, Suffolk, is a most singular example of early quoining, consisting of Roman tiles "placed alternately, horizontal and upright on the long and short principle, having at the point on which the roof rests five tiles disposed horizontally."¶

After the departure of the Romans, the art of tile making seems to have degenerated. Our associate, Mr. W. Beamont, tersely remarked that "the Saxons were mean builders; neither the structure nor the materials of a Saxon house were calculated for long duration, else would our Saxon ancestors, during their long sway in England, have left us more numerous, as well as more perfect remains of the buildings they erected for civil or religious purposes."¶ Instead of obtaining new materials, they appear to have been content with using those which had been already employed in the buildings of their predecessors, so that

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 10.

† *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 15, p. 223.

‡ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 5, p. 196.

§ *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 19, pp. 297 to 309.

¶ *Ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 117 to 120.

¶ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 291.

the presence of any Roman tiles, &c., in a church, is a sure indication of the presence of some Roman remains in the immediate locality. The very church of Lyminge in Kent, to which attention has just been drawn, is actually built over the ruins of a Roman building, the materials of which were extensively used in the erection of the subsequent ecclesiastical structure.

An apparent exception exists at Colchester, where the churches and old buildings generally, are found to contain a large number of what appear at first sight to be Roman tiles, but which are evidently of Saxon or Norman manufacture—being of a duller, darker red, less firm and compact, and having no traces of Roman concrete adhering to them.¹

Besides the square form, in London,² Gloucestershire,³ and at Verulamium,⁴ circular and semicircular tiles have been found. Some having a decorated moulding on one side were discovered at Caerleon,⁵ and at Castor.⁶

The next most common form were the roof tiles, the *tegula* (from which our English word *tile* is derived), the flat bricks we have just been describing being the *lateres*. These *tegula* are more frequently found with impressions of stamps, than any other kind of tile, and it was one of this kind found at Leicester that bore the stamp of the 8th Legion—a legion of which we have no record that it visited England at all, as it was stationed in Germany.⁷ They are oblong and square, varying from 15in. by 11in., to 18in. by 14in., and the sides are turned upwards to form flanges, in such a manner, that while the upper part of the tile is broad, the flange is narrow, the reverse of this being found at the lower part; moreover, the flange is notched at either end, to permit of the narrow portion of the upper tile overlapping, and fitting close to the broad end of the tile below. In moulding these tiles, the flanges appear to have been formed after the

1 This is the opinion of Mr. C. R. Smith. In *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 2, p. 316, and in *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 21, pp. 173-4, 234, 279, *et seq.* there are many references to these Colchester tiles. Rickman, in *Archæologia*, vol. 26, p. 31, remarks, that "it is not easy to discover whether the Roman bricks" found in church walls, "have been used before, and are the ruins of a former building, or were made for the purpose, and used new."

2 C. R. Smith's *Catalogue of his Museum*, p. 53.

3 Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, p. 334.

4 Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, art. *Brick*.

5 *Isca Silurum*, plate 22.

6 *The Durobrivæ of Antoninus*, by E. T. Artis, plate 14.

7 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 19, p. 46.

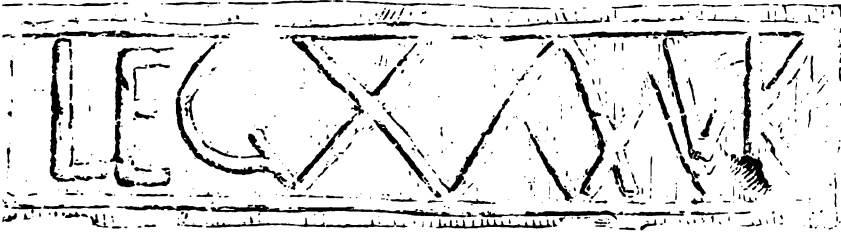
broad portion, the size of which was probably limited by a ridge of wood on either side, which also moulded the outer faces of the flanges. The upper and inner faces of these latter are very frequently found slightly grooved, by the moulder's thumb and fingers having been passed from one end to the other several times; after this, the notches appear to have been made, by cutting away portions of the flanges, with some rough cutting instrument.* They are rarely found decorated, the nearest approach to ornament being usually a semicircular mark at one end, apparently made by the fingers of the moulder.

When used for roofing purposes they were arranged in vertical rows parallel to each other, those below being overlapped by those next above, to the extent of the notches. The line of junction, however, of the various rows was incomplete, and, to make this secure, half round tiles, called *imbrices*, were so placed as to cover over the flanges of two contiguous *tegulae*, with their line of joint: and, like the *tegulae* they were made larger at one end than the other, so as to permit of the upper overlapping the next lower one.† From the large quantity of fragments of these two kinds of tiles, found in the rubbish at Bridge-street, there is but little doubt, that they were employed in the construction of the roof to the original buildings. Two of these fragments were impressed with the stamp of the 20th Legion.

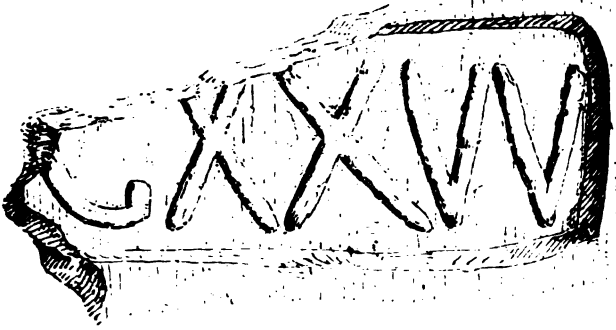
It is very evident that, along the lower edge of the roof so formed, an ungainly, as well as an unfinished appearance would be presented, by the section of the line of opening between the two kinds of tiles; to obviate which, it was customary to give the termination of each ridge an ornamental appearance, by a variety of architectural decoration called an *antefixa*; the front face of which usually bore some figure or ornament in relief. Many examples of these have been discovered in various parts of Chester, although none amongst the Bridge-

* In the plate of the *tegulae* showing the impressions of dogs' feet, it will be noticed that, in making the lower notch of the left side, the knife has left its mark on the body of the tile.

† Unlike them, however, in their broad portion being placed below instead of above. "Many of the houses of China have the roof covered with semicircular tiles resembling the Roman *imbrices*. They are ranged with their concave side uppermost, to serve as channels for the rain. Other tiles are then laid with their concave side downwards, so as to hide the joinings of the tiles. It is believed that this plan was derived from the use of split bamboos, as is customary among the Malays." (Syer Cuming, in *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 16, p. 359.)



1.



2.



3.



4.

NUMERARY MARKS 1, 2, (SIZE OF ORIGINAL) ON TEGULA —

FOUND IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER IN 1844. (note p. 27)

MAN, NUMERARY MARKS 3, 4. FOUND IN CHESTER — NOW

IN THE MUSEUM OF FRED^d POTTS ESQ. (note p. 27)

(notified 1844)



street remains.* It appears highly probable that in England the rain descended from the roof direct from the *tegula*; but in the great classic cities, it is known that there was a *canalis* or gutter, from which the rain water was discharged, through openings therein, usually made to represent the heads of animals, particularly that of the lion. In the house of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii, several representations of frogs in terra cotta were found, which Sir William Gell describes as being "evidently hollowed so as to serve for spouts to the roof of the portico."†

This form of roof covering is still common in Italy at the present day, and at Pompeii is used to roof over some of the ancient remains there. There seems to be but little doubt, that it still exists in England under the degraded form of the common *pantile*, so general in use before the prevalent employment of slates, and which is evidently a combination, in one tile, of the Roman *tegula* and *imbrex*.

In Roman Britain, this was the most common kind of roofing employed in the midland and southern parts, whilst in the northern districts, and in most places where thin *laminæ* of stone were obtainable, another form was in common use, consisting of slates at the stations on the Wall and at Cirencester, of micaceous sandstone at Bath, Wroxeter, and Caerleon, and in the Isle of Wight of a material similar to Portland stone;—but whatever the kind of natural substance employed, it was cut into the form of elongated hexagons, the long axis downwards, having at the upper angle, a hole for the nail by which it was fastened to the roof timbers. The nail used was of the clout form, and is often found still remaining in the hole. Placed in position, these slabs so overlapped each other as to form a series of squares, with the angles downwards, and when formed of micaceous sandstone, they must have presented a very glistening appearance in the sunshine. At Bath they averaged in weight 5 lbs. each, and measured about 1 ft. wide and 18 in. long.‡ This kind of roofing is still to be met with in use at Trèves.

The *tegulae* are occasionally found to construct the channel of a

* Several of these are preserved in the collection of Mr. F. Potts, and are ornamented with the figure of a boar, over which are the letters LEG. XX, the whole being partly, or completely, transfixd by the pole of a *labarum* with its terminal ornament. One is represented in the plate facing page 423 of vol. 1 of our Society's *Journal*; two others form illustrations to the present paper; and one is figured in the *Journal* of the *British Archaeological Association*, vol. 5, p. 231.

† Gell's *Pompeii*, vol. 1, p. 169.

‡ Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 123.

drain, as at Wroxeter;¹ whilst the semicircular *imbrex* at Towcester appears to have answered a similar purpose.²

In several places in England, Roman tombs have been discovered built of roofing tiles; a triangular space, enclosing the urn, &c., being formed of two rows of inclining *tegulae* towards each other, all the joints being covered with *imbrices*. Several examples have been disinterred at York, and are figured in Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*. Another from the same locality, found in 1845, is now in the Museum of the late T. Bateman, Esq., at Yolgrave, in Derbyshire, and was of large size. It consisted of 21 of these *tegulae*, each measuring 21in. by 15½in. It contained a skeleton, the skull of which rested upon a semicircular tile—in this instance all the tiles bore the stamp of the 6th Legion ("LEG.VI.VIT.P.F."); the head-quarters of which, were at York. Similar tombs, over soldiers of the 8th Legion, have been found at Strasbourg. In Chester, during the last few years, several tombs of this description have been unearthed,—the first was situated in the Infirmary field, and was of small size, being formed of three *tegulae* on either side.³ Others were subsequently found in the same field. One was also discovered immediately *within* the Roman portion of the City Walls, just behind the Dee Stands.⁴

In a cemetery in Essex, the Hon. R. Neville found a wall built of stones and mortar, and faced with "large square Roman flanged tiles, with the flanges turned inwards, so as to present a smooth, sloping surface," lying close to which were two skeletons.⁵ Whilst in an example found in London, these roof tiles had served the office of covers to a grave formed in concrete.⁶

Tegulae have been found forming part of the ceiling of the hypocaust in London,⁷ and at Cirencester.⁸ In the walls at Richborough

1 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 15, p. 217.

2 *Ibid*, vol. 7, p. 113.

3 This is the one referred to in the foot-note at p. 17.

4 A few years since a funeral urn of Roman form, of black pottery, 7in. in height, and containing burnt bones, was found in making excavations in Northgate-street, and is now in the Water Tower Museum. Much has been written upon the practice of the Romans in enforcing *extra-mural* interments, yet these Chester instances prove that they were occasionally *intra-mural* also. Similar examples have been found in London.

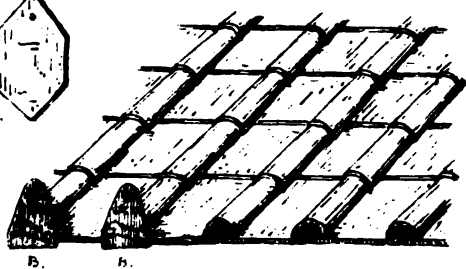
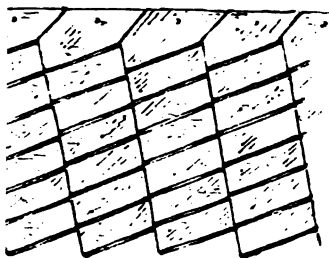
5 *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 14, p. 63.

6 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 20, p. 298.

7 *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 5, p. 28.

8 Buckman and Newmarch's *Cirencester*, p. 64.

ROMAN.



SLATE-FLAS ROOF

A. SINGLE SLATE

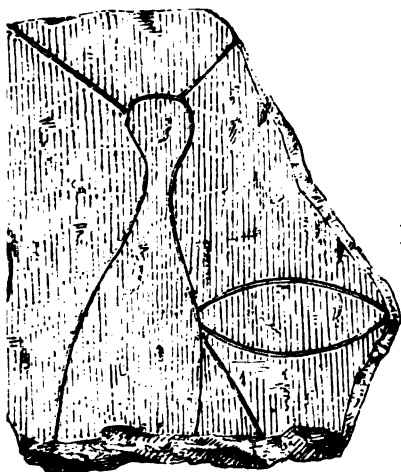
TILE ROOF

B. D. ANTEFIXES (vide p. 26)

URN OF
POTTERY.



FOUND IN
NORTHGATE ST:
HEIGHT 7 INCHES.
(vide p. 26)



URINE FIGURE INCISED ON
A TEGULA.

IN THE MUSEUM OF F. POTTERY.



TEGULA WITH CURVILINE MARK AND
IMPRESSION OF DOGS FEET. (vide p. 26)

See p. 26

and Lymne in Kent,¹ as well as in those of the villa at Woodchester,² they are met with, having been employed as bonding tiles in lieu of the ordinary flat *lateres*. In a hypocaust of the same villa they were used instead of flue tiles, the flanged portion being turned to the wall.

At a Roman villa at Wheatley, near Oxford, they formed the foundation courses of a small wall; and they had been used for a similar purpose at Preston, near Weymouth.³

A *tegula* of a very singular form, found in Chester, is now in the Water Tower Museum:—it is difficult to assign its particular use.

Cylindrical pipes, with sockets very similar to modern draining pipes, and used for a similar purpose, have been found in London.⁴

Flue tiles, as their name implies, were for the purpose of acting as flues for conveying the smoke and heated air from the hypocausts to the walls of the apartments, &c., requiring to be warmed, and ultimately for permitting the discharge of the smoke into the external air. As generally found, their shape is that of a four sided, oblong, hollow square, having usually one or more small lateral openings:—their general dimensions are 16in. to 20in. long, 6½in. deep, and 4½in. wide. One or more of their surfaces is invariably marked with patterns of different kinds, sometimes consisting of a simple diamond form, cut in by some blunt tool; and sometimes of a series of parallel lines, straight, or more frequently waving, made by some tooth shaped instrument. In London, and the South parts of England, they are frequently found highly ornamented, having been stamped instead of hand marked, as in the foregoing instances—the pattern being sometimes of geometric form, but occasionally representing flowers and foliage, animals, and even the maker's initials. "Upon some found at Plaxtol, in Kent, the word CAMBRIABANTVS is repeated over the entire side,"⁵ whilst others discovered at Silchester were marked "with inscriptions rudely scratched upon the clay before baking."⁶ Notwithstanding all this elaborate surface decoration, the object was simply to roughen it, so that the concrete, with which it was finally covered, should cling to it with greater tenacity, as the tiles when in position were not exposed to view.

1 C. R. Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough*, pp. 34–255.

2 Lysons' *Account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester*, plate 26.

3 *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 1, p. 354.

4 C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 116.

5 *Ibid*, p. 116.

6 Wright's *Archaeological Album*, p. 152.

Some portions of flue tiles, with a wavy pattern, were found amongst the Bridge-street remains. Flue tiles having two channels are occasionally found. One of this kind was dug up in St. John's Churchyard in 1864. A second example (*vide* plate) was discovered a few years since during the alterations of the premises, partly covering the site of the 'Roman Bath,' in Bridge-street, and is peculiar for having a lateral opening, of 2in. diameter on each side of the front channel, and none in the back one, as though the latter had been intended for conveying a separate supply of heat to an upper room.¹

Other shapes have also been met with:—some large, equal sided, rectangular ones were dug up in London,² and portions of a similar form have been found amongst the ruins at Wroxeter. At Trèves, some of circular form still remain in their original position;³ and at Bath some of a similar kind were discovered which, Mr. Scarth suggests, when two were cemented together, would "form part of a cylindrical column."⁴ At the same city some were also dug up, shaped like the keystone of an arch.

The Romans did not scruple to adapt roofing and other tiles to all kinds of building purposes, other than those for which they were originally intended, and we find that flue tiles formed no exception to this rule. For instance, at Cirencester⁵ and at the Roman villa at Hartlip, in Kent,⁶ they had been employed in their hollow state as hypocaust pillars. In London they had been used for a similar purpose, after having had their interiors filled with concrete.⁷ They

1 This tile is preserved in Mr. F. Potts' collection. Its measurements are 11½in. high, 7in. broad, and 13in. deep. Its front surface is rudely incised, of a diamond pattern. At the back part of one of its sides is a rust stain, probably the mark of the iron cramp which secured the tile to the wall. It had last served the purpose of ordinary building material, its interior being filled with concrete; this was the case, also, with the other Chester example mentioned above. In Mr. C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 114, is a woodcut of a double flue tile without lateral openings, the front face bearing a stamped pattern.

2 C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 115.

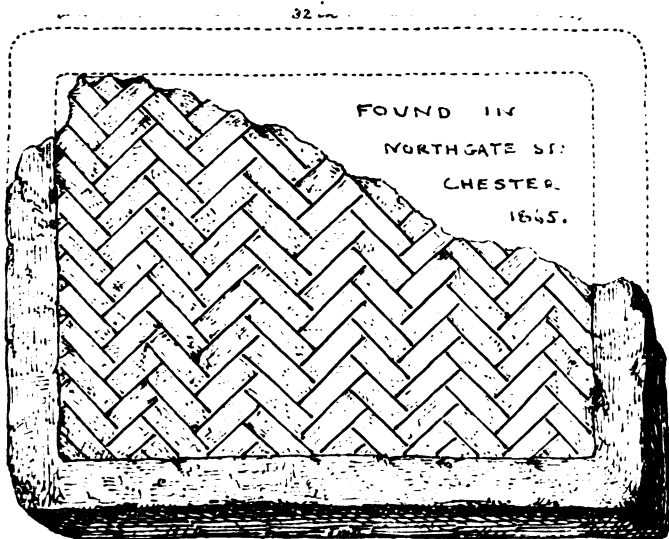
3 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, plate 26.

4 *Roman Bath*, p. 96 and plate 36. May not these tiles have been used singly to form a semicircular pilaster on the face of the wall? An example of a square pilaster is noticed in Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 237.

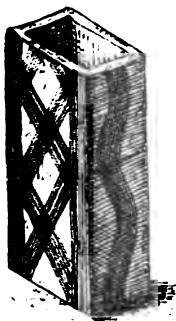
5 *Illustrations of Roman Art in Cirencester*, by Buckman and Newmarch, p. 65.

6 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 6.

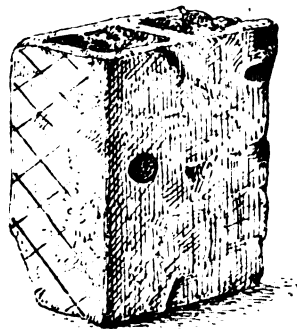
7 C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 116.



HERRING-BONE PAVEMENT *vide p. 22*

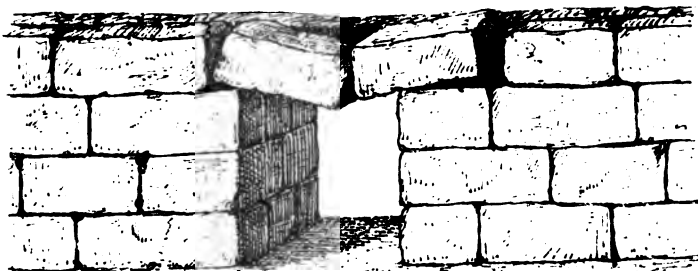


SINGLE.



DOUBLE.

FLUE TILES. CHESTER EXAMPLES. *vide p. 22*

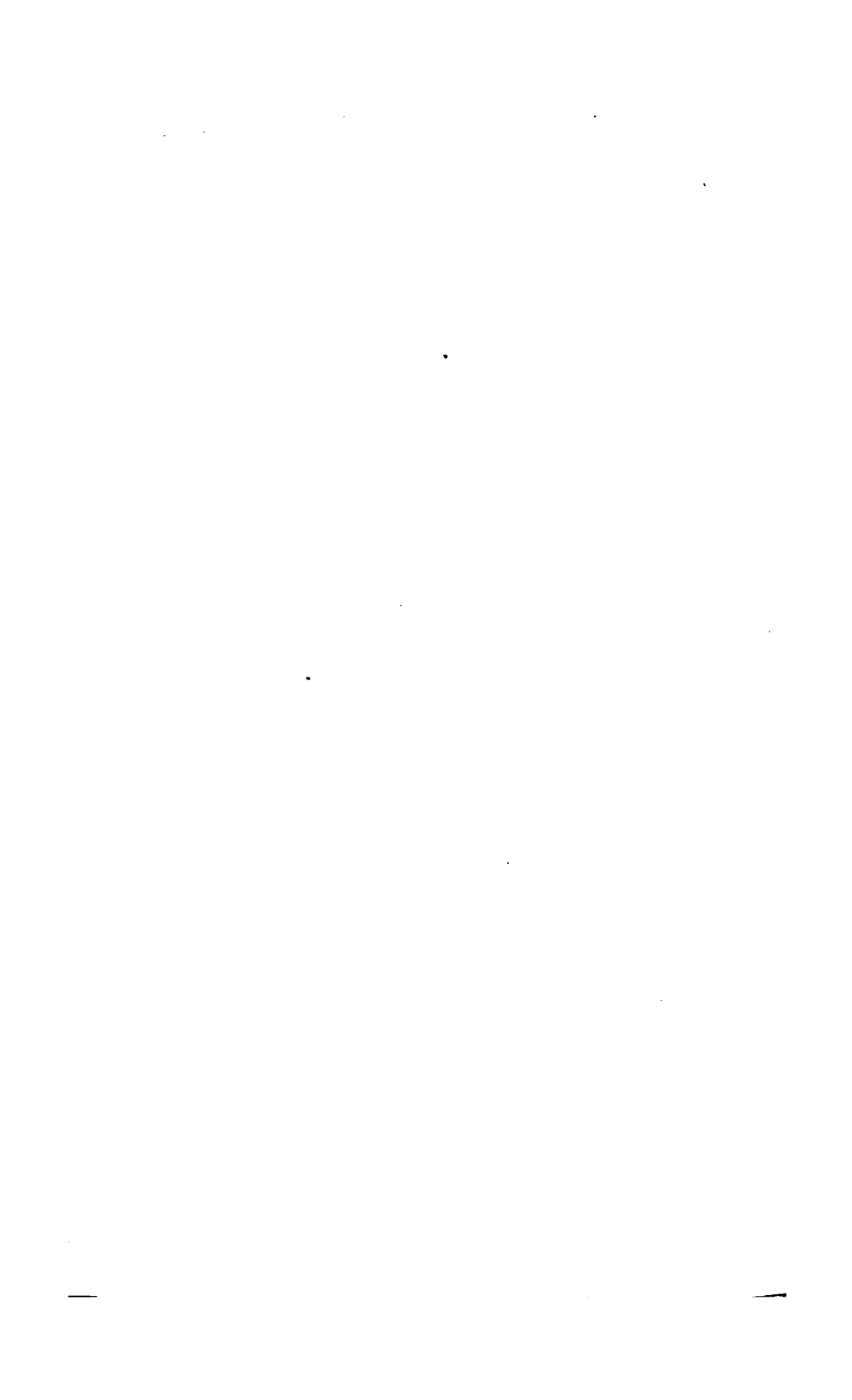


MASONRY WITH SQUARE OPENING.

MAIN WALL, 50 ft. high.

BRIDGE STREET, CHESTER. 1844.

W. G. Smith del.



formed the seat of a bath at Hartlip.¹ At a villa in Shropshire,² and at Caerleon,³ they had served the purpose of drains, and, at this latter place, they had also been made use of as ordinary building material in wall construction.

We now pass to a consideration of ROMAN PAVEMENTS, under which heading we include, not only all the floors of the residences, but also those of the court yards, offices, and even of the streets, for it is sometimes difficult to state unto which of these heads we can assign some particular specimen. We will first notice those which were generally, although not invariably, employed for out door use; and the first to be mentioned are those of the main roadways, which were commonly of ordinary *boulders*. Much of this kind of pavement has been uncovered at Wroxeter, and in several parts of Chester also. At the Eastgate, two of such pavements were discovered during some excavations made there—one was three feet below the surface, and was probably mediæval; the second was at a depth of nine feet, and was the original Roman.⁴ At Pompeii, the roadway was paved with thick irregular polygonal flags;⁵ at Caerleon⁶ ordinary squared flags were found in a kind of courtyard; and on the west side of Bridge-street, Chester, on the site of Mr. Welsby's premises, at the south-east corner of the passage anciently known as *Pierpoint Lane*, leading from Bridge-street to the old *Common Hall*, a similar pavement was discovered. Flags were, however, frequently used for the floors of apartments, more especially at the stations at Hadrian's Wall; whilst, at Caerleon, one apartment was "paved with slabs of slate 5½ft. in length, 3ft. in width, and from 1½in. to 2in. in thickness."⁷

Another description of paving, commonly employed for enclosed courts connected with houses, was known to the Romans as the *spicata testacea* (from its resemblance to a *spica*, or ear of corn), and by the moderns usually called herring-bone pavement—the alternate rows being placed at right angles to each other. The small tiles forming it more nearly approach the character of our bricks, than is the case with any other of the Roman baked clay manufactures, and generally

1 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 8.

2 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 13, p. 176.

3 J. E. Lee's *Notice of Roman Buildings at Caerleon*, pp. 12-13.

4 *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 82-3.

5 *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. *Via*.

6 J. E. Lee's *Notice of Roman Buildings at Caerleon*, p. 8.

7 *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4, p. 260.

measure about 4½ in. long, by 1 in. thick, by 2½ in. wide. They appear to have been very roughly moulded. Those who have visited Wroxeter will probably recollect the enormous extent to which this kind of pavement was employed; the *basilica*, a large open court, measuring 226 ft. long by 30 ft. wide (now covered up), was wholly paved with it.* In London,† also, it appears to have been common.

In the Bridge-street remains, a small portion of herring-bone pavement was found at the extreme Eastern end of the excavations, intermingled with plain tiles; the whole of this appeared to have been very much worn, and was patched in several places. A great deal of care had been bestowed upon its construction, as the rock had been bared, then sandstone rubble had been spread over it, followed by a thick layer of concrete, upon which the pavement was laid. Its existence enables us to assign this portion of the original site to have formed part of an open court. The only record we possess of a similar pavement having been discovered in this city appears in the pages of Ormerod, (vol. 1, p. 295), where it is stated that in some excavations in 1779, in Watergate-street, a place was found "floored with tiles 4½ in. by 2½ in., set edgeways."‡ Plain square tiles were in very common use for both out and in-door pavements. At Birdoswald,§ some of lozenge shape were found.

We now come to consider the proper pavements of the rooms of Roman houses, which, to use the words of Vitruvius, were "the principal of the finishings, and should be executed with the greatest care and attention to their solidity." It may here be mentioned that a wooden floor was rarely used by the Romans in Italy, whilst in Britain we have not a particle of evidence that they were ever employed by them.

The floors of rooms have been divided into two classes—1. Those made on the ordinary surface of the ground; and 2 those raised from

* In all allusions to the Roman city of Uriconium (Wroxeter), the paper of Mr. Horatio Lloyd in vol. 2 of this Society's *Journal*, pp. 309—28, may be referred to with great advantage. In one of the plates accompanying it is figured a specimen of a herring-bone pavement.

† C. R. Smith's *Catalogue of his Museum*, p. 58.

‡ During the year 1865, in excavating for a new building on the east side of Northgate-street, a very perfect though small specimen of pavement of this kind was exhumed. It measured 32 in. by 21 in., and was found imbedded in a square block of sandstone, in shape and form like an ordinary sinkstone, the elevated edges of which were on a level with the tiles comprising the pavement, to which they formed a margin.

§ Bruce's *Wallet Book of the Roman Wall*, p. 26.

the latter by small pillars (*pilæ*), so that a large cavity existed beneath, to which the name of "hypocaust" is usually assigned. This latter kind, from the circumstance of its being suspended as it were from the surface of the ground, was called *Suspensura*; but this form of construction affords us no precise clue to the kind of finished surface of the pavement, although, generally speaking, it was of the tessellated kind. At Wroxeter, the only pavements of this class that were found did not have hypocausts; whilst at Cirencester,* one room, having a tessellated pavement, was found to have a hypocaust under one portion and not under another.

Whatever the kind of floor to be made, the same general process was used in all, and the greatest care taken in every stage of it. Where there was no hypocaust, the ground was prepared by ramming and beating, to prevent any subsequent sinking, and to secure dryness. Upon this was placed a layer of broken bricks, tiles, rock, or any hard material. From this stage the process was the same, whether the floor to be constructed had a hypocaust or not. The next layer was usually a thick one, and generally consisted of 4in. to 6in. of concrete, made of coarsely powdered tiles, small gravel, or *well washed* sand and *fresh* lime. Modern bricklayers usually employ earthy unwashed sand, and lime that has been slacked for many days; no wonder is it, therefore, that their mortar soon becomes friable! Our great railway and embankment contractors have actually had to copy the Roman system of making concrete, on purpose to make their work durable. After the first layer had become thoroughly set and hard, a second layer was spread over it, in which the materials mixed with the lime had been more finely powdered. These three layers, according to Professor Buckman,† were the *Statumen*, *Rudus* and *Nucleus* constituting the *Rudratio* of Vitruvius.

The surface of this second layer was frequently rubbed smooth, forming the finish of the pavement, as at Wroxeter, where nearly all rooms of the public building uncovered there, were floored upon this plan—resembling somewhat the lime-ash floors used for barns and cottages at the present day, in those counties where lime is plentiful. We have met with no specimens of this kind in Chester. In some places the upper layer was dispensed with, and the layer of *statumen* left by itself, as at Ickleton,‡ and at Mincing Lane, London.§ In

* *Vide* woodcut and description in Buckman and Newmarch's *Corinium*.

† *Ibid*, p. 69.

‡ *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, p. 359.

§ *Ibid*, vol. 5, pp. 442-3.

others, square pieces of blue slate or stone were imbedded in the surface, as at Caerleon.*

We now have to notice those important and interesting remains of Roman art—the Tesselated Pavements. These may be described as consisting of small pieces of natural or artificial stone or glass, of various colors, strongly cemented together, to form an even floor, with a smooth polished surface. They were generally arranged in some pattern varying from the most simple arrangement of lines, to the highest artistical representation of natural objects. They were in such general use, that Roman remains are rarely unearthed, without some traces of these works of art being found; and, in fact, one of the first indications of the vicinity of a Roman station is the presence in the ploughed land, of the fragments of pottery, mingled with the *tesselæ* of some broken up pavement. It was called by the ancients *opus musivum* or *musiacum*, (hence our word *mosaic*) to distinguish it from *lithostrotum*, which was composed of marbles of various colors, cut into accurate squares, circles, &c., so as to form *accurate* geometrical figures—an attribute not possessed by the ordinary tessellated pavement, which latter, however, was often surrounded by the former, like a picture in its frame.†

The word *tesselated* comes from the Greek, signifying a square or cube, *Tessella* (*Tessérula* also) being its diminutive. So that, literally, tessellated means composed of small squares, cubes, or dies, a description not strictly applicable to the *tesselæ* as we find them; for they have usually an irregular square or even polygonal face (sometimes triangular), more frequently oblong than cubical. But with respect to each of these qualities, as well as to the size also, they vary very considerably in the pattern of the same pavement: the effect of this irregularity having been, to give the Roman artist greater freedom in the treatment of the subject he wished to represent.

The quality of the pavement appears to have determined the general size of the *tesselæ*, which were smallest in the representations of animals and scenes,—larger in the intricate and many colored geometric patterns,—still larger where the colors were limited to two or three, and largest of all in the borders; and vary in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, or even less, to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Those derived from natural sources appear to have been rudely squared by means of a blunt chisel, as the sides are almost invariably rough; the upper surface or face was probably

* *Description of a Roman Building at Caerleon*, by J. E. Lee, p. 12.

† *Smith's Classical Dictionary*, art. *Pictura*.

smoothed before the laying process, so as the better to enable the artist to judge of his progress with regard to effect.

The method of laying the tessellæ appears to have been very simple. After the formation of the *rudratio* floor already described, a thin layer of cement, composed almost wholly of fresh lime used in a liquid state, was spread over a small surface, and the tessellæ were then bedded singly in it, so that all the joints were filled with the cement. The sides of the tessellæ being rough, and their lengths varying, would have the effect of making them set better, and less likely to loosen subsequently. In the case of any pattern or figure, this was first formed, and one or two rows of tessellæ, forming the ground, then followed all its inequalities, after which they were filled in irregularly. When the whole was dry and hard, the surface was rubbed smooth and polished.

They were probably constructed by artists who devoted their whole time to this branch of practical art, as it must have required great tact and patience to have constructed them evenly and correctly with regard to the pattern; moreover there is a wonderful similarity in their construction through all parts of England. Suetonius states that Julius Cæsar carried the materials for making these pavements as part of the military baggage.*

The tessellæ are met with in all colors, the greyish black, white, and red being the most common, but whatever tints were required in the more artistic forms, they always appear to have been obtained. If a natural stone of the wished for color was not to be had, they procured it from artificial sources;—if the material was not obtainable in England, it was imported from the Continent. The *white* tessellæ were composed of chalk, white lias, or white marble, the *grey*, *slate colored*, or *black* of dark colored lias, and the *red* of baked clay (*terra cotta*).†

The *white*, on account of its soft nature, was rarely used by itself, nor was the *grey* or *black*, on account of its dreary appearance; but the two combined were very common, the patterns being usually of simple form, nearly all of the Wroxeter examples being of this kind, as well as those found recently in Chester. The black was frequently em-

* Quoted in C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 51.

† After a careful examination of some of the tessellæ found in Bridge-street, Chester, which Mr. John Morris, the Professor of Geology in University College, London, was good enough to make, he expressed the opinion that the greyish kind were from the lias, "and possibly from Warwickshire;" whilst the white consisted of chalk, and "may have come from Yorkshire or Lincoln, or it might have been cut from blocks of chalk from the boulder clay which covers many parts of the midland counties."

ployed as a border. From the circumstance of the white wearing away more rapidly than the black, the distinction between the two can often be noted, by merely passing the hand over the pavement. The red was frequently employed by itself in common rooms and passages, as at Wroxeter, Isle of Wight, Hartlip, &c., or as a surrounding border to the pavements of better class; in either case the tessellæ were large and coarse. Sometimes coarse white were intermingled with the red.

Pavements containing these three kinds of tessellæ were very common, the pattern frequently exhibiting some knot-work or simple geometric form, as in an example at Wroxeter,¹ and another at Caerleon;² and in these cases the tessellæ were large: one, however, was found on the site of the East India House, London, where the tessellæ were only $\frac{1}{4}$ in. square, and arranged in no very intelligible pattern.³ These were the three prevailing colors, but black, chocolate, cream tint, all shades of red, green, and blue have also been found.

Whenever found suitable, the artists employed materials from the locality, e.g. at a Roman villa in Sussex,⁴ Kentish rag tessellæ were used, whilst at Caerwent⁵ they were of sandstone. At Cirencester the dark colored, "judging from an ammonite shell found in one of the tessellæ," were obtained from a band of argillaceous limestone which separates "the bed of lias shale in the Vale of Gloucester."⁶ Burnt clay furnished two shades of red, and one black. Some were probably imported from abroad, as in two kinds found at Wroxeter.⁷

In the highest class of pavements, glass tessellæ were occasionally used. Of this material, some of a blue color were found at Isurium.⁸ Roman pavements exhumed in London have in several instances contained blue or purple, and green glass tessellæ;⁹ whilst at Cirencester,¹⁰ some of a ruby tint were discovered.

With regard to the patterns, they are almost as numerous as the pavements themselves, it being very rare to find two alike. Com-

1 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 17, p. 108.

2 Lee's *Iscia Silurum*, plate 26. A similar one is figured in plate 36 of Scarth's *Roman Bath*.

3 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 19, p. 64.

4 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, p. 92.

5 Paper on *Excavations at Caerwent*, by Mr. O. Morgan, in vol. 36 of *Archæologia*, pp. 432 to 437.

6 Buckman and Newmarch's *Antient Corinium*, p. 52.

7 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 17, pp. 107-8.

8 H. E. Smith's *Reliquiæ Isuriana*, plate 18.

9 C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, pp. 57-8.

10 Buckman and Newmarch's *Antient Corinium*, p. 53.

mening with those of a simple chequer, we pass on to simple and then to complicated geometric forms, followed by representations of vegetable and animal life, and inscriptions. At Towcester one was found decorated with red crosses, of which, according to Mr. Pretty,* "there is no doubt of the sacred character of the emblem of the cross," probably "intended for that of Constantine." One at Woodchester contained the words *Bonum Eventum, Bini C(olite)*. (*Bonum Eventum Bene Colite*) "an admonition to pay proper regard to *Bonus Eventus*, the god of good luck."† The finest pavements discovered in England have been principally on the sites of Roman villas, the houses of the wealthy Romans, as at Woodchester (Gloucester), Bignor (Sussex), East Coker (Somerset), Bramdean (Hants), &c., situated at some distance from towns.

The pavements of the latter are frequently found common and coarse in their construction, as in the instances of Wroxeter, York, and Bath, whilst in the single villas in the suburbs, as in the case of Isurium, which appears to have been a kind of large suburb to York, they were pictorial in the highest degree. Very beautiful ones, however, have been found in London, Leicester, Colchester, Cirencester, &c., none of which towns appear to have been large or important military stations.

Many of the Continental examples are much finer than any found in England; one, discovered at Autun, and representing "Bellerophon killing the Chimæra," was exhibited a few years ago in London, and was one of the finest ever seen. Pliny‡ describes a remarkable one made by Sosus of Pergamus, representing an unswept hall, "in such a way as to resemble the crumbs and scraps that fell from the table, and such like things as are usually swept away, as if they were still left by negligence upon the pavement." A most beautiful one was found at Pompeii, the subject being the master of the chorus instructing the actors in their parts.§

These pavements were intended for interiors only, so that, when one is discovered, we at once conclude that it has formed the floor of some covered apartment, in the same way that we look upon the presence of herring-bone pavement as evidencing an open court. It

* *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 7, p. 110.

† C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 53. Plate 8 of Lee's *Isca Silurum* contains a representation of a memorial stone to Fortune and "*Bonus Eventus*;" and the god of "good luck" is mentioned in an inscription found at Durham. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 296.

‡ Quoted in Knight's *Popular Pompeii*, p. 324.

§ Gell's *Pompeii*, vol. 1, plate 45.

unfortunately happens that whenever the moderns imitate the works of the ancients, they almost always appear to overlook some important point: a striking exemplification of this occurred a few years ago when an attempt was made to pave the area of the New Royal Exchange in London with tessellated work, "when the first frost disintegrated the tessellæ and compelled the adoption of a more suitable pavement."* One of the best modern examples, is at the entrance to the Pompeian Court at the Crystal Palace, and is an imitation of the one found at Pompeii, described in Gell's work (vol. 1, p. 145), as "a black dog spotted with white, * * collared and chained, and in the attitude of barking. The collar is of red leather. Below the animal is inscribed in very legible character, "CAVE CANEM."

Tessellated work was not confined to the floors of Roman houses in Britain. At Chesterton, white tessellæ formed the lining of the lower part of the room of a Roman building.† At Wroxeter, in one room the wall was faced with this work, "instead of fresco painting, the lower edge of which represented a guilloche border, and still remains;" whilst in another apartment the wall was tessellated in a kind of black and white chequer pattern.‡ At the same place the bottom of a bath consisted of white tessellæ, and is about the prettiest thing to be seen among the present remains there. A bath having its floor similarly constructed was discovered at a Roman villa at Box, not far from the Roman station of *Aquæ Solis*.§

Prior to those discovered in Bridge-street, we have but few notices of the discovery of any tessellated pavements in Chester. One "about 5 ft. square was discovered in the year 1803, about 6 ft. below the surface of the earth in digging a cellar in the Nuns' Gardens near the Castle,"|| which appears to have been of a coarse kind. One was discovered in Watergate-street in 1779, which, according to Hemingway,¶ was "composed of black, white, and red tiles, about an inch square." In 1854, during the alterations at Messrs. Becketts' premises in Bridge-street, over the site of the so termed "Roman Bath," a portion of pavement of black and white tessellæ was discovered, a large

* C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 40.

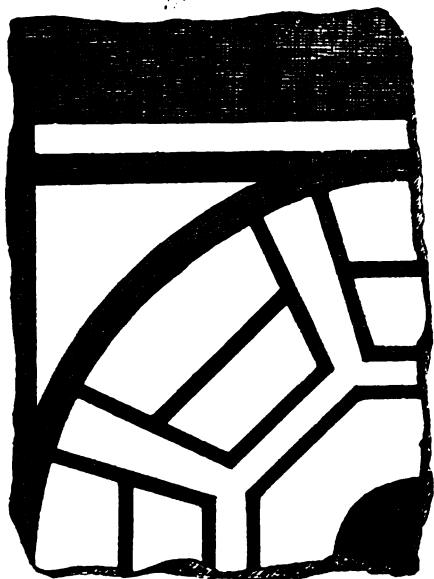
† Artis's *Durobriva*, plate 26.

‡ Wright's *Guide to Wroxeter*, 4th edit., pp. 45-52. *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 16, p. 159.

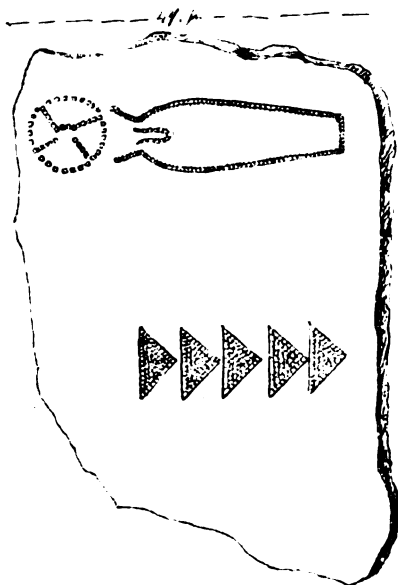
§ Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 119.

|| Lysons' *Cheshire*, p. 428; and Hemingway's *Chester*, vol. 2, p. 350.

¶ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 353.

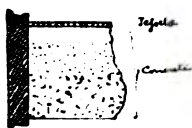


side room B in plan.

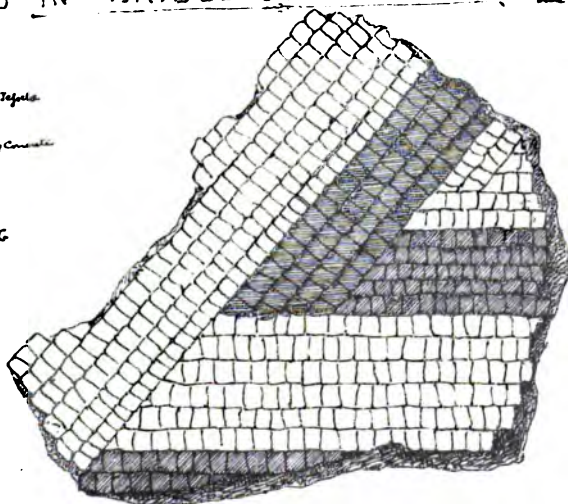


side room D in plan.

FOUND IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER IN 1863.4. side pp 29-30



SANDSTONE SKIRTING
(Section - side p. 50)



FOUND OVER 'ROMAN BATH' IN
BRIDGE ST. CHESTER IN 1854 side p. 30

TESSELLATED PAVEMENT.

Greenfield, N.B.

fragment of which is still preserved in the Museum of our Archaeological Society.*

We will now briefly describe the pavements uncovered during the recent excavations in Bridge-street. Commencing with the first room, where so many hypocaust pillars were discovered, although much of the original concrete of the floor was still present, yet there were no signs of tessellæ, although it is highly probable that a pavement of this kind had originally existed, as the concrete averaged 9in. in thickness only; whilst in that of the rooms adjoining, it measured nearly 1 foot. I have already described the concrete of these pavements as consisting of three layers,—in this instance the upper, as well as a portion of the next layers, had been removed. The second room contained the first tessellated pavement that was discovered, and although a fragment only was found, yet it was sufficient to enable us to judge of the design. It consisted of a black circular centre, surrounded by a black octagonal figure enclosed in a black circular band, followed by a straight one, all the interspaces being white; and on the side next the wall, between it and the first room, a broad black border. The fragment measured 10ft. by 7ft., not one-sixth the size of the apartment as exposed to view, and even this small portion was very much shaken and denuded of tessellæ in parts. The tessellæ were black and white, (composed of dark lias and chalk), and each averaged three-fifths of an inch square. Some idea may be formed of the immense number of these that must have been employed, when it is stated that the fragment of this pavement contained nearly 17,000.† The deep black border shows a very common method of filling in round the margin of the finished pattern.‡ The centre was formed by four circles of tessellæ as a border, and the remainder in straight lines.§

* It is mentioned in the *Chester Archaeological Journal*, vol. 1, p. 356. A sketch of it is given in the accompanying plate, in which is delineated with tolerable accuracy the linear arrangement of the tessellæ. Since the delivery of the lecture, another fragment of pavement of similar kind and execution has been found on the east side of Northgate-street, at the north corner of the lower passage leading to the Cathedral. It had been formed on the solid rock.

† One of the pavements of the Woodchester villa, engraved in the large work of Lysons', measured 48ft. 10in. square, and "could not have contained less than a million and a half" of tessellæ.

‡ One of the best examples is shown in the plate, which accompanies Mr. Maw's Paper on the "Pavements of Uriconium," in the *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 17, p. 100.

§ In the Ground Plan of the Remains, this fragment is seen to be about one-fourth of a definite geometric figure, and is placed close up to the south-west

The second pavement was nearly 14½ft. long and 5½ft. broad, and occupied nearly the entire site of the smaller inner apartment. It consisted of broad black bands, varying from 17in. to 21½in. in width, separated by white bands, each 5½in. wide, and bordered by another white band. Its remaining characters were similar to those of the one just described.

The third pavement, although composed of the same kind of tessellæ, was so peculiar in its pattern that I wish to draw especial attention to it.* It was of irregular shape, was 7ft. in its longest, and 4½ft. in its widest measurements; but, unfortunately, compared with the size of the room, formed a small portion only of the original floor. Its ground consisted of black tessellæ, in which white ones had been inserted in a very singular manner—on one side there were five white triangles, measuring 1ft. in their long axis and 6in. in their short, and bearing a close resemblance to the ornamental borders of some pavements exhumed in other parts of this country. On the opposite side there was a figure, 2ft. 8in. in length, formed of a single row of white tessellæ, shaped something like a mediæval coffin, and containing in its narrow portion, an ampulla looking figure. Above this was a small circle with four irregular spokes, composed of single rows of tessellæ. I must confess that this example has been a perfect puzzle to me, and I therefore can scarcely even suggest an explanation. The white tessellæ may have been inserted at a period subsequent to the original laying down of the pavement. It may have been a mere vagary on the part of the artist, although this is scarcely probable.†

There are evidences of another pavement at the East end of the remains, having the same general character as the other three.

* I was not in Chester at the time of its discovery, but very fortunately a gentleman, well versed in Roman antiquities (Mr. John Peacock), was on the spot at the time, and he both measured and sketched it, so that as to the correctness of the drawing now exhibited, there cannot be a reasonable doubt.

† It may be here mentioned as a singular fact that skeletons, which had evidently been interred in a regular way, have been discovered beneath tessellated pavements at Towcester (*British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 7, p. 108) and London (C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 58.)

corner, that being as nearly as possible its position at the time of its discovery. It is very probable, however, that it may have slid somewhat from its original site, at the time when the supporting *pilæ* under its western portion were removed, allusion to which has already been made. There was not the slightest clue to the pattern of the pavement which occupied the eastern end of the same room.

MASONRY.—It is not my intention to enter into a detailed description of all the different kinds of Roman masonry, but will first point out the usual character of those met with in England, so that the peculiarities of the Chester examples can be more forcibly shown.

Throughout England generally, as well as on the Continent, all Roman walls, whether of private or of public dwellings, are usually characterised by the presence of two, three, or more layers of bonding bricks or tiles, after every five, six, or seven courses of masonry; and were generally constructed in the following manner. The ground for the foundation having been well prepared by ramming,* a bed of clay, occasionally mingled with boulders, was sometimes spread on the surface; more frequently, however, large blocks of stone, considerably wider than the wall was intended to be, were laid in one or two courses, so as to form set offs. Then commenced the proper facing of the wall, and the facing stones employed were not only well chosen, but they were tooled on the face and well squared, so that the joints fitted closely. They were generally of small size, and uniform in the depth of the beds. Two faces of the wall having been built to a certain height, so as to leave a trough-like cavity in the centre, freshly made liquid mortar was poured in from time to time, and rubble stone imbedded in it, until level with the outside work. Then followed two or more courses of bonding tiles, which were the ordinary plain square tiles, of large size, rarely occupying the whole thickness of the wall; and then fresh courses of masonry. These bonding layers appear generally to have commenced above the level of the ground, and on the Continent to have consisted of a larger number of consecutive rows. The number of layers was greater in various parts, such as the angles, doorways, and windows. Moreover, relieving arches of tiles were frequently erected in the thickness of walls.† Tiles entered largely into the construction of arches, whether of windows, doors, or gateways; which sometimes were wholly composed of them, as at Colchester, and the Jewry Wall at Leicester; or alternating with stone, as at Lillebonne; or at right angles to the radius, as at Fréjus.

* Where, however, the wall was required to be massive, (as in the cases of town boundaries and abutments of bridges,) and the foundation uncertain, piles were first driven into the ground, of which instances have been met with in the City Walls of York and London, and of the Roman bridge at Newcastle (*Pons Ælii*.) Vide C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 18, Wellbeloved's *Eboracum*, p. 51, and plate 1, fig 2; and Bruce's *Wallet Book of the Roman Wall*, p. 47.

† C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 17.

In this manner the Romans constructed their walls in London, Richborough, Bath, Wroxeter, York, Colchester, Lincoln, Leicester, St. Albans, &c.; and they carried the idea of their bonding courses so far, that frequently, when tiles were not obtainable, they employed thin slabs of stone, as in the walls at Silchester,* and of the Amphitheatre at Richborough.† In the limestone walls of Caerwent, there are "four bonding courses of red sandstone, which, when new, would show like tiles;"‡ and in the Pharos at Dover, "when the masons were short of the large tiles which are so plentifully employed in its construction, they hewed pieces of the Folkestone rock into the form of tiles, and used them instead."§ The employment of roofing tiles for a similar purpose has already been mentioned.

When we turn our attention to the Roman remains of Chester, we at once observe a striking difference in the masonry compared with that which I have just described, the bonding courses of tiles being wholly absent. I have been unable to meet with any description, or statement, of tiles ever having been discovered in any of the Roman walls of this neighbourhood. In those portions of the City Walls which the Rev. W. H. Massie was the first to point out as being Roman, we find that the stones are large and massive, are regularly about a foot deep, and usually twice as long as they are broad, the longest face being 5ft., and the shortest 1ft. 10in., bonded by the longest side sometimes being presented as the face, and at other parts imbedded in the thickness of the wall. The measurements just mentioned have been recently taken, and at the same time the moulding of the cornice was accurately copied, a model of which is now exhibited (vide plate.) Another peculiarity is the circumstance that these stones have not been set in mortar, at all events no traces of any can be discovered. A parallel instance exists at Rome, where the outlet of the *Cloaca Maxima* has an arch of three rings, which (with the wall on either side of it) exhibits no trace of mortar.||

The absence of bonding material is not confined to Chester, the walls of Isurium¶ having been similarly constructed; but the best and most extensive example is that of the Great Wall of Hadrian, in which

* *Archaeological Album*, p. 151.

† C. R. Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough*, &c., p. 162.

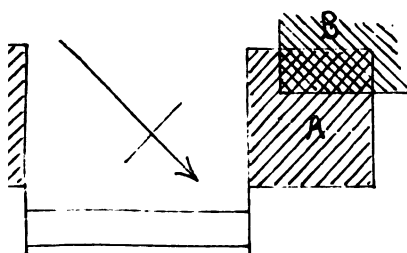
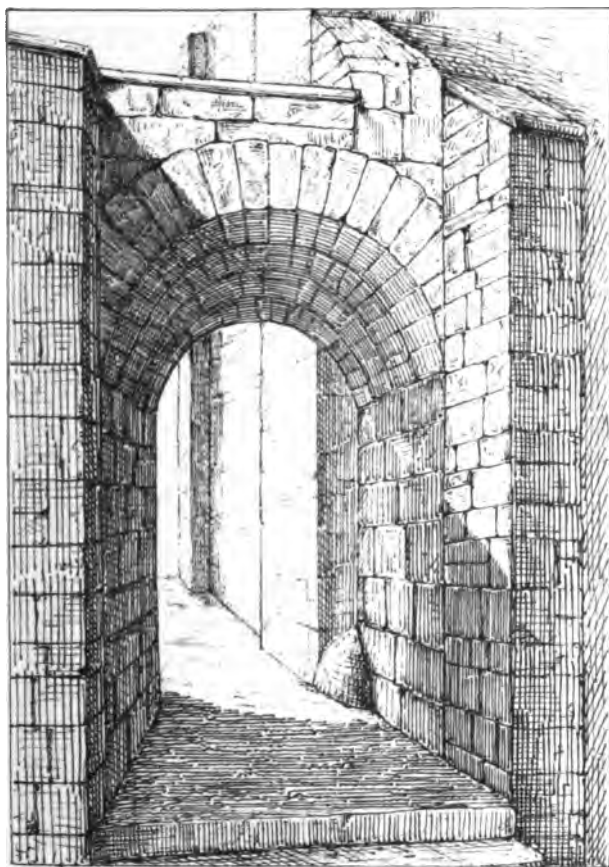
‡ *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, p. 254.

§ Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 2nd edit., p. 161.

|| *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 5, p. 69.

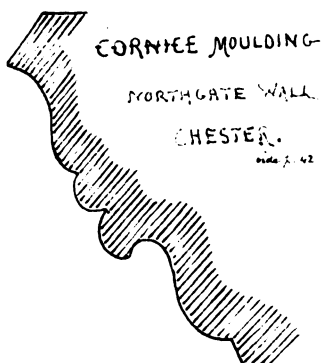
¶ Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 246.

VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF ROMAN ARCH AT CHESTER CASTLE.

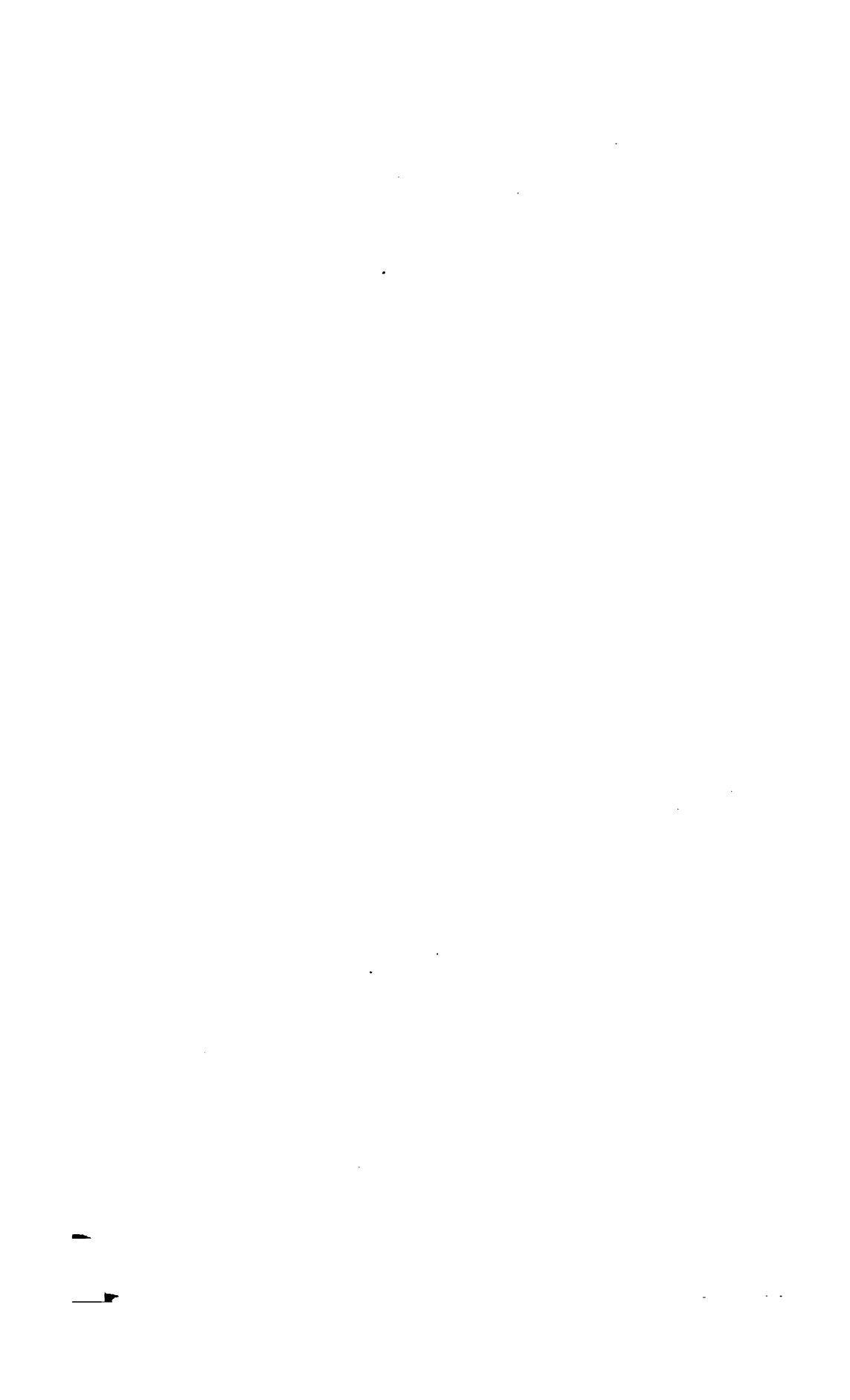


GROUND PLAN.

A. ROMAN ARCH, SUPPORTING
N.W. ANGLE OF JULIAN TOWER, NORMAN;
width A. 45.



Southwell, N.B.



from one end to the other there does not appear to have been a single tile used*. It is not a little singular, that whilst at Richborough and Lyme the bonding layers were common, at Reculver they were wholly absent.†

The great authority on Roman antiquities (C. R. Smith) states that "in very many instances, when the foundations," of Roman walls constructed with bonding courses of tiles, "have been laid open, the superstructure has been ascertained to have been built upon the remains of earlier walls, the facing materials of which were stones of larger dimensions, without the bonding courses of tiles * * It does not follow that the small squared stones and tiles always necessarily denote a late period; but it may be inferred that when, as at Chester, we find a totally different system of architecture, according in style with that in which, in many instances, is proved to have been of comparatively early date, such work must be early also. We may, therefore, look upon what is yet left of the walls of Chester as affording an example of civic fortification not exceeded in antiquity by that of any Roman mural remains in this country."‡ We have further evidence in the circumstance that no early remains have been discovered in any portion of the Chester Roman wall.§ We must not lose sight of the fact that owing to its military importance, and to the number of warlike tribes in its vicinity, it is highly probable that Chester was walled at a very early period of its occupation by the Romans. Hadrian's wall, the age of which we do know, consists, like our local example, wholly of stone, and in each case the length of the blocks is twice that of the breadth, and the thickness uniform. Rickman,|| in noticing this absence of bonding materials, thought that they were not employed when blocks of stone of sufficient size could be obtained.

ROMAN ARCHES IN CHESTER.—Besides the walls, we notice that all the Roman arches of Chester still existing, or of which we have any record, were constructed wholly of stone:—the first one to mention is

* Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., p. 83.

† *Antiquities of Richborough, &c.*, p. 192.

‡ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 6, p. 43.

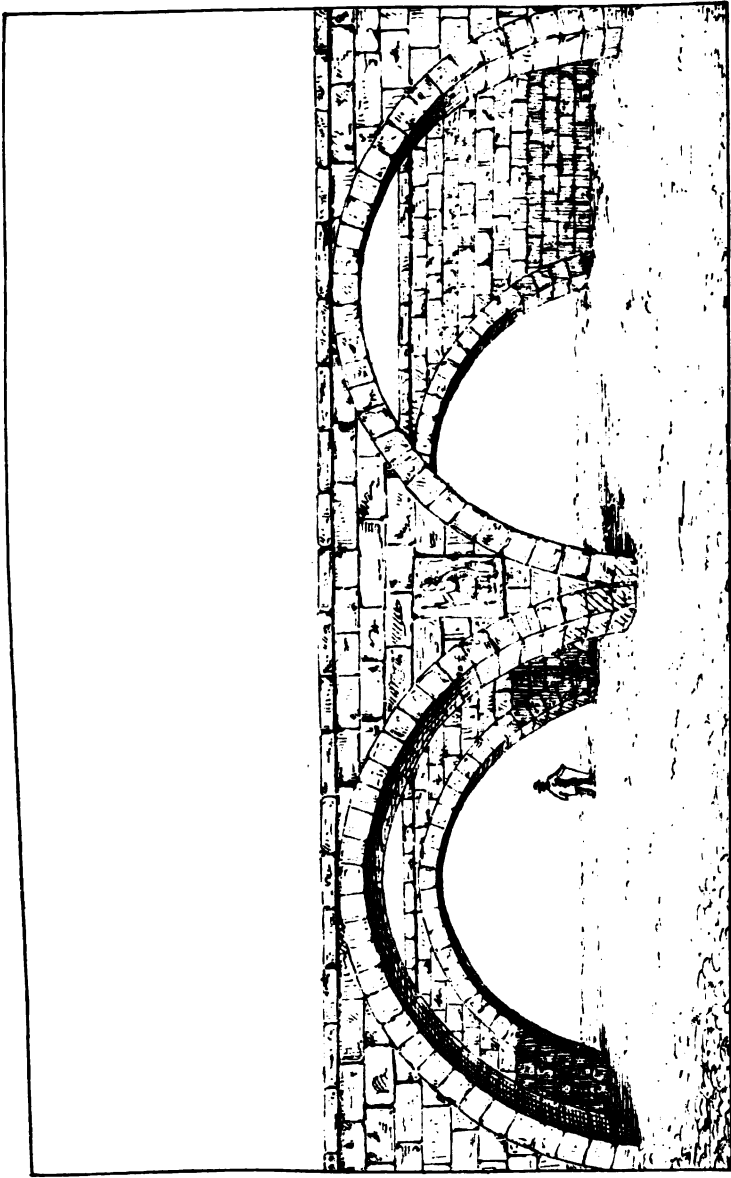
§ These town walls when closely examined into, are often found to contain materials taken from older buildings of another kind, which older materials themselves present the debased style of architecture which belonged to the declining age of the Roman power. Wright's *Guide to Wroxeter*, p. 13. Vide also C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 19; and Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 131.

|| *Archæologia*, vol. 26, p. 27.

that of the old Ship Gate, which was situated in the line of road to the ford opposite Edgar's Cave, the original position of which rather tends to disprove the traditionary assertion of the walls having been extended in that direction in Saxon times.* Another example was that of the old Eastgate, with its two arches.† Lastly, there is that most interesting one at Chester Castle, where it occupies a most singular position, as it

* I cannot discover any vestige of the original walls, such as those which are said to have been restored by the warlike *Ethelfleda*. I would not willingly detract from the lady's merit; but I must deny her that of being the foundress of the fortifications, and enlarging the city beyond the *Roman* precincts. The form at present is so entirely *Roman*, that any addition she could make would have destroyed the peculiar figure that wise people always preserved in their stations or castrametations, wheresoever the nature of the ground would permit. Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. 1, p. 154. The remains of the old Ship Gate were re-erected in the garden of the late John Finchett-Maddock, Esq., and continue to be carefully preserved.

† There appears to be much doubt as to the form and number of the *Roman* arches which constituted the Eastgate at the early part of the last century. In Musgrove's etching representing them as they stood in 1768, two only are figured, but no dimensions are given. Hemingway (*History of Chester*, vol. 1, p. 340,) quotes from a MS. appended to a drawing of the gate representing four arches:—"The Roman Gate at Chester was 16 feet high, the breadth nine and thirty feet. This gate was composed of four arches, two in one line; and the distance from each was 15 feet;" and endeavours to reconcile the two by suggesting that the gateway was a double one, and had two arches on each face. On referring however to Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, the following passage appears at p. 31 (centuria 2) "Riding under the gate where the Watling Street enters, I observed immediately two arches of Roman work, * * on each side was a portal, of a lesser arch, and lower for foot passengers; for part of the arch is left, and people now alive remember them open quite through; though now both these, and part of the great arch, are taken up by little paltry shops: or rather, the lesser ones are quite pulled down, and even the greater ones are in the utmost danger of falling; for the occupants of those places cut away part of the bottom of the semicircle to enlarge their shops." By this description the Eastgate would present an appearance similar to the one at Autun, engraved in *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. 5, p. 221. But, in plate 65, Stukeley represents "the outside front of the Roman gate of the Watling Street, called East Gate at Chester, as standing 2nd August, 1725." where three arches are shown of equal height and nearly equal breadth, the centre one being $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, the side ones each $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the entire width of the gateway being 80 feet. Since the foregoing was in type, Mr. Thomas Hughes, one of the Society's Secretaries, has obtained possession of a lithograph (signed "J. Musgrove") showing the Roman Eastgate to have been composed of two sets of arches, two in each set. This is probably the one referred to by Hemingway, whose description it corroborates. A reduced copy of it is given in the accompanying plate.



Original from J. B. 188.

ONELL: ANASTASIO: FRENCH: IN: WHICH.

"THE EAST VIEW OF THE ANCIENT ROMAN GATE IN THE CITY OF CHESTER." (THE EAST GATE)

PAC-SIMILE OF A SKETCH BY JOHN MUSGRAVE.

assists in supporting one of the angles of that Norman structure, the Julian tower. The span of this arch is 8 feet, it is 6 feet deep, and formed of one ring of stones.*

There is a parallel instance to Chester at Cologne, where not only are the walls free from bonding tiles, but the Watergate of the city which is of undoubted Roman work, is constructed wholly of wedge-shaped stones, like those of the arch at the Julian tower.†

HERRING-BONE WORK.—There is one peculiar form of Roman masonry of which we possess no example in Chester; I allude to what is termed the herring-bone construction (the *opus reticulatum* of Vitruvius,) where all the stones of one layer are inclined in one direction, whilst those of the next are reversed. This method appears to have been adopted when stones of irregular form were used, as at Silchester, where walls, composed in great part of flints, are arranged after this plan;‡ and in central rubbing, as in some portions of the great wall of Hadrian.§ Whilst at Castor (*Durobrivæ*), this kind of wall construction appears to have been common.|| I mention it more particularly, because this kind of wall construction is frequently found in Saxon and Norman buildings, so that taken by itself alone it does not typify any particular period. We see also in the Norman church or zigzag moulding so common in the semi-circular headed ecclesiastical doors and arches of that period, the descendant of the Roman herring-bone work.¶

CONCRETE.—Under the head of pavements, I described the manner in which one kind of mortar or concrete was made. I need hardly say more about its characteristics, excepting that it had remarkable hydraulic powers, was extremely durable, was as hard as the materials which it

* It has been suggested to me that this arch is of Saxon origin, but it has been examined by some of our leading Antiquaries, and pronounced to be Roman. There is the peculiar red mortar of the Romans in the joints; there is an entire absence of hood moulding or of imposts, which would probably have been present had it been Saxon. Moreover there is not another piece of masonry in Chester which has been called Saxon. Rickman could not find one.

† *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. 2, p. 145.

‡ *Archæological Album*, p. 161.

§ Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., pp. 80-1.

|| Artis's *Durobrivæ*, plates 2, 5, and 10.

¶ "What is called herring-bone work, is by itself no criterion of any particular era; whether it may be found in any of the rude masses of ancient British masonry, is a question still to be solved. It is found in Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman masonry. It has also been met with in masonry of so late a period as the fourteenth century."—*Ancient Mixed Masonry*, by M. H. Bloxam, in *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 2, p. 317.

bound together, and so tenacious that the stones themselves will frequently give way before the mortar will separate from them; in fact it is by the existence of this very mortar upon tiles and stones, by which we can recognize the presence of Roman tiles and stones in comparative modern buildings. In this respect it offers a marked contrast to Saxon and Norman mortar, which by containing a large quantity of sand (and probably made like mortar of the present day, with lime which has been slacked for some time) is always found friable, so that the character of the mortar alone enables us to judge of the period in which the building was erected. The durability of the Roman mortar was mainly due to its being carefully burnt, well tempered, and used whilst fresh. Charcoal is occasionally seen in the mortar, derived from the wood used in burning the lime.*

The ordinary masonry mortar or concrete, was made from the same kind of material as that of the pavements, excepting that the tiles were pounded much smaller, so much so in some specimens that the mortar was rendered of a peculiar red hue (as in the instance of the arch at the Julian Tower); from this cause Fitzstephen, the writer upon London in the time of Henry II., describes the Roman foundations of the Tower as having been made with mortar tempered with the blood of animals.† There is another kind of concrete found in wall foundations, where broken stone was used instead of pounded tiles.‡

The portions of the walls found in the recent discoveries at Bridge Street, were of similar construction to all others of the Roman period hitherto found in Chester; but it unfortunately happened that all, or nearly all of them, were not so high as the original level of the tessellated floors, so that those which were exposed during the excavations, were in reality foundation courses only, and afford us no precise data for judging as to the character of the superstructure. None of the walls

* Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., p. 88.

† C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 16.

‡ "One cause of the durability of their erections is the excellence of the mortar which they employed. If we had studied their method of making and using it, our buildings would not have the tendency to fall to pieces which they have. * * * The necessities of our present railway system have compelled our engineers to pay attention to the subject of mortar, and in all our great works a material is now used as good as that which was prepared by the Romans; but a study of antiquities would probably have caused the revival of this important part of the craft of a builder to have been earlier effected."—The "Practical Advantages accruing from the Study of Archaeology," by the Rev. J. C. Bruce, vol. 14, of *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, pp. 4 and 5.

that I saw exceeded 3 feet in height, nor could I perceive any decided signs of upper set offs, which in all probability must have existed to support the outer borders of the tiles forming the roofing of the several hypocausts. It was additionally unfortunate that no entire apartment was discovered, and there were no data for us to form an estimate of their original size, owing to the existence of the medieval wall which bisected the whole. That this latter was of comparatively modern erection is proved by several circumstances, notwithstanding the apparent anomaly that the stones of which the wall is built are well squared, and have a strong Roman character about them. It is probable that they were not only of Roman origin, but were obtained from the very ruins of the Roman building over which they had been erected. The mortar, however, was certainly not Roman, being loose and friable. Again, the wall in question was bonded into a cross wall, which did not tally with the site of the Roman foundation below. But perhaps the strongest reason was to be observed at its base, for in the first room where so many hypocaust pillars were discovered in situ, the wall was actually built, in two places, *upon the concrete of the floor supported by the hypocaust pillars*, and two other rows of these pillars existed beneath and beyond (*i.e.* on the south side of this wall), clearly shewing that the apartment in the Roman period must have been larger than that which was uncovered during the recent excavations. Moreover, the wall between the portions so supported, was built *upon loose rubble*, a proof of its erection having taken place long after the Roman period. I can find one notice only of a tessellated pavement having been built over by the Romans; this was amongst the ruins of a villa discovered at Daventry, in Northamptonshire, where a passage had been formed subsequently to the erection of the building, the wall of which was built upon the pavement, the pattern of which it bisected.*

MAIN WALL.—Now the great main original Roman wall of these remains, ran in a direction almost due east and west, and was parallel to the first row of pillars from which it was distant 16 feet. It formed the northern boundary of all the apartments that were uncovered, and the portion exposed measured about 130 feet. I have already stated that there were unmistakeable signs of its originally having extended much farther towards the west, whilst at the eastern end of the excavation, the termination of the wall was not arrived at. Its

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, p. 114.

width was 4 feet. It was composed of neatly squared blocks of sand stone, in courses averaging about 8 inches in thickness. These blocks were from 1 to 2 feet in length, their breadth averaging one-half of the length. Their measurements approximate closely to those of the stones used in the erection of the great wall of Hadrian. They were built solid in the courses without any signs of rubbing. The lowest course projected slightly beyond the face of the wall, and intervening between it and the solid rock there was a bed of concrete, which differed from that employed to form the bed of the tessellated and other pavements, in containing broken stone instead of tile.

DIVISIONAL WALLS.—Passing from this main wall at right angles, were the divisional partitions of the rooms, 3 feet 6 inches in width, that of the small inner apartment being 2 feet only. The characteristics of all were similar to those of the main wall.

At the north-west corner of the second apartment, a square opening had been left in the lowest courses of the masonry; it was about 2 feet 6 inches wide, about the same in height, and completely perforated the wall; but an examination of it afforded no clue as to its original use. It certainly was not a *præfurnium*, there being no marks of fire, and no flue vents proceeded from it. Nor was there any indication that it was connected with the drainage of the building.

We cannot with any positive certainty, form an opinion as to the character of these walls above the level of the ground, but in all probability they consisted of stone of superior finish to that left in the foundation courses, otherwise it is more than probable that when the site was used as a kind of stone quarry, the lower courses were left, owing to the materials, or the manner in which they had been worked, having been of a less satisfactory character than those above ground; this would partly account for the uniform height of the walls as recently discovered. That bonding tiles were not used is tolerably evident, as, apart from their general absence in all other walls of Roman date discovered in Chester, very few fragments of this class of tiles were found amongst the debris.

SIZE OF ROOMS.—On account of the mediæval wall already noticed, the actual size of the original apartments is not known; the measurements of the portions uncovered were as follows:—the first was 23 by 24 feet; the second, 40 feet long, 18½ feet deep in narrowest, and 24 feet in broadest portion; the third small inner room was 18 by 9½ feet; the fourth 18 by 24 feet; and the fifth 24 feet in breadth, but uncertain as to length.

DOORS AND WINDOWS.—It will be well understood that no remains, of either doors or windows, were found. At Wroxeter, where the walls yet exist for several feet above the ground level, very few doorways, and no windows have been met with; nor have any of the latter been found at Caerwent. Even at Pompeii but few windows were discovered, and those small and high up in the walls;* the doorways that remained tolerably perfect, were for the most part of the square-headed kind. Some circular headed ones were found at one of the stations of Hadrian's wall.

From the large quantities of fragments of flattened glass, found amongst the rubbish covering the ruins of Wroxeter, we may form some crude idea of the large number of windows belonging to the houses. It is somewhat singular, that amongst the Bridge-street remains no glass was discovered;† and as to the manner in which the apartments were lighted, we really know nothing. The probability is they derived the light from the roof, more particularly in the case of the small inner apartment, unless indeed a small court or atrium existed on its south side, which is by no means unlikely. This method of lighting is the more probable, as, although on the Continent, at Pompeii for example, an upper story was known to have existed in some houses, in Britain no trace of one, or of stairs to one, has yet been found.

WALLS OF APARTMENTS.—The inner walls of apartments were generally covered with stucco work, of tolerable thickness, composed of lime, sand, pounded tile, &c., similar to mortar, excepting that, according to Vitruvius, (book 7, chap. 2), the lime instead of being employed fresh, as when made into mortar, was tempered for a long time beforehand. It was laid on in several coats, the last of which was of a much finer and better description than the others, and whilst in a moist state, was ornamented with painted devices, forming a durable

* At the station of *Borcovicus* (Housesteads) on the Great Wall of Hadrian, Mr. C. R. Smith discovered the remains of a small Roman house, containing a doorway and two small window openings. An engraving of it appears in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 188.

† The window glass, as made by the ancients, was cast in plates, whilst that of moderns is blown. Much interesting material on the manufacture and uses of glass by the Romans, may be found in C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, pp. 1 *et seq.*; vol. 2, pp. 16 to 18. Gell's *Pompeii*, pp. 90, 96 to 100; and a paper by Mr. Cuming in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 17, which contains the following passage at p. 58:—"Though the Romans sometimes glazed the windows of their villas, glazing to any extent was certainly not much in vogue until long after the Roman rule had ceased in Britain."

fresco painting. Judging from the fragments discovered in London and elsewhere, particularly on the sites of Roman villas, the paintings were frequently of the highest artistic character. The elaborate frescoes of Pompeii are of the same class.

At Sens, in France, is a sepulchral monument to the memory of a Roman painter, containing a bas-relief, showing the method of decoration of a corridor in fresco painting, where, on the same scaffold, are seen the painter and the plasterer, the latter, laying or floating on the last thin layer of stucco, which is being painted by the former.*

In such vast quantities were the remains of mural paintings discovered in London a few years since, that Mr. C. R. Smith saw "carts literally laden with them carried away as rubbish."† Wroxeter, Corinium, and the majority of Roman sites, usually exhibit plenty of evidence of the extensive employment of this highly decorated stucco work; and it may at first appear singular, that no traces of any, were found amongst the remains in Bridge-street; but when we take into consideration, that owing to the highly tempered state of the lime, wall stucco becomes more easily disintegrated by damp, exposure to the air, and frequent disturbance, than any other Roman building material; we can easily understand that whilst at Wroxeter, portions of this stucco still retaining its bright painted surface, may be found amongst the rubbish, which has remained in a comparatively undisturbed state, ever since the original overthrow of the town; in Chester, on the contrary, it may long since have disappeared, owing to the frequent disturbance of the site.

We have sufficient reason for believing that some of the rooms of the Roman building in Bridge-street had sandstone skirtings, as in a fragment of the border of one of the tessellated pavements, (now at the Museum of the Water Tower), there still remain portions of two stone slabs, imbedded at right angles to the pavement, and projecting above its surface. The employment of stone for decorating the internal walls appears not to have been uncommon in Roman times; for instance, at Richborough, some portions of marble moulded skirting were dug up;‡ at Chesterton "thin slabs of Atwalton linch marble." (obtained from beds near Castor) formed the lining of one of the rooms;§ whilst in

* For an illustration and account of this most interesting monument, *vide* C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 61.

† *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, p. 362.

‡ *Antiquities of Richborough*, &c., p. 48.

§ *Artis's Durobrivæ of Antoninus*, plate 26.

London, thin marble pilasters, employed evidently for internal wall decoration, "have been repeatedly met with."*

ROOF OF BUILDING.—That it was formed of tiles (*tegulæ* and *imbrices*), the abundance of the fragments found amongst the debris, proves satisfactorily; and that each ridge wall terminated with an *antefix* is more than probable.† A roof of this kind must have been very heavy, and necessitated the employment of a massive frame work of wood. An iron nail, with a large clout head, and measuring twelve inches, found beneath one of the capitals, may have been one originally employed to fasten the roof timbers together.

COLUMNS.—We now have to describe the columnar remains, the most important in an archaeological point of view, of all the Bridge-street discoveries.

Into the history of columns it is not my intention to enter, but we will at once commence the description of our local specimens. I have already briefly stated, that there were discovered the remains of two rows of red sandstone pillars (ten in each row), in a line almost due east and west, parallel to each other, and to the main wall of the building. We will first describe the attributes of a single pillar, and then compare it with that which is looked upon as the type of the particular order to which it belongs, which I may at once state was that of the Corinthian. Commencing at the ground level, was first noticed, below the base proper, a large roughly-hewn square mass of sandstone, measuring 4 ft. 4 in. to 4 ft. 5 in. square, and 1 foot thick, which had been laid in a singular manner. It appears that after the rock had been denuded of all soft material, a square excavation (deeper at the sites of the pillars at the eastern, than of those at the western end, on account of the inclination of the ground) was sunk in the rock, and a layer of stone concrete spread out, in which the square block was bedded; in this respect, agreeing with the construction of the wall foundation; it did not therefore rest upon the maiden rock. A similar bedding of concrete was found under pillar bases in Commonhall-street.‡ Upon this square foundation, rested the proper base, which

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, p. 139, and plate 48.

† A reference to one of the accompanying plates will point out the general arrangement and appearance of the roof.

‡ Mr. C. R. Smith in his Paper on the "Roman Remains of Chester," in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 5. p. 230, records the following discoveries in Commonhall-street:—"Up the centre, a row of foundations formed of concrete (broken marble stones in hard mortar), about 9 feet apart,

varied from 1 foot 9½ inches to 1 foot 11 inches in height, and consisted of an upper small, and a lower full and bold round moulding (*torus*), separated by a hollow moulding (*scotia*), between which and the *lower* torus, was a small flat band (*fillet*), the whole resting upon a base (*plinth*) 3 ft. square. These were the main features of the mouldings, but they varied very considerably as to dimensions, in the different examples. In some instances, the two *tori* were almost identical in depth, whilst in others the upper one was reduced to very narrow dimensions; the form and depth of the *scotia* differed widely in each instance, and in one (No. 9) was not hollowed at all. I must not omit to mention, that on the upper, as well as on the lower surface, were large square holes, centrally placed, to which I shall refer again presently.

Now if we compare this with the proper Corinthian base, we shall find the latter a more complicated one, the upper and lower round mouldings, being separated by a number of minor rounds and hollows, the great noticeable feature being, that *all the mouldings with one exception are separated by square fillets*. There is however another classic base, called *the Attic*, which was commonly employed with all orders, except the Tuscan, and consisted of two *tori*, separated by a *scotia*, with square fillets between all the mouldings, and the majority of Roman bases found in England are of this type; amongst which I may more especially mention those discovered at Bath, Durobrivæ, Woodchester, and Wroxeter,* and also those found on the west side of Bridge-street a few years since, which latter had the peculiarity, not uncommon to Attic bases, of being destitute of a plinth. Excepting in the smaller size of the upper torus, the bases so recently discovered in Bridge-street, approximate to those of the Attic type,—the great difference, however, consists in the absence of all the fillets but one, which are present in the classic examples. In point of fact, it appears to be the rule, that as Roman architecture became more debased in its character, so the number of these fillets became less, until their employment ceased altogether, upon the introduction of the mouldings peculiar to Gothic art.

* Bases of various kinds have been discovered at Caerleon, Isurium, Cirencester, Ickleton, and Brough in Yorkshire.

all in a line, and about 10 feet deep, presenting the appearance of having supported columns. A large square block of stone, 4 ft. 2 in. square, 16 in. deep, without lewis holes, on a bed of concrete."

SHAFT.—The shafting in the ancient Corinthian pillars was almost invariably fluted; * not so our Chester examples, which were quite plain, and had been tool-picked, and tapered from the base to the capital, diminishing from one-sixth to one-seventh; at the lowest part they varied from 2ft. 2in. to 2ft. 6in. in diameter, the majority being about 2ft. 5in.; the average diameter at the upper part was 2ft.

Several unbroken lengths of shafting were exhumed, and they were all of one uniform length, viz. 7ft; but neither their upper or lower junction surfaces, contained any hole similar to that of the base already described. It will be observed that the shaft joins the base abruptly, whereas in Classic examples the junction is effected by a graceful moulding (*apophyge*), a character never found in Gothic Architecture. In our local specimen it was evidently omitted, because the base, compared with the model, was of less diameter, so that there was really no room for this moulding; that it was not forgotten, is proved by the fact, that where the capital joined the shaft, a hollow moulding of this kind had been attempted.

CAPITAL.—The Capitals had some peculiar features, which we shall better understand by first briefly reviewing the characteristics of the true Corinthian form.† Its shape is that of a reversed bell, and commencing from below, we find two rows of acanthi, eight in either row, and placed alternately with regard to each other. In the upper row, one appears in each centre, and one under each corner of the uppermost member of the capital (*abacus*); from each of these spring double leaves, which again in their turn give origin to a similar number of

* Portions of fluted pilasters and columns have been met with in Richborough, London, and Bath. At Silchester "two large portions of a fluted column, each about three feet in height, and nearly two feet and a half in diameter" were discovered.—*Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 16, p. 93.

† The origin of the capital is said by Vitruvius (book 4, chap. 1) to have been due to a certain Athenian Sculptor, who observed an acanthus plant, growing around the sides of a basket, upon which a tile had been placed, the effect of which latter was to cause the leaves to bend forwards, thereby occasioning such a graceful appearance, that the sculptor at once grasped the idea, and embodied it in stone. It is, however, a singular fact, and one which militates against the correctness of this anecdote, that the more ancient the example of this capital, the more unlike its leaves (*acanthi*) are to those now accepted as the standard; they are fewer in number, and the volutes are absent. A good example is that of the Temple of the Winds at Athens, which approaches in character that of the Egyptian form of capital, from which it is probable the Corinthian order sprung. On the side of an altar to the memory of Flavius Longus, a Tribune of the 20th legion, discovered in Eastgate-street in 1693, and figured in Lysons' *Cheshire*, p. 429, there is sculptured "a vase filled with *acanthus leaves*, supporting a plate of fruit."

volute, one bending to the centre, and one to the angle of the abacus; above the central ones appear what is called the "flower" of the capital. The abacus is of a curious shape, having its sides hollowed, and its corners chamfered, so that the angular volutes are much longer than those in the centre. The capital is separated from the shaft by a small round moulding, called an astragal, below which is a square fillet, followed by the hollow apophyge. The difference of these mouldings, with those of the Norman capital, will be at once apparent.

Fortunately, on the site of the excavations, there were exhumed two nearly complete capitals, and portions of several others were found, built up in walls, &c., so that of their general characters we are quite able to judge. Respecting the two more perfect examples, one was of the full height of the capital, and measured 2ft.; whilst the second was 17in. only, as one half of the lower row of acanthus leaves, had been sculptured on the upper shaft stone. All the corners of the upper member were in each instance mutilated; the abacus, however, appeared to measure about 32in. across in its narrowest portion, and was shaped like that of the ordinary classic type. The upper surface was remarkably rough, having been rudely levelled with an ordinary pick, *and exhibited not the slightest trace of mortar*. Both the upper and lower surfaces contained large square holes, similar to those of the bases. The first row of acanthi were in each, as regular as the most zealous classic antiquary could desire, beyond this there were great variations from the standard. In No. 1—the shorter example—the acanthi of the second row were irregular, some of them consisting of half leaves only. At each corner two ribs rose towards the angle of the abacus, as though for the purpose of forming a volute; for which, however, there appeared to be no room, or, if one did exist, it must have been of small size. Embedded in the leaves, there were two shell ornamentations on opposite sides, and on the two remaining sides curious banded figures, one of them having the remains of a double spiral—like a flattened volute. Had they been *above* the acanthi they would have answered to the "flower" of the capital.

In No. 2—the full-sized capital—a portion of the neck moulding, or junction with the shaft, still remained. The upper acanthi consisted wholly of half leaves; at one of the angles there was one rib only, instead of two. As in No. 1, there were certain sculptured representations, of which two only had been preserved: one was of a peculiarly capped spiral—the second consisted of drapery something like the folds of a pallium (or cloak,) having on one side the representation of a hand, apparently too large to belong to the figure represented by the drapery.



Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

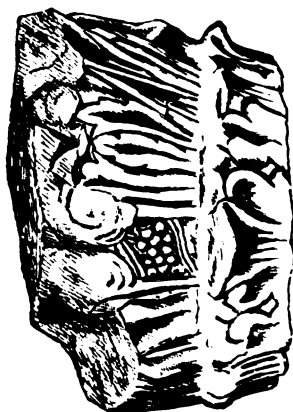
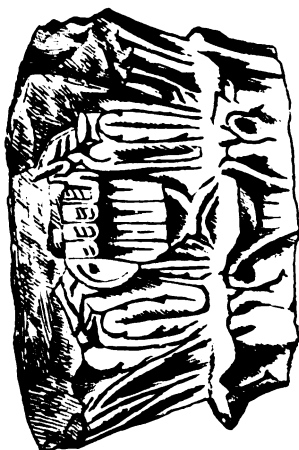


Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

SCALE 1 INCH TO A FOOT.

FRAGMENTS OF CAPITALS.—Of the fragments of capitals now exhibited, one shows the corner of an abacus, the edge of which is decorated with a rude fret work, and beneath which appears a knob-like projection slightly ornamented, which answers to the volute. A second exhibits the form of a large bird with its wings slightly open.

We thus see, by comparison with the classic type, that there were many departures from the model, and we must not be surprised at this, when we consider, that in Pompeii itself, long before the founding of the Roman Deva, there were capitals in the House of the Dioscuri, which led Sir William Gell to the exclamation, that the Romans "followed no correct model of the Corinthian order."* The discovery however of the representations of birds and animals in the Bridge-street capitals, is a sufficient proof of their debased character.†

The capitals not only varied considerably with regard to their design, but moreover, the style of their execution proves likewise, that they were the work of different hands. In No. 1., for example, the carving was deep and bold, although the *apices* of the leaves did not project much; whilst in No. 2, notwithstanding these latter projected very considerably, yet the remaining portion was very flat, surface-cut only, and the leaflets were of a different form to those of No. 1. We have already shown that the bases varied considerably, in the measurements of their mouldings, and also that scarcely two of the shafts, where they sprung from the base, were of the same diameter. There is one point I must not omit to mention:—it will be noticed that the length of shafting cut on the same stone as the base, was of different lengths in the various examples, yet the stones forming the bulk of the shafts were of equal lengths,—what was the necessary consequence? That whilst in some cases the shafting stone terminated at the capital, in others it encroached upon the capital itself, a portion of which was sculptured upon it—a style of execution which is not considered workmanlike in the present day, nor probably in that of the Romans. What does this examination teach us? That the pillars were executed by different workmen, possessing various degrees of ability, who were not masons regularly employed as such, but soldiers of the legion stationed in Deva; and that whilst they were limited as to height, principal measurements, and general character of the mouldings, yet that they were permitted to carry out their own ideas of these instructions, in the

* Gell's *Pompeii*, vol. 2, p. 20.

† Vide remarks on the Roman column at Cussy, Maine, in C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 5, p. 207, *et. seq.*

way that each thought proper. Capitals very similar to these Chester examples, have been discovered on the sites of other Roman Stations. One was found at Cilurnum;* one of larger size and better workmanship at Bath;† and others still larger, at Cirencester and Silchester.‡

Fragments of pillars have been dug up at various times in different parts of Chester. In 1851, a Corinthian capital was exhumed in Handbridge; whilst excavations in Commonhall-street, Stanley-street, and Crook street, have yielded several bases and other portions of pillars.§ Four bases were found in their original position on the West side of Bridge-street, a year or two since.||

What was the probable height of these pillars? Two Chester architects (Mr. Hodgkinson and Mr. Lockwood), by whom the remains were repeatedly examined, gave it as their opinion, that each pillar consisted of a capital, two lengths of shafting of 7 feet each, and a base; and was between 18 and 19 feet in height. Or to speak architecturally, was about eight times the diameter of the shaft, measured immediately above the base.

Were there originally more pillars than 20? Upon this question hinges, for the most part, the basis of our judgment as to the character and uses of the buildings, the remains of which we are now considering. We will first enquire whether there were more in a longitudinal direction. At the east end they certainly did not extend further, as a wall, at right angles to the pillar, with the remains of an open court, were discovered. Then we turn to the west extremity, and here, at first sight, it would appear as though we were unable to form a satisfactory opinion; but on carefully examining the spot, there was found, at a level *much below the bedding of the pillars*, and at about 12 ft. from the first pillar, on the north side, a mass of unmistakeable Roman stone concrete, the evident foundation of a wall, which at once settled

* Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 2nd edit., p. 159.

† Scarth's *Roman Bath*, plate 2.

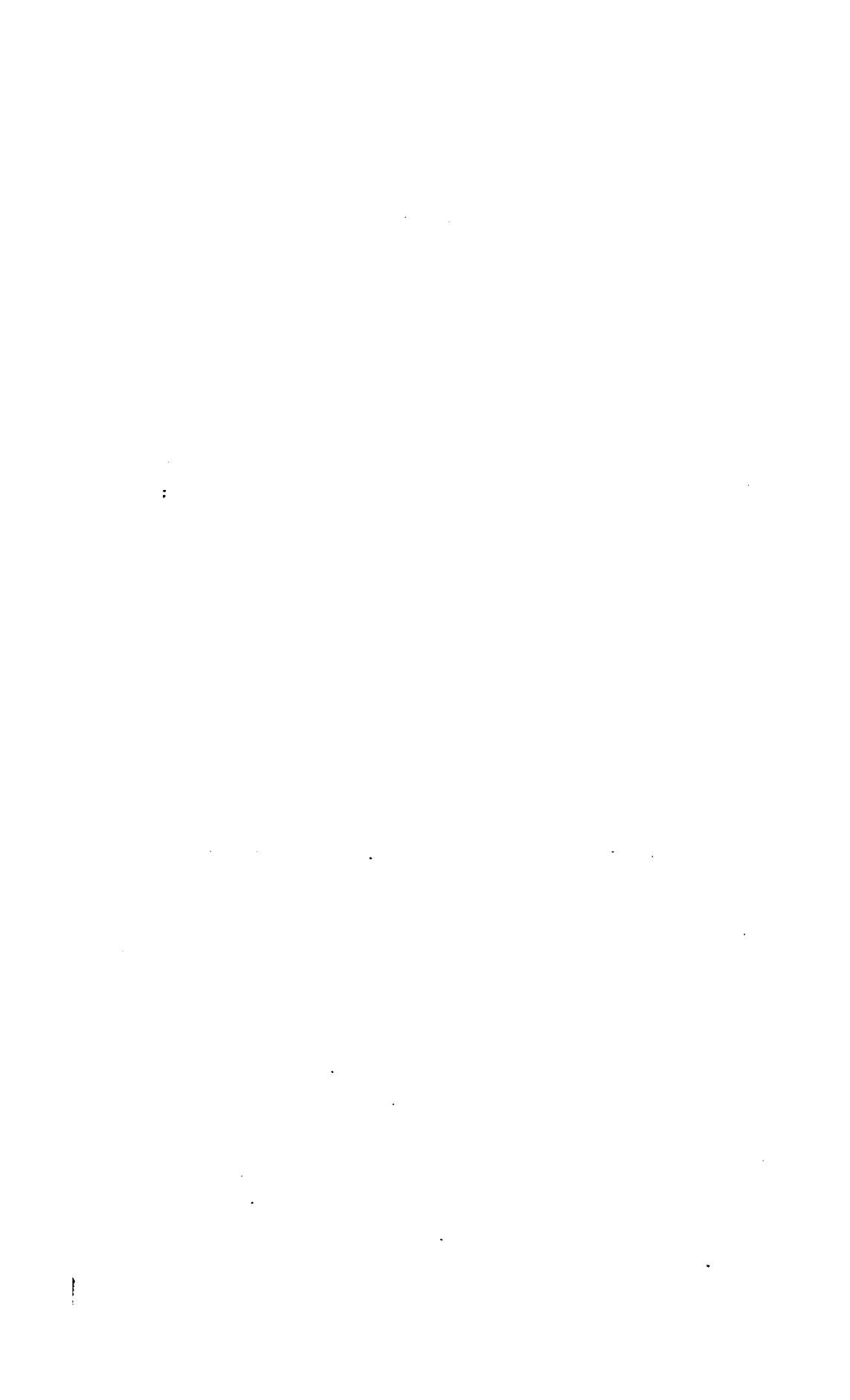
‡ *Archæologia*, vol. 18, p. 124, and *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 16, p. 92. Capitals have also been found at Warleigh, near Bath, at Isurium, at Netherhall on the Great Wall, and at Brough, in Yorkshire.

§ *Chester Archaeological Journal*, vol. 1, p. 199, and *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 5, p. 230.

|| Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* (ed. of 1776, cent. 2, p. 33), contains the following paragraph in the description of Chester:—"The village beyond the bridge is called Henbury (Handbridge), denoting its antiquity. Many fragments, seemingly of pillars and capitals, set for sitting stones before the doors about the city, particularly in Parson's Lane" "That these fragments were of the Roman period is very probable, as the locality has always yielded abundance of Roman remains.



ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER.
Base, and fragment of Column, in situ



the question, that the longitudinal number of pillars had not been more than 10. But were there any connecting pillars, between those at either end? During the progress of the excavations, this was one of the points kept steadily in view; as it was felt that any trace, no matter how slight, of the site of a pillar in this position, would afford some clue to the form and structure of the original building, to the construction of which the pillars contributed. But repeated examinations failed to detect any vestige of a base, of stone concrete, or of a square excavation in the rock, such as characterised the sites of the rows. It was, in short, the general opinion of the members of the Society, and of others, who frequently visited the remains, that had any originally existed, they must have left some traces, as the natural ground level of the places they would have occupied, had not been disturbed below that of the other sites: the conclusion was therefore forced upon them, equally with myself, that pillars had never been erected there.

DOWEL HOLES.—I have pointed out the existence of peculiarly shaped holes, in the upper and lower surfaces of the bases and capitals, and which were wholly absent from the stones composing the shafts. Not being an architect, I must confess they were a perfect puzzle to me for some time. They measured from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 in. square, and about the same in depth; had *straight* sides, with their edges roughly rounded or chamfered. They were clearly not *luis holes*; which may be briefly described as holes made by masons in large or heavy stones, of such a character that they are larger at the bottom than at the top, to enable an instrument, called a Lewis or Luis, to be fitted into them, to facilitate the process of lifting them into their proper position in building.*

Now, the holes in the Bridge-street capitals and bases, had *straight* sides, so that the very principle upon which the luis acted was absent;

* It appears to be a general notion amongst engineers, that this instrument was the invention of a French engineer, in the time of Louis XIV., in compliment to whom it received the name it now bears; but under the well-known adage of there being "nothing new under the sun," a writer in the *Archaeologia* (vol. 10, pp. 123 to 126) pointed out the circumstance that at Whitby Abbey Church, erected in the time of William Rufus, the large window stones had holes of this description. We can, however, go much further back, and state, that in undoubted Roman work at Richborough (*Antiquities of Richborough*, p. 254.), at York (Wellbeloved's *Eboracum*, p. 51.), as well as at several places along the line of the Roman wall (*Wallet Book of the Roman Wall*, pp. 75, 79, 139.), luis holes have been discovered in the stones, so that the Grand Monarque has no real right to the title after all.

moreover, their size was too large, and they were not deep enough.* Under these circumstances I applied to our late Architectural Secretary, Mr. James Harrison, and he at once explained their use. It is evident, that in the process of carving capitals and bases, unless the stone be placed in such a position as to enable the sculptor to carry on his work in a comparatively easy position, and to turn it round readily, his task would be one of much difficulty. This is effected by sinking square holes, in the upper and lower surfaces, fixing a square piece of timber in each, so as to form a rude axis, which is then mounted on two strong uprights. The employment of *dowel holes*, as they are termed, by the Romans, is thus interesting from the fact, that the same plan is followed at the present day amongst modern masons.†

METHODS OF HEATING.—We will now briefly consider the methods adopted by the Romans for heating their houses.

PORTABLE BRAZIER.—The 1st, was by means of portable furnaces or braziers, a method still adopted in Italy, Spain, and some parts of France. A remarkably fine brazier was discovered in the Tepidarium at Pompeii, but no example has been found in England.‡

The 2nd was by open fires, in a fixed kind of furnace or fire-place, alluded to by Suetonius and Horace.§ The only examples of this

* Holes, of similar dimensions and character, were noticed in a base dug up in Commonhall-street, Chester (*British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 5, p. 230); and at Bisley, in Gloucestershire, two bases were discovered, having holes 6in. square and 4in. deep (*Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 1, p. 44).

† These dowel holes appear occasionally to have been employed, to assist in keeping the large stones in position, by a tenon of wood or metal, fitting the holes of two contiguous blocks; thus, in the description of the Great Temple at Baalbek, by the Rev. J. C. M. Bellew (*Temple Bar Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 374), after alluding to the shafts of the pillars being 55ft. 4in. high, and each 22ft. in circumference, yet, although of such enormous dimensions, consisted of only three blocks each, which "were coupled together by metal plugs, let into square mortices, a foot long and a foot broad. The strength of such fastening is exhibited in the fact, that some of the pillars which have been thrown down, and smashed, have remained in firm adhesion at the joining."

‡ Roman Andirons, or fire-dogs, similar in form to those in common use in England at a later period, have been found at Mount Bures, near Colchester, and at Stanford Bury, in Bedfordshire (*Collectanea Antiqua*, plates 10 and 11). They may perhaps have served the purpose of a brazier, but it has been suggested, with good reason, that they were employed in culinary operations.

§ *Classical Dictionary*, p. 432

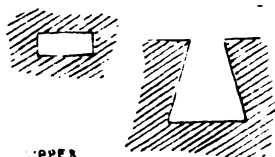


UPPER
SURFACE.

SECTION.

DUVET HOLE.

THE
LEWIS.

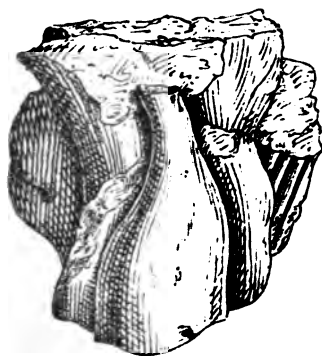
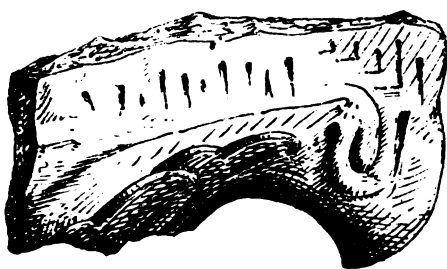


UPPER
SURFACE

SECTION

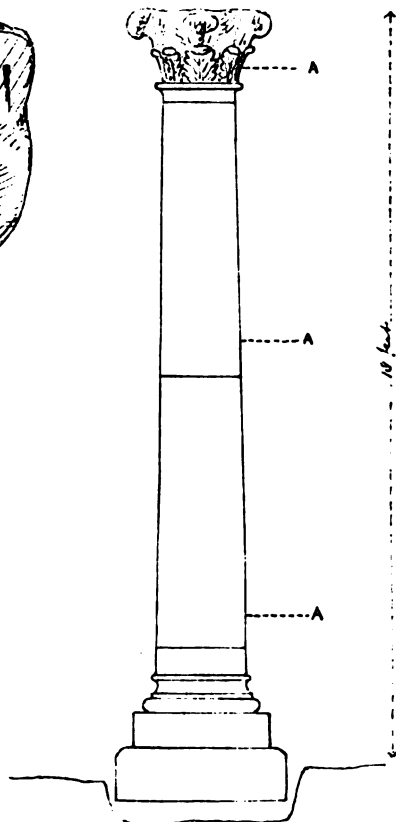
LEWIS HOLE.

note p. 17.



FRAGMENTS
OF ROMAN
CAPITALS.

note p. 18



ELEVATION OF PILLAR.

AAA. Varying Lines of Junction. note p. 16

BRIDGE ST. CHESTER. 1863.4.

engraved by field, M.D.

kind found in England, were at a Roman villa at Bignor, in Sussex.* It has been much questioned whether the classic nations employed chimnies such as we do; certain it is that rooms usually were destitute of them, and moreover that the smoke was often a source of considerable annoyance, and led to the images in the hall being called *Fumosæ*, and the month of December *Funus*. This nuisance they tried to obviate in part, by employing a certain kind of scented wood, which gave out but little smoke.† There is no reason for doubting that chimnies were known to the Ancients, as some were discovered at Pompeii.‡

HOT WATER APPARATUS.—A 3rd plan is thus described by Seneca : —“We are wont to make *dracones* and *miliaria* of many forms, within which we place pipes made of thin brass coiled downwards, many times surrounding the same fire, in which the water flows through as much space as is sufficient to make it hot. It therefore enters cold and flows out hot.”§

HYPOCAUST.—The 4th, and most common plan of heating, was by the *Hypocaust*, a term which literally signifies *fire beneath*. It will be recollected, that the *Suspensuræ* were pavements, elevated from the

* In one room “on the east side was a hearth formed of eight bricks, each about seven inches square, and a fire-place $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide in the front, 17 inches at the back, and eight inches wide. The fire-place was formed by two brick tiles on each side, which had been cramped together with iron, and were placed in the manner of those on the sides of the stove introduced by Count Rumford. This is probably the first open fire-place of the kind discovered in the remains of a Roman building, though it is certain, from various passages in the Roman writers, that other means were employed by the ancients for warming their apartments besides hypocausts.” A similar, though smaller one, was found in an adjoining room (*Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa discovered at Bignor in the County of Sussex*—by Saml. Lysons—pp. 24-5). Some indications of a fire-place were discovered amongst the remains of a villa at Colerne, in Wiltshire (*Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 13, p. 329).

† Gell's *Pompeii*, vol. 1, p. 154, vol. 2, p. 141; and Ritchie *On the Ventilation, &c. of Buildings, as practised by the Ancients*, in *Trans. of the Architectural Institute of Scotland* for 1851, p. 198.

‡ In England chimnies do not appear to have been used until the 12th century. Even as late as 1570 Harrison wrote:—“Now have we many *chimnyes*, yet our tenderlyngs complayne of rheums, catarrhs, and poses, then had we nothing but reredosses, and yet our heads never did ache.” (Holinshed's *Chronicle*.) From which it appears that the introduction of chimnies was looked upon as an innovation.

§ One of the forms of hot water apparatus, patented within the last few years, is a tolerably good copy of the method described by Seneca.

surface of the ground on small pillars; and the low cellar-like substructures thus formed, were termed hypocausts. From the circumstances attaching to their position, we are better acquainted with the peculiarities of their construction, owing to their remains being more frequently discovered in a less disturbed condition, than those of any other portions of Roman dwellings.

The object of the hypocaust, appears in some instances, to have been solely to have ensured dryness to the superstructure, more especially when the supported pavement was of the better class. Secondly, as the ordinary means for warming the house, more especially of those apartments occupied during the winter months ("Cœnationes æstivæ et hybernæ" are mentioned by Cicero in *Epistolis*.) Thirdly, as the method for heating the water and chambers pertaining to baths, whether of a private or public character.

Attention to this simple classification is somewhat necessary, as it is customary, whenever the remains of hypocausts are discovered, to describe them, as portions of a Roman Bath, whereas, in nine cases out of ten, such statement is erroneous; and its fallacy will be more evident, when it is borne in mind, that fully one half of the apartments of Roman houses, as found in various parts of Britain at different times, bear traces of hypocaustal arrangements.* Mr. C. R. Smith affirms that in "the north of Europe, they seldom had any connexion" with baths at all;† and it must be borne in mind, that the "delicate bred natives of Southern Europe, Asiatics, or Africans, to pass comfortably the severe winters of the British climate,"‡ required a special provision in their houses, for producing a genial warmth during the winter season; for which purpose, the system of warming by hypocausts, appears to have universally prevailed throughout Roman Britain.§ At the stations of Hadrian's wall, the evidences of their existence are

* "It is probable that most of the rooms of Roman houses in Britain had subterraneous flues or hypocausts, as the nature of the climate must have rendered them occasionally useful at all seasons of the year." *Account of a Roman Villa at Woodchester*, by Samuel Lysons, p. 17.

† *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 93.

‡ J. Just, in *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 8, p. 42.

§ This plan of warming houses appears to have rapidly fallen into decay after the departure of the Romans, and to have been succeeded by the Saxon method of an open fire placed in the centre of the living room, the smoke from which escaped through a hole in the roof.

abundant: this is the case even in the small guard chamber of the entrance gateway of *Borcovicus*, a spot, of all others, the most unlikely for any portion of a bath to have been erected.*

Bruce† thus epitomises the purpose they served, in commenting upon some hypocausts at *Condercum*:—"However much the Romans, in their luxurious city, may have been addicted to the indulgence of the hot bath and the sweating room, it may well be doubted, whether, in this cold climate, they would have any great desire for it; or if they had, whether the dread realities of war would allow them to make, on an enemy's frontier, erections so extensive as this has been, for such a purpose. Next to food, warmth would be their most urgent demand; and a more effectual mode of maintaining a uniform temperature in their dwellings could not be devised, than that which the hypocaust supplied."

The construction of the hypocaust varied very considerably, both in materials and details, in different parts of the country. The Roman architect, Vitruvius, in his Chapter on *Baths* (Book 5, chap 10), after stating that the floor should be so constructed with tiles, as to incline towards the furnace mouth, continues his description in the following manner:—"Piers of eight inch bricks are raised at such a distance from each other, that tiles of two feet may form their covering. The piers are to be two feet in height, and are to be laid with clay mixed with hair, on which the above-mentioned two feet tiles are placed, which carry the pavement." In the essential particulars of this description, the Roman hypocausts found in England, agree.‡

These piers, small pillars, or *pila*, appear to have been usually constructed in this country, of the ordinary square tiles (*lateres*), with intervening layers of clay or mortar, varying in height from 2½ in. to 3 ft., and placed in straight lines at regular distances from each other;

* This chamber, with the adjacent one, had "been warmed by U shaped flues, running round three of their sides, beneath the floor" (Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., p. 219.) A somewhat similar plan of flues, constructed of dwarf walls, had been adopted at *Bremenium*.

† *Ibid*, pp. 139-40.

‡ As examples may be mentioned, the hypocaust found amongst the Roman remains under the London Coal Exchange, and described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4, pp. 38-45: the one found near Dunlocher Bridge, mentioned at p. 299, and engraved in plate 8, of Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*: that discovered at Wheatley, near Oxford, and recorded in vol. 1 of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, pp. 350-1: the one pertaining to the baths at *Aquæ Solis*, fully described at p. 14 of Scarth's *Roman Bath*; and that figured in plate 26 of Artis's *Durobrivæ*.

so that the line of junction of the tiles, forming the base of the supported pavement, should be over the centre of each. At Wroxeter¹ they were upwards of 3 ft. in height, and appear to have had no bonding material. At Chedworth, in Gloucestershire, the alternate pillars had been formed of round and square tiles.

But the Romans did not confine their construction to these, but employed materials of any kind that could be made available, not scrupling to use such as had served a far different purpose in previous buildings, and even cutting down "the handsome columns of halls and temples into pillars for sooty hypocausts."

In a villa near Bath,² and in one at Colerne in Wiltshire,³ they were built up of thin slabs of stone. Short pillars of roughly squared stone, had been employed at the Caerwent Baths,⁴ and at a villa in Shropshire.⁵ Pillars of the native rock had served the purpose at Combe Down, near Bath;⁶ whilst at Ickleton, it was effected by "rows of the native chalk soil being left standing;"⁷ and at Chesterford, by "irregular masses or walls of hard chalk."⁸ In one of the hypocausts at Cirencester, they were constructed of rough stone and tiles, mixed together indiscriminately;⁹ and in another at the same place, they consisted "of hollow flue tiles, placed on end, in some of which was put a mass of mortar, apparently to keep them steady by increasing their weight."¹⁰ Some of the latter kind were found at the villa at Hartlip in Kent,¹¹ and in two instances in London and Essex.¹² At York,¹³ Vindolana on the Great Wall,¹⁴ and at Inveresk,¹⁵ stone pillars, shaped like inverted balusters, had been employed. And many

1 And apparently at *Durobriva*, as shown in plate 5 of Artis's work.

2 Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 121.

3 *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 13, p. 330.

4 Lee's *Iscia Silurum*, p. 102.

5 *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 13, p. 176.

6 *Ibid.* vol. 19, p. 62.

7 *Ibid.* vol. 4, p. 360.

8 *Ibid.* vol. 4, p. 370.

9 *Antient Corinth*, p. 64.

10 *Ibid.* p. 65.

11 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 6.

12 C. R. Smith in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4, p. 45, *et seq.*

13 Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 72, and plate 8.

14 Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., p. 238.

15 Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, plate 4.

examples of portions of the shafts and bases of columns and pilasters, (some of large size), have been found utilised in a similar manner.*

A singular variety of hypocaust construction was uncovered at Woodchester, beneath one of the rooms, which, from the number of flue tubes in the walls, had apparently been intended for a *Calidarium*. Projecting from two of the sides, but separated along the centre by an open space, the length of the room, were a series of cross walls, narrow below and broad above, and perforated by two or three rows of semi-circular tiles (*imbrices*), some of which were arranged in pairs so as to form circular channels; the whole being closed in above by oblong tiles;† so that the heat currents could pass unimpeded in every direction.

In some instances ordinary flues were constructed, instead of the more complicated built-up *pilæ*; such was the case in several of the Woodchester apartments; for example, the large pavement had "several flues running under it which crossed each other at right angles; they were large enough to admit a person to creep through a great part of them."‡ A plan somewhat similar was met with at Rodmarton in Gloucestershire; excepting that the channels branched off irregularly, and were of various dimensions, some being "eleven inches wide, others seven inches and a half." In this instance, although the flues communicated with an opening through the outside wall, answering to the *præfurnium*, yet they were apparently not "intended for any other purpose than that of keeping the several rooms dry."§

The floor of the hypocaust, on which the *pilæ* rested, sometimes consisted of the natural rock or soil (the latter well beaten into a hard surface), but more generally of a bed of tiles or concrete; whilst the vault or roof was almost invariably formed of tiles, occasionally of one row, but more frequently of two (sometimes of three or more); those of the lower row being smaller than those of the upper, which latter joined closely, so as to form the foundation of the proper pavement.

The fire was made at the place called the *præfurnium*, which was an opening into the hypocaust, through an external wall of the building; sometimes of square form, as at Caerwent, and Jublains in France; frequently semicircular, either as a pseudo-arch, formed of

* *Antient Corinthum*, p. 22; Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 2nd edit., p. 206; *Archæologia*, vol. 9, p. 327; and *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 16, pp. 211-12.

† *Account of a Roman Building at Woodchester*, by S. Lysons, plates 25-27.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 5.

§ *Archæologia*, vol. 18, p. 45.

overlapping tiles, as at Caerleon, or constructed of materials in the true arch form, of stone as at Cirencester, or of tiles as at Wroxeter.* Its communication with the body of the hypocaust, often consisted of a long narrow vent, as in instances at Wroxeter, Caerwent, and Withington in Gloucestershire.† The approach to it was usually on the outside of the building, forming a kind of stoke hole, and bore a close similarity to the firing places of modern hothouses. The fire appears to have been generally made at the mouth of the *præfurnium* (the focus or hearth), and on a level with the floor of the hypocaust. The cheeks or sides of the furnace, as well as the *pilæ* in their immediate vicinity, are often found slagged and burnt; together with a copious deposit of soot on all the adjacent parts.‡

It is evident from the large quantities of wood ashes, found at the mouths of furnaces, that wood (which was at that period abundant in quantity and readily obtained), was the fuel generally employed; but that Coal was known to the Romans, and, in the districts where it was plentiful, was used by them, is indisputable. At Wroxeter,§ coal in its mineral, as well as in its burnt condition, was found lying adjacent to, and within some of the hypocausts; whilst, not only have the ashes been found in nearly all the Stations of the Great Wall of Hadrian,

* The general construction of the opening into one of the hypocausts at Woodchester, is thus described in the work of Lysons:—"The aperture under the wall, where the fire seems to have been placed, was formed by bricks 1 ft. 5 in. long, 1 ft. wide, and 2 in. thick; it is 1 ft. 11 in. wide at the bottom, and 6 in. at the top, where a sort of arch is formed by the edges of the bricks gradually advancing beyond each other. This fire-place has walls 1 ft. 8 in. thick on each side of it, 4 ft. 2 in. asunder, and projecting 4 ft. from the wall of the room. It is probable that this was formerly arched." The plan and elevation are figured in the accompanying plate.

† *Vide* plate 6 in *Archæologia*, vol. 18.

‡ At a villa discovered in Wiltshire, "the furnace chamber was constructed of large stones, which, from the action of the fire, had very much the aspect of very large blue pebbles: the communication between this and the hypocaust had its sides constructed with bricks an inch thick, whilst the top and bottom of the aperture were of hard stone." (*Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 13, p. 330.) The Jublains example, above mentioned, is represented in the accompanying plate, and in the description of it (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 3, p. 115) Mr. C. R. Smith suggests, that some of the culinary operations were conducted there. At Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire, Mr. S. Lysons "conjectured that the *præfurnium* of the hypocaust served for the purposes of cookery," from having found in it "fragments of a colander, and several other coarse earthen vessels, and an instrument of iron, which seemed to have been intended for culinary purposes." *Archæologia*, vol. 18, pp. 115-6.

§ Wright's *Guide to Wroxeter*, 2nd edit., pp. 38 and 55.

but, according to Bruce,* "in some, a store of unconsumed coal has been met with, which, though intended to give warmth to the primeval occupants of the isthmus, has been burnt in the grates of the modern English."†

* *Roman Wall*, 2nd edit., pp. 432-3.

† Some writers have denied that the Romans employed, or knew the properties of coal, whilst, at the same time, they have alleged that "the primeval Britons appear to have used it." (Art. *Coalery* in Burrowes' *Modern Encyclopædia*.) Pennant's assertion, "since wood was the fuel of their own country, and Britain was over-run with forests, it is not likely they would pierce into the bowels of the earth for a less grateful kind;" (*Tour in Scotland*, edit. 1790, vol. 3, p. 312); serves only to show that the Romans employed wood, because it was obtained with greater ease. It would seem inexplicable, supposing it were correct, that coal should have been used by the former, whilst the latter were totally unacquainted with it. But a close investigation of the subject, more especially of the archaeological explorations of late years, proves satisfactorily, that this great people *did* understand the peculiar properties of this mineral fuel, and moreover employed it in those localities where it approached the surface. The following facts will serve to corroborate the statement made in the text:—At one of the meetings of the British Archaeological Association (*Journal*, vol. 16, p. 324.) Mr. Wright "exhibited some specimens of mineral coal recently obtained from one of the hypocausts excavated at Wroxeter, thus placing the employment of this material for heating the flues of the Romans beyond further question." And Mr. Hull ("On the Coal resources of Great Britain" in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, vol. 1, p. 31) affirms, that the coal used by the Romans at Wroxeter, was obtained from what is now known as, the Colebrookdale Coal Field; and, owing to the circumstance, that "the coal has been worked here more than a thousand years." in "twenty years hence," it "will in all probability be exhausted." Again, along the line of the Great Wall, "in several places, the source whence the mineral was procured, can be pointed out." (Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 2nd edit., p. 433.) Even Horsley (*Britannia Romana*, p. 209) mentions "a coalery not far from *Benwel* (Northumberland), a part of which is judged by those who are best skilled in such affairs, to have been wrought by the Romans." At one of the meetings of the Archaeological Institute (*Journal*, vol. 5, p. 69), Mr. Pratt exhibited a bronze celt, "found as he stated, in ancient workings for coal, supposed to have been known to the Romans in Andalusia." In Rees' *Encyclopædia*, art. *Coal*, (quoted from Whitaker's *History of Manchester*), it is stated, that "in the West Riding of Yorkshire are many beds of cinders, heaped up in the fields, in one of which a number of Roman coins were found some years ago." We learn from Wallis (*History of Northumberland*, vol. 1, p. 119) that "in digging up some of the foundations of their (the Roman) walled city *Magna* or *Caerborran*. 1762, coal cinders, some very large, were turned up." Again, during the excavations on the site of a villa at Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire, "several large pieces of pit coal, with coal ashes, were found." (*Archæologia*, vol. 19, p. 183.) Whilst at Woodchester, "a considerable quantity of coal ashes was discovered" between some walls which had apparently supported a boiler. (*Account of Roman*

The warm bath frequently had a hypocaust beneath it; and around its sides, flues are sometimes found. This plan would not be sufficient to heat the water, but would act as an important adjunct in assisting to maintain its temperature.*

It must not be supposed that, whenever a hypocaust is discovered, the remains of flue tiles in position will of necessity be found. This arises, partly from the circumstance, that the remains of Roman buildings are rarely discovered above the floor level, and partly from the fact, that flues were not present in all rooms.

The system of warming apartments by hypocausts and flues, must have possessed many advantages. It must have created a genial temperature all through the winter apartments; and although the great thickness of the pavement (averaging one foot), would require a prolonged heat, before it could be thoroughly warmed, yet when it was once brought to this state, it would retain it for a considerable time, and certainly would not scorch the air, and produce that unpleasant odor, so common where ordinary stoves are employed. Moreover, the presence of one or two flues, would soon warm the apartment, without taking into consideration the warmth derived from the pavement itself. A little inattention to the furnace would make no material difference to the temperature of the house, and a fire might be left all night with thorough safety. Further than this, by the heated air passing through so many channels, the heat would be pretty well exhausted, before the external termination of the flues was reached.†

The portions of the rooms of the Roman building or buildings, disinterred in Bridge-street, Chester, show the remains of an extensive series of hypocausts, not excelled in interest by any hitherto discovered in Britain. The sites of all the rooms had been excavated out of the

* The existence of a hypocaust under a bath is well shown in an example discovered at Carisbrooke, engraved in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 6, p. 125. (*vide* also *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 16, p. 315.) Combined with the system of flues, instances have been found at Caerwent (*Isca Silurum*, p. 100. and plate 41), at Wroxeter in 1788 (*Archaeologia*, vol. 9, pp. 327-8), and at Wheatley, near Oxford (*Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3.) At the latter place two small baths had been erected near each other, and the describer terms one of them a boiler or cistern, although it scarcely possesses the necessary attributes of such. Single flues are shewn in the walls of a bath uncovered at Isurium, as represented in plate 14 of H. E. Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae*.

† *Vide* remarks in Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st edit., pp. 180-1.



ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER.
The Hylocaust Pillars

solid rock, and upon the bared surface, a thick layer of ordinary concrete, containing large pieces of pounded tile, had been spread, thereby forming a floor upon which the pillars stood, so that any rising of damp was effectually prevented.

Commencing with the one first uncovered, and which was the most complete of the series, the pilæ, or supporting pillars of the pavement, were of a most unusual type, and consisted of square columns formed of single blocks of sandstone, averaging 2 ft. 9 in. in height, roughly worked to shape with the pick; so roughly, in fact, that, excepting in height, no two of the pillars were alike in their measurements.* Their upper and lower parts were expanded, and varied from 10½ in. to 12½ in. square, that of the shafts being from 7 in. to 10 in. Some were taper, the large end being uppermost, whilst others were considerably curved, or even, as it were, twisted. The average distance from one base to another was about 10 in.; they were so arranged in parallel rows, as to be at right angles to, and equi-distant from, each other; and all appeared to occupy their original positions.† Upon these pillars were found large flat red tiles (*lateres*), measuring 18 in. square and 3 in. thick, loosely placed, without any intervening mortar or clay. These again were surmounted by larger tiles, averaging 2 ft. square, so laid, that each tile rested vertically over portions of four pillars: being in close contact with the adjacent tiles, they formed a complete floor, and constituted the basis of the pavement of the apartment. These two layers, which had no bonding material between them, formed a kind of pseudo-arch, and most probably rested where they joined the wall, in proper set-offs, as at Wroxeter. In several places thin slabs of grey sandstone had been substituted for tiles, and nearly all of the latter were in a fractured condition at the time of their discovery.

The tiles of the upper row, differed from those of the lower, in containing a number of ½ in. perforations, and varying from 6 to 13 in number in each tile. In attempting an explanation of the use of these holes, a writer in one of the local papers (apparently copied from Hemingway's *Chester*, vol. 2, p. 353), stated that "steam was admitted into the chamber above," through them. Now if this were

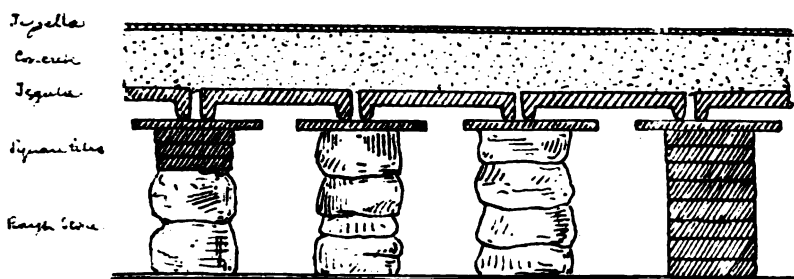
* One of somewhat similar shape is engraved in plate 8 of Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*.

† At Wroxeter, a wider interval existed between the pillars along the centre of one of the large hypocausts, which was thought by Mr. Wright to be for the purpose of cleansing and removing the soot; nothing of the kind has been observed in the Chester examples.

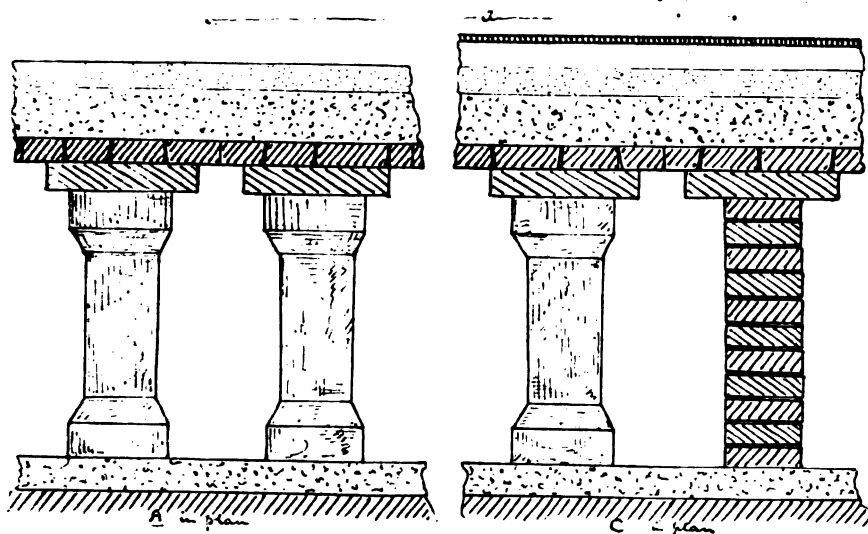
correct we should naturally expect to find this plan, or one attended with similar results, adopted in hypocausts in other parts of the country; such however is not the case, but on the contrary, pains were evidently taken to make the floor, constructed of these tiles, a complete barrier of separation between the pavement proper and the hypocaust*. The method of firing employed, would generate vapors of a hot and dry character, and any moisture would seriously impede the draught. If even steam were generated, its ascension into the apartment above, through the small holes in these tiles, would be a matter of simple impossibility; for,—in addition to the fact that the greater number of these perforations were obstructed by the first series of tiles, capping the pilæ,—the moist vapor would have to find its way through a solid concrete pavement, one foot in thickness. Moreover this explanation would have the effect of converting all the hypocausts hitherto discovered in Chester, into *sudatoria*. These perforations were most probably found useful in some stage of the manufacture of the tiles, more especially to ensure their proper flatness—a point of essential importance. It has to be borne in mind, that a comparatively thin mass of clay, 24 in. square, must have been liable to warp in the process of drying; and it is fair to presume that the manufacturer ascertained by experience, that the presence of a number of perforations, would not diminish the strength of the tiles; but, by forming so many independent centres, would facilitate and equalize the process of drying, and in this way prevent twisting and warping. Had they been intended to facilitate the transmission of heat or vapors, the removal of a portion by a circular punch, would have left a clear channel for this purpose; but a careful examination of them, shows that they were rudely made by some pointed implement, producing a simple displacement of the soft clay, leaving a smooth full-sized hole on the lower surface of the tile, and one much smaller, and having a raised irregular lip, on the upper surface. In confirmation of this view, it may be mentioned that some kind of modern bricks are perforated on this principle.†

* Even perforated tiles are very rarely found. One discovered amongst other Roman remains at Wroxeter in 1788. was deemed of sufficient importance to require a special description, and as will be perceived by the following extract from Mr. Leighton's paper (*Archæologia*, vol 9, p. 326). bore a close resemblance to the Chester examples:—"A tile two feet square, pierced with many holes, which holes were wide at the lower side, and ended almost in a point at the upper side."

† Some were exhibited at the meeting.



CONSTRUCTION OF **HYPOCAUST** AT CIRENCESTER (CORINIVM)
(note p. 67 and 68)



CONSTRUCTION OF TWO **HYPOCAUSTS** AND FLOORS
OF THE 1ST AND 3RD APARTMENTS IN BRIDGE ST. CHESTER (note p. 69)



GROUND PLAN

ELEVATION

PRÆFURNIVM AT WOODCHESTER (note p. 69)

(continued on p. 70)

All the pilæ, as well as the tiles, were carefully examined to ascertain, whether there were any traces of the action of fire; but, with the exception of some doubtful appearances at the south-western angle, there were no marks of any, no slags, and an entire absence of soot. Large quantities of cinders and coals were found in the rubbish of the hypocaust, but they were evidently of a comparatively modern origin; derived principally from large ash pits, which occupied the east end of the room, and from which the pillars had been removed.

Neither in this, or in any of the other rooms, were flue tiles found in position, nor were there any signs as to where any had been fixed, but that they had been employed, is proved by the fragments of them found amongst the debris. Nor were there any openings in the divisional walls between the hypocausts; nevertheless communications may have existed along the south boundary, or in those portions of the lateral walls which were unable to be examined.

As we are unaware of the size of the original room, we can form a proximate notion only as to the number of pillars which must have existed on the site, and the same may be said of all the other apartments. The width was 23 ft., and must have required 12 rows of pillars, of which the remains of ten consecutive ones were found. We are unacquainted with its proper length, but as far as the mediæval wall, which formed its modern boundary, there were the remains of twelve rows of pillars, and beneath and beyond the wall, the remains of two others were found, so that we have full evidence of the original existence of 168 of these pillars, and there were probably more, as no traces of a Roman cross wall were discoverable. The number stated, will afford us a faint idea, of the enormous amount of labour, expended in the construction of these hypocausts.

In the second room, containing the first tessellated pavement which was discovered, there were found several whole and many fragments of pillars, similar to those just described.* This was also the case on the site of the 4th room. But in the 3rd, although some pillars of the same character were found, yet they were intermingled with some constructed of tiles (the ordinary *lateres*, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. square and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick), bedded together with clay. Neither on these, nor on any of the large covering tiles, were there any legionary or other marks.

* The square opening into this hypocaust, which existed in the main wall, may perhaps have served a similar purpose to the one at Rodmarton, noticed in p. 63.

No remains of hypocaust pillars were found in the 5th room, although there is but little doubt that they existed there originally, as the floor was on the same level with that of the other rooms.

These hypocausts, it should here be stated, are by no means the first which have been discovered within the Roman boundaries of Chester. Two, for example, were found in Watergate-street in 1779; the smaller of which contained "ten pillars on two sides, and a vacant space in the middle. Adjoined to it was a small apartment, with the walls plastered."* One was described by Stukeley as existing in Northgate-street in 1776.† Another, the so called "Roman Bath," is the one happily yet preserved in Bridge-street, and which was discovered more than a century since. Its front wall is about 51 ft. from the line of the present street, and in advance of the more recent discoveries. The dimensions of its interior, as it now exists, are 15 ft. long, by 8 ft. broad (these are the rough measurements,—the walls being somewhat irregular, render it difficult to give the exact length and breadth.) The pillars are of sandstone, and are similar in form to those of the adjoining hypocausts; their original number was 32, in four rows of eight in each, and thus tallies with Pennant's description.‡ Lysons§ gives a plan of it, which is erroneous, as showing seven only in a row instead of eight. At present there remain 28 pillars, of the same character as those recently discovered, but the dimensions are somewhat less, averaging 2 ft. 8 in. only in height. The floor is of concrete. On the south side, according to Pennant, "between the middle pillars is the vent for the smoke, about 6 in. square, which is at present open to the height of 16 in."|| There is a rough

* These remains (according to Hemingway's *History of Chester*, vol. 2, p. 853; and Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. 1, p. 295) were removed to Oulton Park. One of the pilæ is, however, preserved in the garden of the house adjoining the Chester Railway Station, formerly occupied by Mr. John Broster. It is of red sandstone, and agrees in general measurements and character with the Bridge-street examples. Let into the upper surface is a brass plate, containing the following inscription:—"A fragment of the Roman hypocaust discovered in Watergate-street, Chester, and which was erected *circa* fifty years before Christ." It need scarcely be remarked that this assigned date is too early by at the very least a century and a half.

† "At the great house over against the shambles is a hypocaust of the Romans, made of bricks all marked with the twentieth legion. It is the floor of a cellar." *Itinerarium Curiosum*, cent. 2, p. 34.

‡ *Tour in Wales*, vol. 1, p. 111.

§ *Magna Britannia,—Cheshire*, p. 431.

|| *Tour in Wales*, vol. 1, p. 112.

opening still remaining, but whatever may have been its condition when Pennant examined it, its present appearance does not exhibit any of the characteristics of a flue.*

It has been stated, that although it originally contained 32 pillars, there are now only 28. Of the four now missing, the engraving in Lysons' work shows two, so that the other two have probably been removed, since the date of publication of that work in 1810. One must have been removed at the time when the excavation was made in the body of the hypocaust, for the evident purpose of exhibiting the general structure more easily to visitors, otherwise the tiles for a considerable space would have been unsupported.

Opening into the hypocaust, is a doorway 2 ft. wide, reaching from the bottom of the excavation just described, to the level of the floor supported by the pillars: having its sides grooved, it was supposed by Hemingway to have been for an iron door. Of the Roman origin of the pillars, and the floor they supported, we have no doubt; but on making a searching examination of the interior, we have ample evidence that all the walls are not of the same date. The east and south sides are of undoubted Roman work; the stones being set in even courses, bedded in concrete, and bonded together at the angle of junction: and moreover, *the east side is continuous with the west boundary wall of the more recently discovered hypocaust*, the characteristics of the two being similar. The north and west sides, however, are certainly not of Roman

* Much has been written about this very hypocaust, and yet scarcely two writers agree in the description, measurements, or other points connected with it. The defect in the plan in Lysons' work has been already mentioned. Dr. Wollaston, in his work *Thermæ Romano-Britannicæ* (p. 11), describes the pillars as being 2 ft. 10½ in. high, which he has apparently copied from Pennant (*Tour in Wales*, vol. 1. pp 111-2.) In a popular work on "*The Turkish Bath*," by the eminent surgeon Erasmus Wilson, 3 ft. is stated to be the height, agreeing in this respect with Hemingway's measurements (vol. 2. p. 352), and the description given by this latter author is inaccurate in several other respects. In Wilson's work (in the explanation of the plate of the hypocaust at p. 23), occurs this passage, "The floor on which the burning embers lay is uneven; while the roof, which is the under part of the floor of the bath, exhibits evidences of the corroding action of the fire." Now the floor was originally even, but has been worn and chipped by the numerous visitors. The roof shows no marks of the corroding action of fire, but mischievous hands have removed portions of it, and in common with the pillars, it is so begrimed with smoke and grease, from the large amount of gas, oil, and candles, which have been expended in illuminating it, that its irregular and dirty appearance is not to be wondered at; moreover, whatever evidences of the action of fire it may have originally possessed, have long since been obliterated.

work, the courses being irregular, and not bonding with those of the east and south sides; the mortar is soft and friable, and the internal face, more especially of the west side, is so irregular as scarcely to consist of courses at all, whilst the external consists of much larger stones.*

On the west side of the hypocaust, and connected with it by means of the doorway already mentioned, is a large antechamber, excavated out of the solid rock, the floor of which is rather more than three feet below that of the hypocaust, and therefore considerably lower than any other of the Roman remains more recently discovered in the same locality. This has been called the *præfurnium*, but in its present condition possesses none of the attributes of one. In the floor at its north-eastern angle is a square pit, measuring 9 ft. 7½ in. long by 3 ft. 6½ in. broad, and 4 ft. deep, and usually half filled with water, which drains from its rocky sides. This has been termed a Roman cold or plunge bath,† a title to which it has scarcely a right, since it exhibits none of the characteristics of a bath; it has no seat, or drain, and is situated close to that wall of the hypocaust which has been pointed out as a comparatively modern one, which in itself is almost sufficient to prove its non-Roman character; moreover, its position is so considerably below the level of the pavement supported by the pilæ, and its construction so rude in its character, as to be totally unlike all cold or plunge baths of the Roman period hitherto discovered in Britain.

From these remarks it appears probable, that the hypocaust belonged to the range of Roman buildings, found on the site of the Feathers' Hotel; that it was originally of much larger size, and occupied the whole or part of the area of the present antechamber; that the construction and deepening of the latter took place at a tolerably late period, coincident perhaps with the erection of the wall between it and the hypocaust (and probably also of the long wall on the north side of

* An admirable etching by Mr. W. Ayrton, showing the west wall and opening into the hypocaust, &c., appears in vol. 1 of our Society's *Journal*, and in the remarks accompanying it, is the following paragraph:—"It was hard to say of what age the stone wall and door-place might be, through which the pillars and hot air flues are seen."

† "A sort of tank, 7 ft. (1) deep, 10 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, situate near the mouth of the furnace, which may have served either as a receptacle for warm water, or as a place for a plunge in cold water, after the previous processes of the bath had been completed." (*The Eastern, or Turkish Bath*, by Erasmus Wilson, p. 32.)

the latter); and that the tank was sunk for the purpose of draining the latter, being covered over with a wooden floor, holes for the supporting joists of which still remain.

DRAINS.—We have already noticed the evident care bestowed by the Romans in preventing their houses from being affected by damp; it can therefore be no matter of surprise that their plan of drainage was efficient, and received a large share of their attention.

From the baths and other places inside the dwelling, the waste water escaped by means of leaden pipes into the outside drains.¹ In the construction of the latter, building materials of any kind were employed. In Thames-street, London, one was "formed at the bottom and sides, of two inch boards, 18 in. deep, and 10 in. wide, arched over with Roman tiles placed lengthways, the sides meeting in the centre at top, imbedded in mortar."² At The Gaer, Brecknockshire, a portion of a drain was discovered "made of semicircular tiles of about an inch thick."³ At Towcester "tiles, like some forms of modern draining tiles, were found;"⁴ whilst a considerable number of a kind "usually made to fit into each other," and ranging in length "from 12 in. to 25 in., and 4 in. to 8 in. in diameter," have been met with in London;⁵ some of which may have been conduit pipes. At Wroxeter⁶ one was formed of flanged tiles (*tegulæ*)—a method not uncommonly adopted, and must have proved very efficient in open drainage. At Caerleon "a large number of drains were discovered amongst the foundations, which varied exceedingly both in size and materials: in some cases they were merely built of coarse stones; in others they were neatly stuccoed; some were floored with the large square roofing tiles, and others with concrete."⁷ At the same place they were constructed, in two instances, of flue tiles; another example of which was found at a villa in Shropshire.⁸ At Jublains in France, they were of masonry,⁹ and are still nearly perfect. No remains of drains were noticed amongst the Bridge-street ruins; it may however be remarked that many of the

1 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, pp. 7-8, and vol. 6, p. 125; Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 17.

2 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, pp. 38 to 55.

3 *Archæologia*, vol. 1, pp. 296-7.

4 *Ibid*, vol. 7, p. 113.

5 C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 116.

6 Wright's *Guide to Wroxeter*, 2nd edit., p. 52.

7 *Iscæ Silurum*, p. 40.

8 *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 13, p. 176.

9 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 3, p. 110, and plate 27.



fragments of tegulæ, which were plentiful amongst the rubbish, were unusually thick and heavy, and may have been originally employed to form surface drains; whilst the lighter tegulæ were confined to the construction of the roof.

That the streets were not wholly destitute of open drains for the waste and rain water, was exemplified at Wroxeter, where, on one side of a street, was laid bare "a gutter, very well made, of carefully squared stones;"* across the same street a number of stones had been placed, similar to those found at Pompeii, and apparently intended to be used as stepping stones, when the streets were flooded, or muddy. A good example of a channel drain was uncovered a few years since in Mill-lane (formerly Pierpoint-lane), on the west side of Bridge-street, Chester, just opposite the site of the Feathers Hotel, and consisted of blocks of red sandstone 1 ft. thick, and 3 ft. wide, having a 6 in. half-round channel. It was laid on a thick bed of concrete, common to it and to some other Roman remains.†

Portions of the main sewers have been discovered in several of the Roman towns in Britain.‡ At Hunnum, "crossing the station diagonally * * a sewer or drain was found of considerable dimensions." Mr. Bruce§ states his "informant crept along it for about one hundred yards." At Lincoln, Mr. Wright informs us "the Roman sewers are still in good preservation, and are constructed of excellent masonry. They are covered with large flags of stone. A small transverse drain brought down the waters from each house." Mr. C. R. Smith walked up one "about a hundred yards."||

Although we have reason to believe that DEVA, like all other Roman towns, had a proper system of drainage, but few indications of any have as yet been recorded amongst the archaeological discoveries in Chester. It is possible that much of the waste water may have been discharged from the town by open channels, similar to the one in Mill-lane already described, and the general slope of the ground towards

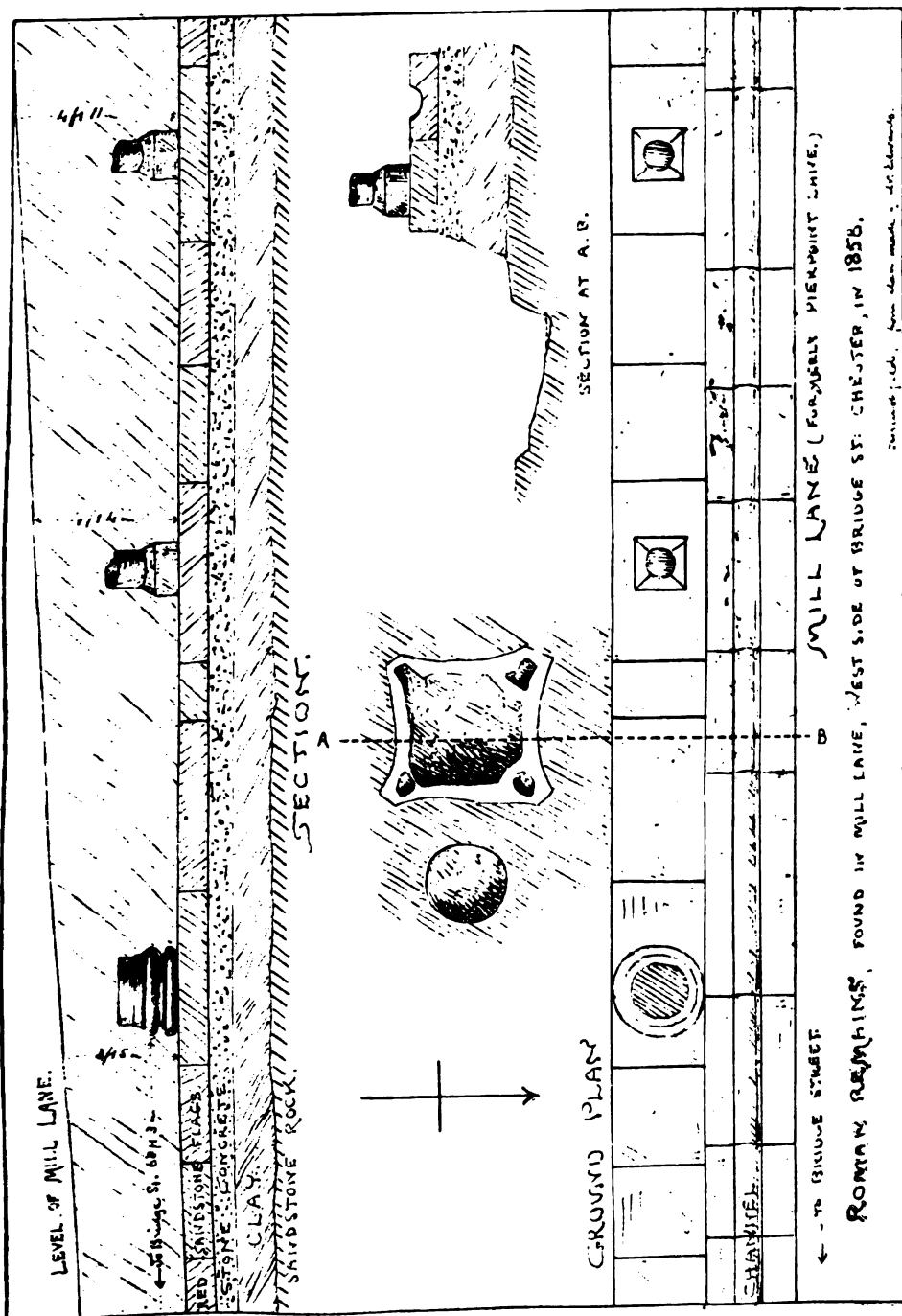
* *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 16, p. 162.

† An out-door drain stone was found at Caerleon, and is engraved in plate 10 of Lee's *Ica Silurum*.

‡ We have evidence of the extreme importance attached by the Romans to a proper system of sewers, in the great care bestowed by them, at a very early period in the history of their great City, in the erection of that wonderful work, the Cloaca Maxima, and which after a lapse of twenty-three centuries, still continues, through its outlet in the Tiber, to drain Rome.

§ *Roman Wall*, 2nd edit., p. 129.

|| *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 2nd edit., pp. 179-180.



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the river would be favourable to their adoption. It is, however, hardly probable that such a plan would have been sufficient for conveying the proper sewage from the houses and streets;* and although but little attention has been hitherto directed to the subject, we are not altogether hopeless of finding some clue to it. Now it is remarkable that we have several accounts of the discovery at different times, along the line of Pepper and Cuppin-streets, and beneath the whole extent of Old Lamb Row, of a continuous line of excavations in the solid rock, varying in depth from 12 ft. to 16 ft. below the present street level, the width above being from 5 ft. to 7 ft., narrowing in their descent, and having at intervals square recesses. The soil and rubbish which occupied them contained numerous Roman antiquities. On what would appear to be very slender grounds, they have been termed subterraneous passages or roads, and one writer suggests they may have formed a portion of an aqueduct. There appears to be an equal, or even a greater probability, that they were some of the main drains of the city. Their depth, narrowness at the bottom, and the soil like character of their contents at the lower part, favour this supposition; and although their direction across Bridge-street, instead of towards the river, appeared to Mr. Ayrton to be an insuperable objection, yet such descents may have been made at other points not yet discovered; and moreover, certain outlets into the river, which may have been connected with these very excavations, were thus described in the last century by Stukeley (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, edit. of 1776, centuria 2, p. 31):—"The ancient subterraneous canals are perfect still; their outlets into the river under the City Walls are visible; and they say that they are so high, that a man may walk upright their whole length."†

* In the brief description of one of the Watergate-street hypocausts, Pennant (*vide* Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. 1, p. 295) mentions the existence of "a subterraneous passage, possibly a drain."

† One of the earliest allusions to these excavations appeared in Hemingway's *Chester*, vol. 2, p. 356, to which it was contributed by a correspondent, from whose account we learn that one extended beneath Lamb Row for "upwards of 100 feet, and not terminating at either extremity of the premises." It was uniformly "through its whole extent about 5 ft. wide and 16 ft. deep in the rock," as ascertained by probing with iron rods. In one place by sinking a hole to the bottom he "found it filled in with soil, and at the depth of 8 ft. it appeared to have been boarded across with three inch oak plank, dividing it into an upper and lower road, each 8 ft. high," with at intervals "small square enlargements, as if intended to admit a passing." He concludes his description by remarking, "there can be no doubt but such an excavation must have been intended for some public purpose, the nature of which, by following the direction of it some

We have thus given a full description, in detail, of the Roman structures so recently brought to light, and compared them with the remains of the same era discovered in other parts of the country. We now proceed to enter upon another branch of our enquiry, and to summarise much of this information, by an attempt to ascertain, whether these remains constituted a series of private dwellings, or one or more public buildings, and what may have been their probable character, extent, and date.

BUILDINGS, WHETHER PRIVATE OR PUBLIC.—In *the Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (2nd edit., p. 176), Mr. Wright remarks,—“There are reasons for supposing that in the more important towns, the greatest dwelling-houses were, as at Pompeii, back from the street, and that each was inclosed outwardly with several houses and shops.” The remains of the structures at present under consideration answered to this description, in so far as they were situated “back from the street,” thus favouring the idea of their *private* character: after taking, however, the following points into consideration, we feel compelled to adopt the view that they formed a portion of one or more of the *public* edifices.

1. The situation,—in one of the principal streets of the Roman town. This, in itself may be comparatively valueless, but as connected with other circumstances must not be overlooked.

2. The great extent of the remains. Commencing at the cross-wall opposite the site of the first pillar, the buildings extended in an easterly direction to the full length of the ground excavated, viz., 125 ft.; beyond this, the remains of another tessellated pavement and of the continuation of a paved yard (*vide* K 2, in Ground Plan) proved that the ultimate limits of the buildings had not been reached, and, unfortunately for our object, were unable to be determined.

distance, might possibly be pretty accurately surmised.” Notwithstanding, however, that at a subsequent period it was traced onwards into Pepper-street, no further light has been thrown upon its character. An account of the latter discoveries was contributed by Mr. W. Ayrton to the *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, vol. 1, pp. 79–84 (there is also a brief description by the Rev. W. H. Massie in the *Journal of our Society*, vol. 1, pp. 461–2), in which he points out the absence of “any remains in the form of arches, or covering to this excavation,” which “must have existed,” “had it been a subterraneous passage.” But the oak planking found in the portion under Lamb Row, would have been sufficient to form such a covering, and the employment of wood in the formation of Roman drains, we have already seen exemplified in the construction of the one uncovered in Thames-street, London.

Returning to the front wall used as a starting point, it has already been demonstrated (p. 12) that at least one other apartment existed between it and the present street. Moreover, this wall was continuous with the one forming the posterior boundary of the existing hypocaust (the 'Roman Bath'); and when this is coupled with the fact that the *pilæ* of this latter, as well as the tessellated pavement found above it, were of the same character as those of the later discoveries, we have ample grounds for assuming, that the two formed a portion of the same edifice. Now, on turning to the pages of Hemingway's *Chester* (vol. 2, p. 352), we find it recorded that "when the machine for the weighing of coals (now removed) was erected"—in front of the site of the 'Roman Bath,'—"part of the angle of a Roman building was pulled up at that time, which was undoubtedly one end of the bath; from thence to the hypocaust is 35 ft.;" thus approaching on the South side to within 16 ft. of the present street; whilst, on the North, the existence of the concrete foundation of a wall (X in plan) marks the probability of a similar extension. In addition to this, it has already been stated (pp. 14-15) that along the line of Bridge-street portions of the foundation courses of Roman walls (I, I, in plan) were found; so that we have satisfactory evidence of the original existence of Roman buildings, extending from the most Eastern point of the recent excavations to the frontage of the present street—a distance of about 175 ft. Whether the whole formed a portion of one edifice only, will occupy our attention presently.

Owing to the more limited nature of the excavations in the direction of North and South, we are scarcely able to form a proximate opinion as to the breadth of the original building. As however, at the West end, the distance from the main wall to that of the South boundary of the 'Roman bath' (both walls inclusive), measured about 53 ft., there is no reason for believing that the breadth would be less than this in any other part; and that it was much more is highly probable from the extension of the buildings on the South side, a matter which may be determined by future excavations. These measurements are independent of the space occupied by the pillars.

3. The large size of the rooms. We have seen that the fourth, or South boundary of the first room (as well as of the others) was wanting, and although explorations beneath the modern buildings which intersected it, were rewarded by the discovery of two additional rows of hypocaust *pilæ*—being as far as an examination could be made—no traces appeared of a wall beyond. Connecting this with the fact

that the West wall of this room was continuous with, and formed the division between it and the hypocaust of the 'Roman Bath,' we can scarcely help arriving at the conclusion, that the South wall of the former was, in all probability, in a line with the existing one of the latter: this would cause the inner measurements of this room to be 44 ft. long by 23 ft. wide. The length of the other rooms is not likely to have been less than this.

4. The thickness of the main wall. This has already been described as 4 feet, an unusual thickness for an ordinary wall. Mr. Wright states that at Wroxeter* it was "only in one or two cases of what appeared to be very important walls," that they exceeded three feet †

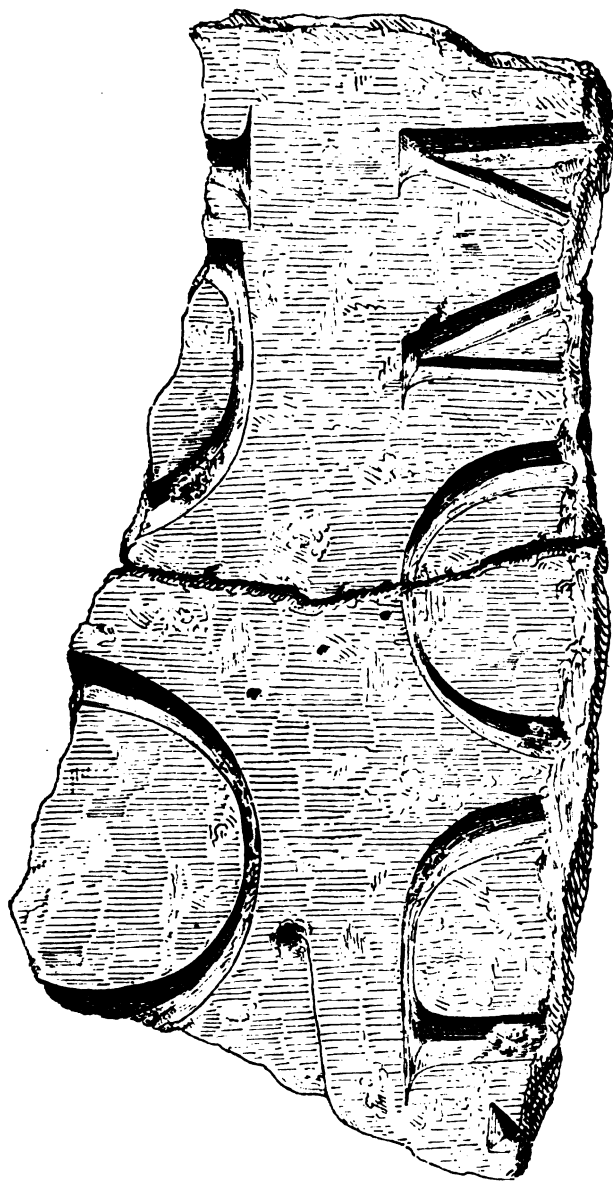
5. The presence of two rows of pillars. That they formed a portion of a public structure is tolerably apparent, but whether connected with the other remains or not will be considered hereafter.

6. The discovery of the remains of an inscribed marble slab. Close to the outer face of the main wall, and opposite the site of the sixth pillar (counting from the West) were found two fragments of a stone bearing the remains of an inscription.‡ Although the fracture was an original one, yet fortunately the fragments fitted together accurately, and, when united, measured $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth,

* *Guide to Wroxeter*, 2nd ed., p. 48.

† The walls of ordinary dwelling-houses appear to have been generally from 2 ft. to 3 ft. in thickness; but sometimes they were much less, as in the example of a villa at Withington, in Gloucestershire, where they measured 1 ft. 8 in. (*Archaeologia*, vol. 18, p. 120), and one at Chesterford of 22 in. (*British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, p. 366). They were 2 ft. at Ickleton (*Ibid*, p. 360), at a villa in the Isle of Wight (*Ibid* vol. 16, p. 314), at Woodchester (Lysons' *Woodchester*, p. 7), at Comb End, near Corinium (*Archaeologia*, vol. 18, p. 112), and in two buildings at Isurium (H. E. Smith's *R. liquiae Isuriana* pp. 17, 42). At Hartlip the walls of rooms were "about 2 ft. 3 in. thick" (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 4), whilst those of a small villa at Caerwent were 2 ft. 6 in. (*Isca Silurum*, p. 99). The walls of one room at Bignor were 2 ft. 6 in. thick on three sides, and 3 ft. on the fourth (*Archaeologia*, vol. 18, p. 207). The main wall of the Roman building under the City Coal Exchange, London, was 3 ft. (*British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 4, p. 38 *et seq*): this was also the measurement of most of the walls of a villa at Caerleon, but in one instance was $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (*Isca Silurum*, p. 92).

‡ Their preservation was wholly due to the exertions of the late Mr. John Peacock, who, being on the spot at the time they were exhumed, at once recognised their character, and prevented their removal by the rubbish cart.



Scale of Inches.

INSCRIBED MARBLE SLAB

FOUND IN BRIDGE ST: CHESTER.
IN 1863.

(255) *Engraved by J. B. B.*

and 2 in. thick. They are shown on the opposite Plate. A comparatively brief examination of their material is sufficient to prove them to be of Purbeck shell marble.* The posterior surface is rough, and mortar still closely adheres to it: the upper part of the stone is very highly polished, and near its left margin is a rough indentation (evidently produced by some blunt pointed instrument), proceeding from which is a crack. Upon the latter surface are the remains of an incised inscription, but of so fragmentary a character, as to afford us but little clue to the original formula. It consists (*vide* accompanying plate) of portions of two rows, the upper containing the lower parts of the letters O G, and the first limb of an A (?); the lower, of the upper halves of the letters DOM, with a point before the D. The letters are of particularly large size, well cut, and as sharp now as on the day when they were first incised, a proof of the great hardness of the stone. Moreover, they had all been painted red; and traces of pigment still remained in the deep portions of the letters. This inscribed slab was exceeded in interest by none of the other discoveries in Bridge-street; and as there are several points of marked peculiarity to notice about it, this is perhaps the most fitting opportunity to allude to them.

The Material being Purbeck Marble. — At one time it was thought by antiquaries that in England the Romans did not employ marble, and as a writer in the *Archaeologia* (vol. 4, p. 105) remarks, “though marble was much used in buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it does not appear by history or example, that it was used before that time either by the Saxons, or by the Britons in Roman times;” and conjectures, that what Bede described as “a coffin of white marble,” (discovered in 695 A.D.) and probably of Roman workmanship, was after all only “common white stone.”† But researches within a comparatively recent period, have proved beyond

* The Purbeck, as well as the Petworth marbles, are principally composed of shells of the genus *Paludina*, but in the latter the shells are much larger. Professor Morris, F.G.S., of University College, London, has been good enough to examine the stone, and not only confirms the statement as to its character, but is also of opinion that it was brought from the Isle of Purbeck, “although the Purbeck beds can be occasionally seen in places between that Isle and Aylesbury, or Whitchurch, in Bucks, as at Ridgway, near Weymouth, Tisbury, in Wiltshire, &c.,” from any of which places our Chester specimen may have been obtained.

† *Vide* some remarks in Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 78.

doubt that, in this country, the Romans employed marbles of various kinds, both foreign and native. Of the foreign varieties, the white was by far the most common. Fragments of "white marble fluted slabs" 1½ in. thick, have been found in large quantities, "in several places in the City of London, worked into Roman walls."¹ Similar fragments have been met with at Richborough,² and at Great Witcombe, in Gloucestershire;³ whilst there was discovered at Bath, in 1861, a portion of an inscription incised on white marble.⁴ At Woodchester, Mr. Lysons records the discovery of several varieties of coloured foreign marbles.⁵ A sepulchral slab of "native green marble" was exhumed in London.⁶ These examples show that the Romans frequently employed this material for decorative and other purposes; but on turning our attention to the special variety, known as Purbeck marble, very few specimens have been discovered, which could be safely attributed to the same era. A fragment, containing a "defaced sepulchral inscription," was met with in Cloak Lane, London.⁷ Portions of a slab of this material, bearing incised letters two inches in length, were found amongst some Roman sepulchral remains at Densworth in Sussex, in 1857.⁸ And one of the marbles discovered at Woodchester "much resembled the Purbeck and Petworth" kind.⁹ These are nearly the only instances that have been recorded, and two out of the

1 *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1. p. 139, and plate 48 B,—and *Catalogue of the Museum* of Mr. C. Roach Smith, p. 2. In some remarks on p. 3 of the latter work, Mr. Smith deems it probable that some ancient quarries on the banks of the Loire "furnished most of the material" for the white marble "architectural remains found in England."

2 *Antiquities of Richborough*, &c., p. 48.

3 *Archaeologia*, vol. 19, p. 183.

4 Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 77.

5 Thus described in his large work on *Roman Woodchester*, p. 9:—one, "of the coarse grained saligno;"—one, "of the fine statuary, or Parian;"—one, "a brownish red, with dark veins;"—and one "a whitish ground, with light green and dark veins." A "domestic altar, in coloured marble," from the Thames, near London Bridge, is engraved in *Roman London*, p. 48. An inscribed marble funeral tablet was exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Institute at Rochester in July, 1863. At Silchester there was dug up, in 1833, "a portion of a sculptured marble capital measuring four feet by three." (*Archaeological Album*, p. 152.)

6 *Roman London*, p. 24.

7 *Ibid*, p. 29,—and engraved in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1, plate 48A.

8 *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 10, p. 175.

9 *Roman Woodchester*, p. 9.

three had been employed for funereal purposes. The Bridge-street specimen not only adds another to this list, but appears to be the largest and most interesting one hitherto discovered in this country.

The size and coloring of the letters.—The whole of the incised letters had received an even coating of red paint, which must have presented an agreeable contrast to the polished surface of the marble; this pigment has been chemically tested, and proved to be vermilion (sulphuret of mercury.) The only other example that can be found recorded, of incised letters similarly colored, was that of a portion of a grey sandstone slab, dug up a few years ago in the churchyard of Caerleon, and containing the remains of an inscription, referring "to some building which had gone to decay and had been restored by Severus and Geta, his son."*

None of the letters in the sepulchral and other inscriptions of the Roman period, found in England, and deposited in the British Museum, bear any traces of color; whilst in some incised slabs in the same collection, brought from the continent, the letters have unquestionably been painted red; but it is doubtful whether the coloring (at least in some of the specimens) has not been performed in comparatively modern times, to make the inscription more legible.† This, however, could scarcely have been the case with the Chester specimen.

The large size of the letters.—The letters of the upper row were 6 in., and of the lower 5 in. long. Now, the largest, probably, that have ever been discovered in England, formed a portion of a sepulchral

* *Isca Silurum*, p. 8, and plate 1. Mr. C. Roach Smith, in *Roman London*, p. 60, remarks that "the pigments used in the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and those from the walls of villas and houses discovered in France and England, are found by analysis to have been mostly identical;" and according to some analyses recorded by him in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4. p. 361, "some of the duller red colors" were "ochres—the brighter, a vermilion." As shown in their wall frescoes, painted inscriptions, painted columns (as at Pompeii), &c., red appears to have been a favorite color amongst the Romans. In the Caerleon inscription the color used is stated to be *minium* (red lead), but as it does not appear to have been tested, and bearing in mind the facility with which all lead colors blacken in the earth, it is probable that vermilion was the color employed as in our Chester example.

† On the occasion of the inscription being exhibited at one of the evening meetings of the British Archaeological Association (*Journal*, vol. 22, p. 306) "Mr. Josiah Cato observed that in the York Museum a modern hand had colored all the Roman inscriptions red."

inscription dug up on Tower Hill, London, in 1852;* in which those of the first line (DIS) were 8 in. long, of the second ((M)ANIBVS) 7 in., whilst those of the third line were much smaller. The letters of the Caerleon colored inscription measured 4 in. The occasional larger size of the upper rows of letters in Roman inscriptions, suggests the probability of the Bridge-street specimen having been a portion of the upper part of the original incised monument, and that the succeeding lines contained much smaller characters.†

The object of the Inscription.—The letters evidently constituted a small portion only of the original inscription, and being so few in number, afford us but slight assistance in forming an opinion as to their signification. They, however, contain sufficient material to necessitate a few remarks. The first row is remarkable for containing the letters O G, following each other. Now whether belonging to the same word (which their closeness to each other appears to warrant), or portions of two separate words, their juxtaposition is exceedingly uncommon in Roman inscriptions.‡ The point before the letters of the second row, proves not only that they formed the commencement of a word, but also that they were preceded by another word in the same line.§

* The stone is in the British Museum. It is engraved in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 8, p. 241, and in C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, plate 3, fig. 2.

† *Vide* Gruter's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 239, No. 3,—and an example in *Roman London*, p. 29.

‡ In the *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, by W. Coxe,—appendix to part 2, p. 433,—is recorded the fragment of an inscription found at Caerleon, the third line of which commenced with OG, followed by ES. In some observations on this inscription, by the Rev. J. McCaul, at p. 124 of his *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, he remarks the probability of these letters having been intended for OC(TOBE)ES, the G being a stone cutter's blunder; an opinion strengthened by another inscription found at the same place, recorded at the same page of Coxe's work, having OCCB in the third line. OC is much more frequent than OG; in an inscription at p. 157 of Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, PROC stands for pro-consul. In the Bridge-street example the letter is undoubtedly a G.

§ The most common *point*, or sign of separation of one word from another in Roman inscriptions, is a triangular incision. Another form in common use was that of a pointed leaf, an evident favorite amongst Roman artists, and common in the ornamentation of pottery, particularly of the Samian ware. In some remarks on leaf decoration by Mr. Just, in vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Lanc. and Cheshire Historic Society*, he mentions that a writer upon the Cemeteries of the Martyrs at Rome, "has strangely mistaken these sacred leaves for hearts!" An engraving at p. 189 of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, exhibits twenty-five different kinds of points.

The letters DOM may have stood for DOMUS, as in five Cumberland examples described in Horsley's work; in two of these it was followed by the word DIVINA.* Or they may have denoted DOMINUS, a term not uncommon in inscriptions.† It is, however, equally probable that they formed the commencement of some Roman name.‡ Now the only historic personages connected with Roman Britain, whose names commenced thus, were Julia Domna (the wife of Severus), and the Emperor Domitian. A stone found at Silchester, in 1741, bears an inscription to the former, which however is remarkable for the absence of the second name.§ I know of no inscribed stone, found in Britain, bearing the name of the latter, and this absence is scarcely to be wondered at, when it is considered that during his reign (A.D. 81-96), the good effects of the rule of Agricola were only beginning to be developed. It is true that several pigs of lead, discovered in Cheshire|| and elsewhere, do contain it, but similar articles have been found, bearing even the name of Claudius, a period when the Roman arms in Britain were on a very unsettled footing.

* The word occurs in full, and in very large characters, on a marble vase found at Rome, and figured in Gruter's work, p. 239, No. 3.

† The first words on the votive altar discovered in Chester in 1693, and engraved at p. 429 of Lysons' *Cheshire*, consist of PRO SAL DOMINORUM. In two of the Cumberland inscriptions mentioned in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, DDNN stands for DOMINI NOSTRI; and at p. 270 the author remarks that the term "was not used in inscriptions so soon as Caracalla."

‡ DOMS appears on the handle of an amphora, represented in plate 23 of Lee's *Isca Silurum*. Several examples are given in the list of potters' marks on Samian ware at p. 103 of C. R. Smith's *Roman London*. One of much interest to Chester antiquaries was found at Eildon in Roxburghshire a few years ago, and is described at p. 150 of Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*. It occurs on a tablet dedicated by CARRIUS DOMITIANUS, a centurion of the 20th legion, to the god Silvanus, for the welfare of himself and his family ("pro salute sua et suorum.")

§ *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 16, p. 93, and Akerman's *Archaeological Index*, p. 76.

|| A pig of lead found in Commonhall-street, Chester, is represented in vol. 5, p. 226, of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, and although the inscription is somewhat defaced, Mr. C. R. Smith believes it "was most probably inscribed to Domitian." Camden (*Britannia*, by Holland, p. 611) makes the following remarks upon some found at Halton:—"There were heere upon the very shore gotten out of the ground twenty sowes of lead long in forme, but foure square. On the upper part whereof, in a hollow surface, is to be read this inscription: 'Imp. Domit. Aug. Ger. de. Ceang,' but on the other, 'Imp. Vesp. VII. T. Imp. V. Coss.'"

The general conclusions from these particulars may be briefly summed up, by stating that the stone probably contained a dedicatory inscription on the occasion of the erection or the restoration of some public edifice; the important character of the latter being as it were reflected in the inscribed tablet, as exhibited in the rare and durable material employed, in its highly polished surface, and in the large, well cut, colored letters which it bore.

Having thus assigned reasons for believing the remains to have been those of public buildings, we now pass on to consider their probable uses.

Temple.—Were the columnar remains those of a small temple, or shrine? This is the opinion expressed by Mr. Tite, in the paper to which allusion has already been made.* If this opinion be correct, its importance to antiquaries cannot be overrated, inasmuch as it would be almost the only instance on record of the discovery, in this country, of the entire site of a Roman temple. It behoves us then to be additionally careful in our examination of all the facts, before receiving or rejecting this suggestion.

* *Vide* page 1. This paper has not yet been printed *in extenso*, but the following notices of it appeared in some of the Journals:—

From the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. 2, p. 325. "Thursday, 14th January, 1868.—William Tite, Esq., M.P., V.-P., communicated an account of some Roman remains recently discovered at Chester. In passing through that City, Mr. Tite's attention had been attracted by a photograph in a window of some Roman remains, which proved to have been discovered in digging the foundation for rebuilding the old inn in Bridge-street, called the "Feathers." On examining these excavations, Mr. Tite ascertained that they were the remains of a small temple or shrine, which had originally had twenty-four Corinthian columns; *four at each end*, and eight on each side of them. The remains of *ten* were in situ; portions of others were found and their foundations traced. Near them were the remains of baths. This memoir will appear in the *Archæologia*."

From the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1864 (referring to the Society of Antiquaries):—"The Secretary, C. Knight Watson, read a paper by W. Tite, Esq., M.P., V.-P., on some remains recently discovered at Chester. It appeared that in the autumn of last year Mr. Tite was passing through Chester, when his attention was attracted to a photograph in a shop window of some apparent Roman remains, which led him to make further inquiries, when he found they were discovered in digging the foundations for rebuilding the old inn in Bridge-street, Chester, called the 'Feathers'—a building supposed to be as old as the time of Edward III. On further examining these excavations, Mr. Tite found the distinct remains of a small temple or shrine. *This temple originally consisted of twenty-four Corinthian columns, four at each end and eight on each side. Of*

That temples originally existed in most or all of the Roman towns of Britain, there appears to be no reasonable doubt; and we possess a certain amount of confirmatory evidence of the fact, although their actual remains are exceedingly rare.*

* It is true that the foundations of large edifices are occasionally found, and that a religious character is frequently attributed to them. We have the high authority of Mr. C. Roach Smith in the three following instances, that the remains were probably those of a basilica or temple, viz.:—the Roman pillars and arches which formerly existed in the Reculver Church (*Antiquities of Richborough*, &c. p. 197);—the building, measuring 70 ft. by 50 ft., found at the Roman villa at Hartlip (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 9);—and the one of a similar character at Ickleton (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 4, p. 365);—but his remarks, applicable to each, that “nothing was discovered that could possibly determine the original destination of the edifice” (*Ibid*, p. 367), show that in the absence of more positive proofs, we can scarcely cite these remains as being those of undoubted temples.

these, *ten* remain in their places—that is, there were *ten bases* and considerable portions of the shafts. Other fragments of the shafts and portions of the capitals were found in the rubbish, and the foundations of the twenty-four were to be recognised. The diameter of the columns was 2 ft. 3½ in., and the intervals or intercolumniations about 11 ft. 9 in. Round this small temple, which doubtless had a statue in the middle, were the remains of the baths, one of which (supposed to be the hypocaust) was the subject of the photograph exhibited in the shops of Chester. The discovery had excited much interest in Chester, and in the local papers accounts of the discoveries had constantly appeared. The Marquess of Westminster, to whom the land belonged, had requested the site to be cleared out, and his architect, Mr. Hodgkinson, had ably seconded his wishes. The account of the discovery appears to be the following. In the month of June last, in digging the foundations, the workmen came upon two distinct portions of ancient buildings. On the eastern side was a space of about 23 ft. square, which was supposed to be the hypocaust of a bath, from the presence of between sixty and seventy stone pillars, 32 in. high, with capitals 12 in. in size, somewhat similar to those discovered in the buried city of Wroxeter. The absence, however, of any blue tiles, led Mr. Tite to infer that these pillars were merely intended to protect from damp the superincumbent tessellated pavements. About a fortnight after the discovery of this so-called hypocaust there was found to the north of it the base of a Roman column, 27½ in. in diameter across the top and 4 ft. 8 in. high, resting on a square block of red sandstone, standing on the maiden rock. At the distance of 11 ft. 9 in. the base of a second column of similar mouldings and proportions was met with, and subsequently a third and a fourth, between the last of which are the remains of a Roman wall, 14 ft. deep, cut in the solid rock. In the front of these bases, and at a distance of 89½ ft., have been discovered the bases of six columns, forming part of the other side of the temple. This was the state of things when these remains were first seen by Mr. Tite. He immediately perceived that the ruins were of the same date and character as those discovered at Bath in 1780, and which are extremely

Tacitus describes his *héro Agricola*, as encouraging the Britons to erect temples, &c. ("ut templa, fora, domus extruerunt"); and at a later period, makes several allusions to "the temple erected to the deified Claudius at Camalodunum (*Colchester*)." That this was a large and important structure is presumable from the circumstance, that at the time of the Boadicean revolt, the Roman soldiers "relied upon the shelter and strength" of this temple, to protect them, but it was taken by storm "after two days siege."* Spartian, in his "*Life of Severus*," distinctly mentions the existence of a temple of Bellona at York.† And Giraldus, in the 12th century, mentions having seen at Caerleon, amongst other remains, "relics of temples, and theatres, all inclosed within fine walls, parts of which remain standing."‡

* *The Annals of Tacitus*—Bohn's edit., p. 374.

† "Coming to the city, and desiring to offer sacrifice, the Emperor was conducted first, by a rustic soothsayer, to the temple of Bellona," quoted in Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 74.

‡ *Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, by Thomas Wright, p. 372.

well exhibited in the works of Lysons and Carter, and also preserved with great care in the Museum of that city. Mr. Tite caused a careful plan to be taken of all the remains, in which he was much assisted by Mr. Hodgkinson. In the paper read he stated that though, in Britain, Roman walls, pavements, arches, &c., were constantly found, yet he had never before seen the remains of any columnar architecture: even London had never produced any traces of such decorations. The paper was fully illustrated by remarks on the city of Chester, *the Deva of the Britons and the Castra of the Romans, the residence of the tenth legion, called 'Victoria Victrix,'* and forming a garrison of 5,000 men. There were drawings also of the ruins as Mr. Tite saw them, photographs, and a beautiful restoration of the whole building, with its baths, palæstra, gardens, &c., a restoration of the temple or shrine, which must have been 110 ft. long by 39 ft. 6 in. in width, and a comparison of the Corinthian order at Chester, and its ornaments, as compared with those found at Bath. The paper was received with much satisfaction, and it was considered fortunate that so complete an account of remains so interesting had been thus accidentally preserved, as it appears that except the bases, capitals, and fragments deposited in the Museum at Chester, the whole of the remains have now been swept away to construct the foundations of the new buildings." [The last two lines printed in *italics*, which are singularly incorrect in terms, are no doubt the result of imperfect reporting.] This notice (in the *Gentleman's Magazine*) is freely quoted in the Rev. H. M. Scarth's work on "*Aquæ Solis*" (pp. 17-8), and a comparison is there instituted, between the supposed temple at Chester, with the one at Bath. It will be seen that the sentences printed in *italics* materially differ from the statements made in the present paper (*vide* pp. 51-6-7.) Upon the accuracy of these data, wholly depended the probable correctness of the opinions which have been expressed, as to the nature and character of these columnar remains.

Fragments of architectural decoration, and of sculpture, that had evidently formed portions of a Roman religious edifice, are rarely found; but proofs of the actual sites of such buildings, are still more uncommon. The remains and sites of two were discovered at Bath during the last century.* "Considerable remains are said to have been found, and perhaps still exist under ground, of the temple" of Minerva at Coccium (*Ribchester*).†

Dedicatory tablets, commemorating the erection of temples, have been dug up at York,‡ Chichester,§ and Tynemouth.|| Whilst others,

* Scarth's *Roman Remains of Bath*, pp. 12 to 25, contains a full and illustrated account of these most interesting remains. It states, at p. 13, "Of these buildings one appears to have been the Temple of Minerva, the other that of Diana the Charioteer; at all events the pediments of the buildings contain the emblems of these divinities." It is rather remarkable, that prior to the discovery of these fragments, a tradition existed, that a temple of Minerva, originally occupied the site of the present Abbey Church. A stone, measuring 52 in. by 40 in., sculptured with a head of Medusa, was found at Caerleon;—"it belonged, apparently, to the pediment of the building, and bears a striking resemblance, though of far inferior workmanship, to that which is now preserved in the Museum at Bath." Lee's *Isca Silurum*, plate 9 and p. 25.

† Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 2nd edit., p. 176. The Mithraic sculpture found at York (Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 80, and plate 9), and the Mithraic cave at Borcovicus (*Housesteads*) on the Great Wall (Bruce's *Roman Wall*, pp. 404, *et seq.*), may be cited as other examples. The Marble Capital, found at Silchester, "probably belonged to a temple, or some other public edifice" (*Archaeological Album*, p. 152). The following paragraph appeared in *The Builder* of Dec. 8, 1866:—

"FOUND AT LAST.—Some important discoveries of Roman remains were made at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, not long ago, and involved a very curious incident. Among the remains of a temple dedicated to the god Noden, found there, was a brass plate on which was an inscription offering a reward for a ring, and stating that in the event of its being found some portion of the money would be dedicated to the god Noden, but that if any person who found it failed to restore it to the owner the curse of Noden would be upon him. Most singular to say, a ring corresponding with the lost one, and bearing the name of the person offering the reward, has been found at Silchester!"

‡ Dedicated to the Egyptian God Serapis (Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 75, and plate 9).

§ Dedicated to Neptune and Minerva (Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 29 & 176).

|| Combined with a basilica, &c.—"cum basi et templum" (Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 319).

recording the restoration or rebuilding of similar structures, have been found at Caerleon,* and at several of the Stations on Hadrian's Wall.†

Many of the important Roman towns, such as York, Leicester, Wroxeter, &c., have yielded no remains of temples.‡ Their paucity may be accounted for to a certain extent. It seems probable, that many of these structures were ruined or altogether destroyed, during the successive invasions of the Northern barbarians, the early Saxons, and the Danes. The love of plunder, associated as it ever appears to have been with that of wholesale destruction of everything unable to be carried away, led to the early demolition of numbers of scattered Roman villas, as well as of large and populous towns. Many of them bear evidences of having been destroyed by fire.§

The iconoclastic enthusiasm of the early Saxon Christians led to further destruction of edifices of a religious character,|| notwithstanding

* On the restoration of a temple of Diana (*Isca Silurum*, p. 10, and plate 3.)

† At Benwell and Chesters (Bruce's *Roman Wall*, pp. 140 & 186). The inscription on one discovered at Castlesteads is thus translated in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 4, p. 42: "Caius Julius Cuspitanus, a centurion, at his own charge, restored this temple to the Mothers of all nations (*Matribus omnium gentium*), which had long before fallen down from the decay of age."

‡ There is a well-known tradition of one, dedicated to Diana, having occupied the site of Saint Paul's, London. It has been suggested that the Jewry Wall at Leicester, formed a portion of one erected in honor of Janus.

§ Mr. Wright (*Celt, Roman & Saxon*, 2nd vol., p. 393) affirms "that all the Roman towns on the Welsh borders to the north of Gloucester were destroyed, apparently before the period of the Saxon invasion." The remains of numerous villas in the neighbourhood of Bath "seem to indicate that they were hastily plundered and then set fire to, and that the roofs and timbers fell in upon the floors, which are often found indented and covered with burnt matter and roofing tiles" (Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 128). In addition to these proofs, there have been found at Ribchester, Silchester, and Wroxeter (more particularly at the latter place) numerous skeletons among the debris, in positions where they had probably taken refuge from the plundering enemy. The Bridge-street remains, contained evidences of having been wilfully destroyed, such as the mutilated hypocaust and pavement (*vide* pp. 12, 3); and the numerous fragments of wood charcoal scattered among the debris, and forming an imperfect layer immediately above the undisturbed ground. A large mass of wood charcoal was found impacted in the dowel hole of one of the capitals. The large nail (alluded to at p. 51) had a thick covering of rust, containing fragments of stucco and wood charcoal.

|| Mr. C. Roach Smith (*Roman London*, p. 6) remarks, "those only who have made the monuments of Antiquity a special study, can at all form a notion of

quadrangular temples were oblong in form, but varied considerably in the number and arrangement of their columns, according to certain fixed rules. The external beauty of the structure depended upon its columns and pediment.*

Some temples had columns at one end only (*In Antis* and *Prostyle*); others at both ends, making the structure as it were, double fronted (*Amphiprostyle*): in either case, the building was small. The majority had, in addition, columns along the sides. When these lateral rows were single, they were called *peripteral*; when double, *dipteral*. Another set of names was based on the number of columns in the front portico. Assuming for the moment, that the Bridge-street remains were those of a temple surrounded by 24 columns, it would be called a *tetrastyle*, *peripteral* example: *tetrastyle*, from having four columns in front, and *peripteral*, because of the single row on either side. The number of lateral ones always bore a relative proportion to those in the front. Another division consisted in the varying lengths of the intercolumniations (the distance between two columns), which were reckoned according to the number of diameters, *e.g.*, the Bridge-street columnus, according to Vitruvius, would be called *araeostyle*,† the distance between them being considerably more than three diameters.

Turning our attention to the columnar remains of Bridge-street, let us first examine all the points adverse to the theory of their having originally formed a portion of a temple:—

1. Temples were usually placed in commanding eminences, or were raised on a podium or elevated base, and approached by a flight of steps. In Bridge-street, the structure was not erected on anything approaching the character of an eminence, but on a gradual slope, and its level was not above that of the surrounding buildings.

* In Classical Architecture, the *pediment* was the triangular termination of the roof at the ends of buildings, corresponding to the gable of Mediæval Architecture, than which it was less acute. The *tympa-num* was the triangular space, enclosed between the horizontal and sloping cornices of the pediment, and was frequently decorated with sculpture.

† The following measurements refer to the columns marked I. to V. in the general plan (South side):—

Columns.	Distance from centre to centre.		Distance from centre to centre. (intercolumniation)	
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
I. to II.	11	10½	9	5½
II. to III.	11	2½	8	9½
III. to IV.	12	5½	9	0½
IV. to V.	11	7½	9	2½

2. Being surrounded on three, and probably four, sides by walls.

3. There was not the slightest trace of the site of any columns, answering to the front and back porticoes of a temple.*

4. Allowing, for the moment, the existence of these end pillars, forming a tetrastyle temple, it is known that the Romans, in the instance of a temple of this variety, *never used pillars at the sides, except false ones attached to the walls.*†

5. The intercolumniations of the front (assuming their existence), and of the side columns were different.

6. The building was relatively too long for its breadth. The Roman rule was to have *twice as many intercolumniations along the sides as in front*, instead of which the proportion was as three to one. Vitruvius (book 4, chap. 4) directs, that "the length of a temple must be twice its width," but the outside measurements of the quadrangle of the Bridge-street structure, were 42 ft. broad by 110 ft. long, a proportion of 1 to 2·61.

7. The number of lateral columns was an even, instead of being an odd one.‡

8. No bas-relief, figure, or portion of sculpture of any kind were discovered.§

9. There was not found the slightest vestige of any moulding of pediment, cornice, or entablature, or Architectural decoration of any kind, excepting those belonging to the columns.

* (*Vide* pp. 51 and 57. The level being undisturbed sandstone rock, rendered it the more probable, that had there been any terminal columns, they would have left similar traces to those in the lateral rows, the excavated sites of which (even where the bases were absent) were very evident. Had any originally existed, their foundations must have been different in character to those of the others.)

† As in an instance at Rome—*vide* art, *Templum* in Smith's *Classical Dictionary*.

‡ Following the two rules given in 6, the number of lateral columns should have been seven, the number of lateral intercolumniations would then have been double that of the front, and the length of the temple would have been twice the breadth. An even number always existed at the front, otherwise one would have marred the effect by being under the centre of the pediment; and by hiding the principal doorway, would have obscured a proper view of the statue.

§ At pp. 80 *et seq.* is an account of a fragment of inscription found on the site. This only tended to prove the public character of the buildings, on the outside of which it was common to fix an inscription of a dedicatory character.

10. A searching examination of the quadrangular space, formed by the pillars, failed to discover the slightest trace of either wall, or wall foundation of a cella, or where a statue had stood.*

On the other hand, what are the facts in favour of the temple theory. There are literally none beyond the existence of two rows of pillars, and the remains of an inscribed slab; and there was nothing in the character of these to militate against the probability, that they belonged to a public edifice, of a totally different stamp to that of a temple. The designer, it has been said, would not of necessity follow the ordinary rules of temple construction; but it is unfair and improbable to assume that a Roman architect in Deva, however he might in practice modify some of these rules, would deliberately violate the whole of them. There appears therefore no reason to believe that the remains formed any portion of a Roman temple.

Prætorium.—It may be suggested that the site was that of the *Prætorium*—the tent of the Roman general (*Prætor*), when Deva was but an intrenched camp, and the permanent structure which succeeded it. The leading features of the temporary camp, were apparently followed in the subsequent arrangement of buildings, &c.; and the present City of Chester, in its external quadrangular form, as well as in its internal division into four main streets, preserves more of the characteristics of a Roman city, than any other in England. The *Prætorium* would occupy the central position marked by the junction of the four streets; and common report, as well as the opinion of many archaeologists, has pointed to the site at present occupied by St. Peter's Church.† Let any one compare a map of modern Chester, with the plan of an ordinary Roman camp,‡ and he can scarcely fail to notice, that the very fact of the lower part of Northgate-street, not being in the same continuous straight line with Bridge-street, serves but to confirm the correctness of this supposition.§ Amongst the rules laid

* If a cella had existed, it must have been exceedingly narrow, and certainly not more than 13ft. inner measurement, as its wall would be situated at the distance of an intercolumniation from the lateral columns.

† Churches appear to have been often erected where *Prætoria* had stood—vide Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 64.

‡ See the plan of a *Tertiata Castra*, and that of *Augusta Londinum*, at pp. 559–60 of Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*.

§ "I imagine that this building, St. Peter's Church, and a few houses to the north and west, occupy the site of the *Roman Prætorium*; for they not only fill

down by Hyginus,* are the following:—"Those situations have the first place which rise from the plain in a gentle eminence, in which position the Decuman gate should be placed on the highest spot, that the country below may be under the camp. The Prætorian gate ought always to face the enemy. There ought to be a river or spring in some part of the position." These rules appear to have been closely adhered to in DEVA. The Decuman gate, seated on the highest ground, would be to the north, from whence the ground gradually sloped down to the south or Prætorian gate, near the river. The Prætorium in the centre, would face the Prætorian way, represented by the existing Bridge-street, and in a straight line would overlook the Roman road passing through the Shipgate, across the Dee, by the side of the rock sculptured with the figuré of Minerva (Edgar's cave), and into and along the line of the present Eccleston lane.†

There does not, therefore, appear to be any sufficient grounds for believing, that the Prætorium occupied any other site than that now marked by St. Peter's Church.

Shrine or Stoa.—The objections to the columnar ruins having belonged to a temple, apply almost equally to the suggestion of their

* A writer of the time of Trajan—quotation from his "De Castrametatione," in Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, p. 564.

† In the last paper read before the Society by the Rev. W. H. Massie (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 460), he pointed out that "if any person had chanced to be walking towards Chester after dark, as he had often done from Eccleston, they would see, right before them, the lights on each side of the higher end of Bridge-street, with the illuminated clock of St. Peter's in the centre. There, then, was the straight Roman road in its integrity."

the very situation of that part of the old castrametations, but account for the discontinuance of the *Bridge-street*, which ceases opposite to these edifices. This also is the cause why the nearer part of the *Northgate-street* is thrown out of its course, and falls into the *Eastgate-street*, many yards beyond the mouth of the *Bridge-street*; for the lower part of the *Northgate-street*, where the exchange and shambles stand, points directly towards the former; but is interrupted by the space occupied by these buildings. The limit of the *Prætorium* on the east, was the narrow portion of *Northgate-street*; on the south, part of the present *Bridge*, *Eastgate*, and *Watergate-street*; on the west, *Goss-lane*; and on the north, the space now occupied by the public market." (Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 1st edit., vol. 1, pp. 168-9.) The central position of the *prætorium* appears to have been overlooked by the Rev. W. H. Massie, when he remarked that the deviation of the line of *Northgate-street* was "a complete diversion from the original plan of the Roman city." (*Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, vol. 1, p. 459.)

having been those of a shrine, or of a place for statuary (stoa). Their great extent seems to be much opposed to the latter, more especially when it is borne in mind that Chester was a purely military colony.*

Forum-Basilica.—As all the facts appear to be adverse to the idea, that the columns belonged to a temple, or to a prætorium, we may now enquire whether they may not have formed the portico of a forum, or of a basilica.

The *forum* of a Roman town, was the place where all business was conducted, justice was administered, and public affairs deliberated upon. It was the general market place, and the great resort of all those interested in the reception, discussion, and distribution of gossip and news. Moreover, games were frequently held there. It appears to have been usually a large, oblong, quadrangular space, near the centre of the town, into which fronted many of the principal buildings, such as temples, halls of justice, senate house, baths, and places required for public convenience, and was generally surrounded by a portico. As cities extended their limits, and the one forum was insufficient for their requirements, other fora were made in different parts, and were appropriated to distinct and separate purposes.

* It is a very singular circumstance that at Caerleon, York, and Chester, the head-quarters of Roman legions (2nd, 6th, and 20th) very few tessellated pavements have been discovered, and those few invariably of coarse execution; thus presenting a striking contrast with the magnificent examples found in London, Lincoln, &c., and on the sites of Roman villas. Further than this, none have as yet been met with at any of the Stations of the Great Wall. That *DEVA* was essentially a military colony throughout the entire Roman occupation of Britain is beyond dispute; but that it was even more exclusively military than either York or Caerleon is very probable. We learn this from the circumstance of the absence of all remains of detached villas, so common in the South of England, in the neighbourhood of those colonies inhabited by civil communities. (Several have been discovered on the Welsh border in Shropshire and Herefordshire. The Roman *Isurium* appears to have been a kind of wealthy country town pertaining to York). Again in Chester there have been found but few specimens of the more highly-finished varieties of monuments, sculptures, statuettes, and articles of decoration generally. There has been a striking absence of engraved intaglios, such as those dug up at Wroxeter, and those at the Station of *Petrianæ*, on the Great Wall. (Impressions of the latter were exhibited at a lecture recently delivered before our Society by the Rev. E. E. Johnson). And last, though certainly not least, there has been a singular dearth of all kinds of personal ornaments (more particularly of those belonging to the female sex), such as fibulæ, combs, hairpins in bone and bronze, &c.—articles which have been found in abundance at York, London, Lincoln, Leicester, and most Roman Stations.

Amongst the principal buildings opening into the forum, was the justice or town hall,—the *basilica*. This was a square, oblong structure, divided into three longitudinal spaces; the lateral ones or aisles, being narrow and roofed, the centre, wide and open. At the end, opposite the entrance, sat the presiding judge, for whose better convenience a semicircular apse was added in later times.*

We have no reason to believe that the Roman towns in Britain differed from those of Italy, in having these necessary adjuncts. Probably in some of the smaller towns, the one structure served for both purposes. At Bath, a parallel ogram in the centre of the city answered to the forum, at corners of which "three principal buildings existed in Roman times;† and "it is not improbable that the site of the present abbey was occupied by some Roman building, which may have been the *basilica*."‡

At Wroxeter, the researches of Mr. Wright have shown, that the forum there also occupied the central position, some of the streets apparently passing into and through it; and that the basilica opened into it.§ This latter was found complete with reference to its foundations, of oblong square form, 226 feet long by 60 feet broad, divided into two side aisles and a central space; the latter being 30 feet wide, and paved with herringbone bricks. The north aisle contained tessellated pavement. At the west end, there were indications of a large entrance gateway; and at the east, a central door opening into a square hall.|| Mr. Wright states, that "portions of the capitals, bases, and shafts of columns were found scattered about in different parts of the area,"—so that the side aisles were probably separated from the central portion by columns.

* Many of these basilicas were subsequently converted into Christian Churches, for which they appear to have been eminently well-fitted, the general model being followed to this day,—the altar occupying the apse. Some of the churches in Rome are still known by this name. The Roman basilica at Treves (usually called the "Palace of Constantine") is stated by Mr. C. Roach Smith to be "one of the finest and most perfect examples extant," being 225 feet in length, and terminating in an apse, which is separated from the nave by a grand arch, of a span of 60 feet." *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 2, p. 91.

† *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. 17, p. 12.

‡ *Notices of Roman Bath*, by Rev. H. M. Scarth, p. 13.

§ *Vide* Chester Society's *Journal*, vol. 2, plates at pp. 310 and 312 illustrating the Paper on Uriconium, by Mr. Horatio Lloyd, Recorder of Chester.

|| Lettered 'Chalcidicum' in Mr. Lloyd's plan.

A comparison of the Bridge-street structure with the Wroxeter basilica, at once points out several striking features of resemblance.

1. The buildings being of an oblong quadrangular form, and their direction being due east and west.

2. Their similar position with reference to the centre of the town, and also to the south and east streets.

3. In their space being longitudinally divided into a wide central area and two narrow lateral ones. (In the Chester instance this statement assumes a similar construction on the north side, to that found to exist on the south.)

4. In the existence of an enclosed space at the east end (the 'chalcidicum.')

The Wroxeter basilica was certainly one-third longer than the Chester building; but the direction, form, construction, and position of the latter, offer such a striking resemblance to the former, that it seems only reasonable to adopt the conclusion that it was the *BASILICA* of Roman *DEVA*.*

Public Baths.—We had now better devote our attention to the consideration of the remains of the building adjoining the columns.

The most important suggestion that has been made concerning them, is that they comprised a portion of the public baths (*thermæ*) of the city. Before we can decide upon this, it will be necessary to make a few remarks upon the Roman system of bathing, and the building arrangements it required.† In this country, many private baths have

* In a Paper on the "History of St. Nicholas Chapel," in the *Chester Society's Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 255-6, the Rev. Canon Blomfield alludes to the circumstance, that the old Town Hall of Chester occupied the site of the present Alms-houses in Commonhall-lane, and suggests, that it "might have been the hall of justice, which was appendant in all Roman towns and provincial stations to the military camp." Singularly enough this site is on the west side of Bridge-street, and nearly opposite the recently discovered remains, which appeared to be those of the Roman basilica.

† In Rome, bathing does not appear to have been employed to any great extent until the reign of the Emperors, who encouraged its practice by the magnificent public *thermæ* erected under their auspices. Employed at first as an act necessary to health, it degenerated into a luxurious indolent practice, and by its enervating effect, was probably one of the many causes, which led to the decay of the Roman Empire. Wherever the Roman arms were carried, baths were speedily introduced. With the fall of the Empire, they too fell into disuse at Rome. It was, and is still, practised by various nations under different forms, and was adopted by, amongst others, the Turks. Within the last few years it has been reintroduced into England under the name of the Eastern or

been discovered on the sites of the villas of wealthy Romans; whilst at Bath, Wroxeter, Caerwent, &c., have been found the remains of public thermæ, as well as of dedicatory inscriptions commemorating their erection or restoration; leading us to believe that every Roman town had its public bathing institution. A building of this kind would essentially require four rooms, the usual number being much greater; and consisted of the *Frigidarium*, or cold chamber, the *Tepidarium*, moderately heated, the *Calidarium*, or hot room, and the *Balneum*, or *Lavatorium* for the final washing and scraping. The remains of the one at Caerwent are complete, and although it is a small example,* a brief description of it will serve to show the Roman practice. The entrance door of the baths opened into the *Frigidarium*, the only room of the series destitute of a hypocaust: it was paved with red tessellæ and served as an entrance hall. Passing into the *Apodyterium*, or undressing room, the bather would undress, and then enter the *Tepidarium*, intermediate in temperature between the undressing and the hot room; he would then go in to the *Calidarium*, and gradually to the hottest portion of it (*Sudatorium*), situated immediately over the furnace (*præfurnium*), where having perspired as freely as might be thought desirable, he would proceed to the warm bath (6 feet by 3 feet, and 2 feet deep), a tank situated over the hypocaust, and surrounded on three of its sides by flues. Here sitting on the *labrum* or edge of the bath (a seat was usually built in the bath itself, so as to be below the surface of the water), he would have to undergo a kind of scraping operation with a *strigil*.† This would be followed by copious ablutions

* A full account of their discovery, &c., appeared in vol. 36 of the *Archæologia*, as well as in Lee's *Isca Silurum*.

† This was an instrument made of bronze or iron, and consisted of a curved hollow blade, with moderately sharp edges, attached to a handle (sometimes looped, sometimes solid.) With this the bather was scraped from head to foot, so as to loosen and remove all the scurf skin and impurities (very similar to the process of currycombing a horse), and cannot always have been a pleasant operation; in fact, there are several anecdotes extant upon this point. M. Luetonius remarks, that the Emperor Augustus, on one occasion, suffered severely from its use. In the present day, shampooing and friction with the flesh brush or glove have been substituted for it. It appears to have been used by an attendant in the case of the wealthy, and by the bather himself when poor. In Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. 3, supplement plate 61, there is repre-

Turkish Bath, but this term is incorrect, as the English follow the Roman method. In the former, warm moist vapor is employed; in the latter, dry air of a much higher temperature.

of warm water, and the bather would retrace his steps to the Frigidarium, and after a dip in the cold bath (a tank $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and 3 feet deep) he would be dried, anointed,* resume his clothing, and return home.

Do the apartments at Chester, adjoining the site of what has been termed the Basilica, come up at all to this description of the Caerwent baths. It must be confessed that they do not. It is true that all the apartments had hypocausts, but as far as could be observed, they appeared rather for the purpose of protecting the pavements, than for the conveyance of heat. There was no præfurnium, no flue tile in position, no indication of a hot or a cold bath, or tank of any kind. There were some doubtful traces of the action of fire at the south-west angle of the first hypocaust. So that there was no positive evidence in the character of any of the chambers, that they formed any portion of public baths; nevertheless there are some circumstances to notice, which strongly favor the view that they belonged to the *thermæ*.

Baths and Basilica.—It appears to have been a very common practice to erect the basilica and public baths contiguous to each other, so as to form a portion of one structure; and we have the high authority of Mr. Wright, for stating that these two great public buildings usually joined each other.† Several examples may be mentioned.‡

* In a fresco painting on the walls of the *Thermæ* of Titus at Rome, there is a representation of the *Elæothesium*, or anointing room.

† *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. 16, p. 160.

‡ At the Roman Station at Tynemouth was found a mutilated inscription commemorating the erection of some public edifice with a basilica and a temple ("cum basi et templum fecit.") Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 331.

sented a figure seated on the labrum of a bath, and scraping his leg with a strigil; and in Knight's *Popular Pompeii*, pp. 168–9, is a figure of a 'slave with a strigil,' copied from an Etruscan vase, and woodcuts of several different forms of these instruments. Examples have been found in England at Wroxeter, Reculver, Gloucester, &c. Two were exhumed from a tumulus on Bartlow Hills, Essex, and are figured in vol. 26 of the *Archæologia*, and described as being "elegantly curved, with a small opening in each handle; their length up to the curve is eight inches, and the curve is six inches and a half in length; the weight is about four ounces each" (p. 304.) There are five of these instruments in the museum formed by the late Thomas Bateman, Esq., at Yolgrave, near Bakewell, Derbyshire, one of which is peculiar from having the figure of a warrior stamped on the handle. The edge of the strigil was oiled by means of a small bottle, and many of the so-called lachrymatory bottles dug up with other Roman remains, may have served this purpose.

streets which divided the city, its site being central or east central;* that the basilica was at the east end of the forum;† and that the public baths were placed on the south side.

At Wroxeter the modern antiquary has had the advantage of uncovering the site of the entire range of these public buildings, but in a city like Chester, it is hopeless to expect that anything of the kind can take place at one time. Absolute proof of the true character of these Bridge-street remains (more particularly of the mural), must be waited for, until by some fortunate occasion, future excavations expose more of the southern portions lying under the adjacent modern premises, and contiguous to the "Roman Bath;" but for the reasons already named, insufficient although they may appear to be, I am strongly of opinion *that they formed a portion of the Public Baths, that they joined the Basilica, and that both opened into the space on the West and North sides, which formed the Forum of the Roman DEVA.*

The Chester basilica must have measured internally about 132 ft. long by 74 ft. broad; the entrance being at the Bridge-street end, to which the fragment of a wall and the remains of some small pillars probably contributed. At the west end, a central doorway most likely opened into the enclosed space which has been termed the "Chalcidicum." It is uncertain how the lateral and central areas were paved, probably with the small bricks laid in the herringbone form, but the whole of it appears to have been cleared away in very early times for the sake of the materials. That the lateral aisles were roofed over is rendered more probable by the great strength of the main wall, and also by the existence of a narrow alley, opening into it at the east end, which closely resembled the termination of a long covered way (*cryptoporticus*) so common in Roman buildings, private and public. This connecting roofing may have been of the barrel form as exemplified in the "Old Wall" at Wroxeter, and shown also in a rude bas-relief, found at Netherhall, and described by Alexander Gordon‡ as "the

* It has been supposed that the forum of the Roman town (of Silchester) was situated not far from the centre of the town (*Archaeological Album*, p. 152).

† The Wroxeter and Chester discoveries strongly confirm the suggestion of the Rev. H. M. Scarth, to which allusion has already been made, that the Abbey of Bath occupies the site of the Roman Basilica. The direction of these structures being east and west is a noteworthy circumstance—this was even the case with the Basilica at Pompeii.

‡ *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 100; plate 34, fig. 3. Engraved also in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.

Representation of a *Roman Bagnio*, with an arch and two *Dorick* pillars. As likewise a gallery with arches above and below." We have no means of ascertaining whether the columns supported a gallery, but their comparatively limited height (18 or 19 ft.) leads to the belief that they did. The basilica at Pompeii had one, as did also the forum. The columns of this latter were only 12 ft. in height, but in each instance they were similar to those of Chester in being *aræostyle* (*i.e.* the intercolumniations wider than three diameters of a column), and being so far apart, stone could not be employed for the architrave, wood being used instead. This portico would be available for the use of those who had been visiting the thermæ; and owing to the distance between the columns, everything that transpired in its central area could be readily seen. (Vitruvius, book 5, chap. 1, remarks that in Italy the columns of the forum were set wide apart for the convenience of the spectators witnessing the show of gladiators. Possibly, in a small city like *DEVA*, some games not requiring a large area might have been exhibited in the central area of the basilica.) There were probably steps at the end of the thermæ facing Bridge-street.

Miscellaneous Antiquities.—Whether it be owing to the site having been repeatedly examined at a very early period is now only a matter of conjecture, but certain it is that very few of the smaller class of antiquities, so frequently found amongst Roman remains, were discovered. The most important one was perhaps that found by the late Mr. Peacock, a small but mutilated bronze figure, wanting both legs below the knee, as well as the right arm; measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long in its present condition, but in its original state about 3 in. At first sight it appeared to be quite nude, but a careful examination revealed the existence of a small cloak or garment, resting on the left shoulder, passing behind it, and then around the left forearm. A comparison of it with similar examples found elsewhere showed, that it was one of the Roman Penates, and intended for the God Mercury.* It was dug

* A similar, figure found with others at Exeter, forms one of the illustrations to Mr. Pettigrew's Paper on the subject, in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 21, p. 220; one from the bed of the Thames is engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. 28, plate 5, and in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Roman London*; one found at Piersbridge is represented in the *Archæologia*, vol. 9, p. 289; and a wood cut of one dug up at Wroxeter, appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for April 30, 1859. A similarly sized bronze statuette of Mars, was found in Chester a few years since, and is now in the possession of Dr. Hastings.

up over the site of the first pavement. In different parts of the rubbish were found, a shapeless piece of bronze (which possibly was originally an ornament, and destroyed by the same fire which assisted in the destruction of the buildings), also, several coins, one, a second brass coin of the Emperor Domitian, which had been injured by fire, and eight of third brass size.*

Amongst the antiquities of a much later date, were many whole vessels, as well as fragments, of Norman and Mediæval pottery, found mixed with burnt wood in the irregular excavations in the rock below the Roman level; portions of a gargoyle, many fragments of Gothic tracery, and a piscina with a grotesque head rudely sculptured on it,†

* Four only out of the eight coins here referred to could be deciphered; and these, which are of the common types of the several Emperors named, read as follows:—

2nd. Brass.— *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XV CENS
PTRP.

Bust of Emperor Domitian.

Rev. VIRTUTI AVGVSTVS.

Mars standing, javelin in right hand, and trophy in left, between the letters S. C. (probably in allusion to some victory.)

This coin is much patinated, and bears palpable evidence of having been subject, at some period or other, to very severe heat.

3rd. Brass.—1.—*Obv.* DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG.

Head of Emperor.

Rev. GLORIA

Soldier, spear in hand, dragging captive (commemorating some imperial triumph.)

2.—*Obv.* The same as 1.

Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE.

Female figure standing, holding garland and cornucopia.

3.—*Obv.* CONSTANTINVS

Head of Emperor.

Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS (in exergue PLC.)

Two helmeted soldiers standing by the side of two standards.

† These architectural fragments belonged, in all probability, to the once great church and monastery of St. Michael, which is known to have originally extended much farther to the northward than the present comparatively modern church. It should be borne in mind also, that the northern limit of the excavations now under review is at the same time the northern boundary of the ancient parish of St. Michael.

the material in each case being red sandstone ; portion of a child's hornbook, and several white clay tobacco pipes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.*

I have at last arrived at the end of this long account of the Roman remains so recently brought to light in the middle of this city, and unfortunately so soon removed from our gaze. Its length, indeed, is not of my own seeking, but is due to the expressed wish of the Society (*vide* p. 2), and which I have carried out as well as my professional engagements would permit.

In conclusion, I may remind my brother members that the question *may* be, nay, is often asked, as to the objects and uses of taking so much trouble in examining the remains of past ages,—the *cui bono*? in fact, of Archaeology ; and those who make such enquiries are usually those who call into question the utility of History ! Perhaps a better reply could not be brought forward than the remark of Cicero, that “ not to know what has been transacted in former times is to continue always a child.” Archaeology gives a better insight into the manners and customs of the daily life of our predecessors, than can be afforded by ordinary History. It not only serves to illustrate the latter, but is also of use to correct the historian when faulty. Its study is therefore that of Man himself, and of his progress through successive centuries. How important is it then, that all the works and remains of the former inhabitants of this

* In taking down the “ Feathers” Inn, a curious letter was found in the roof, and being not without interest to Chester archaeologists, is here given :—

“ Mr. Potter,

“ I am afraid you have been ill or else fancy you would have answer one of my letters I wrote last post but one to have my velvet coat sent up if it be not sent, you need not send it. Pray tell Sam. to get himself ready to set out on Sunday with ye bay mare for London. I have sent him a guinea p Mr. Tagg (to carry him up) ; he will be at Chester on Saturday night.

“ Pray give ye above written to Mr. Geo. Mainwaring my service attends Mrs. Potter & hope yr delay in writing was only to send me word you had a lad ; I shall conclude now with wishing you ye complements of ye season, viz., a merry Christmas and happy New Year Service to all friends, and accept ye same from

“ Yr hum. Servt.,

“ Decr. 14th, 1731.”

“ R. ACTON.”†

† Most of the parties named in this letter are to be traced in our local records. Peter Potter was a bookseller, and sheriff of Chester in 1735. Mr. Acton, the writer, was a son of John Acton, Esq., of Gloverstone, Chester, and brother-in-law of the George Mainwaring to whom he refers in the letter : this George Mainwaring was second son of Alderman James Mainwaring of Chester, founder of the family of Mainwaring of Bromborough in the this county, of Oteley Park, Salop, and Galltsenan, Denbighshire. Mr. Tagg was chapter clerk of Chester Cathedral.

country should be preserved, whenever it be possible to do so, affording as they do, so many landmarks of History. It was well remarked by the Bishop of Oxford* that "everything that tended to make us live out of the mere present, and to carry us back to the past, had a tendency also to carry us on to the future;" and, silent though they be, what ought to act as better monitors to us, in pointing out the mutability and perishability of all human efforts, than these remains of antiquity!

Archaeology is not the handmaid of history, but the twin-sister; and those who study her aright, may go hand in hand with the student of Natural History and Geology, and, in the words of our great dramatist, find

Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

* At the Warwick Congress of the Archaeological Institute, in July, 1864.

NOTE.—At p. 76 there is a short description of a Roman channel drain exhumed in March, 1858, in Mill-lane, on the west side of, and opening into Bridge-street. Through the kindness of Mr. Edwards (of the firm of Kelly and Edwards, architects, of this city) the following account of all the remains of the Roman period found at the same time is now given:—

Along the south side of Mill-lane, and along the boundary of the present street, was found the channel drain already alluded to, bedded on a thick layer of concrete, beneath which was a thicker bed of clay. It was 55 ft. in length, and commenced about 50 ft. from Bridge-street. Adjoining it was a line of unchannelled flags of similar dimensions. Resting in their original positions on these latter, were three sandstone bases of columns, each 12 ft. apart. The first was similar to the Attic model, was well cut, its diameter being 2 ft. 2 in., and its height 2 ft. The second and third were very rude in character, had square bases, and the diameter of their shafts was only 1 ft. 6 in. Distant about 2 ft. 6 in. from the flags, and between the first and second bases, were two irregular excavations in the solid rock; one was of circular form, and contained some burnt animal bones; the second was an irregular square, chamfered at the corners, and having opposite each corner a small and rude excavation. What purpose these excavations may have originally served can now only be guessed at. The square one may perhaps have been the base of a forge or of a strong bench. The columns probably formed a small portico to a series of open shops. These remains are very interesting as pointing out the fact that the present street occupies the exact site of the Roman one; and afford us another stand point, in comparing the Roman with the modern level of this and of the main street.

ON THE
Old English Manor of Staley, in Cheshire.*

BY THE REV. W. WORTH HOARE, B.D.,
INCUMBENT OF ST. PAUL'S, STALYBRIDGE.

ANTIQUITY not only gives a grace to common objects, but adds also charms of imagination and poetic colouring to things already beautiful in themselves. The oak, which has basked in the sunshine and braved the storms of more than half a millennium, excites our reverence, not only by its majestic form, but at least as much by its hoar antiquity. The moss and weather-stained wall of mouldering Castle or Abbey has its charm in great part from the same source. Things of the far past—existing in the present, and likely to continue into the future—possess for the human mind a wondrous fascination. And herein is no weak proof of the existence in man of an undying spirit, anxiously linking itself with the past and with the future. Our thoughts, loving to “wander through eternity,” prove an eternal essence in us. The cultivation of such feeling is, therefore, the cultivation of our noblest instinct; it raises us in the scale of being. Who does not recollect Johnson’s full-toned aphorism—“Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future to predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.” If, then, we can cast this kind of interest over any spot of our land, it will be doing something that is calculated to elevate, and to promote patriotic feelings. In the following pages we shall make an attempt thus to steal “fire,

From the fountains of the past,
To glorify the present.”

I need not to say how adorned this ancient city of Chester is with this kind of glory, but there are many unknown nooks in England which present a miniature, as it were, of the “storied past” of this
“Land of just and old renown.”

Ancient Celtic, or Saxon names clinging to hills, valleys, or rivers;

* Read before this Society, December, 1866.

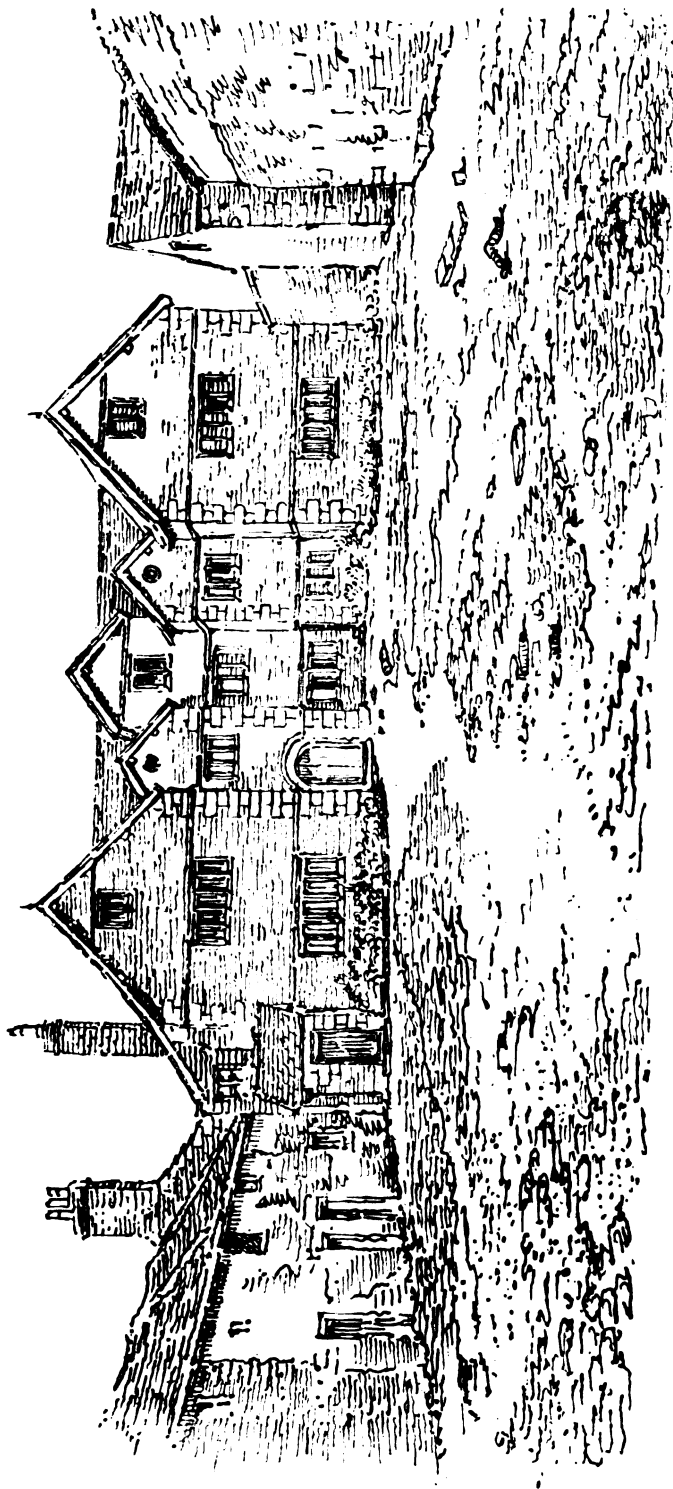
old roads and structures of the Roman ; the Norman Castle ; the Tudor Hall ; the modern railway, mill, school, and church ; mark out for us the ethnic waves which have followed each other over our island, blending finally in one grand nation ; just as its physical aspects record the secular geologic eras which have slowly rolled their courses over its surface, leaving it at last the rich, fair, fruitful England it is. Her geology is an epitome of that of all the earth, and her sons are "of men the first"—the "lords of human kind."

One such rich historically-marked spot we purpose briefly to notice in this paper. It is little known, yet in its records of the past, set down in ancient names and structures, we read, as in a book, the history of our land, till we come even to the actual present with its busy life.

The "MANOR OF STAYLEY," or "Staveley," is in Cheshire. This is one of the three palatine counties of England—Lancaster, Durham, Chester—so called because the chief of each, whether Bishop or Earl, exercised kingly authority in his county. Cheshire, as a glance at the map will show, is crescent shaped ; one horn being enclosed between the "ancient hallow'd Dee"—"which Britons long ygone did call divine, that doth by Chester tend"—and the Mersey of more modern fame ; the other wedged in between Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire. It is in the latter, constituting the north-eastern extremity of the county, that the manor of which we write is situated. But the human records here to be found lead us back to a period long before counties were defined ; while the natural physical features must, of course, direct our thoughts to the vast ages before man appeared on earth. However, a few words must suffice for all we shall say on the latter subject.

Cheshire is, for the most part, flat ; but here in "Stayley" we have the great advantage of being amongst hills. The "Penine range," or "back-bone of England," throws out a spur of lofty eminences on three sides of us, shedding their waters into our valley. The sandstone rocks and coarse conglomerate of these hills plainly teach that they were deposited in water ; while their soft and rounded outlines towards the valley show how they were moulded by the retiring floods. Numerous granitic boulders strewn upon, or buried beneath the surface bear witness to the "glacial period," when giant icebergs, sweeping from the North, deposited here these far-carried blocks, and ground down beneficently the rocks to mix with and enrich the soil. On the other side, our hills stretch away into wide heathery, "wimberry"*

* A local name for the bilberry.



STAYLEY HALL, STALYBRIDGE.

From a Photograph taken in 1866.

W. E., Photo.

W. H., Sc.

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bearing moors, abounding with grouse, where the frequent gun of the Sportsman may be heard in August within surprising short distance from the smoke and noise and crowd of Cotton Factories. Thus we have in close proximity the wilderness of nature and the town-life of man; a fact which a local poet,* of no mean ability, has thus expressed :—

A puff of steam,—three minutes' space,—

Away from crowds and clamours,
From all the rumbling and the rout
Of engines, looms, and hammers;
The mountains rise upon our sight,
Breathing of pleasant places;
We'll *feel*, ere day drops into night,
Their grandeurs and their graces.

And here's the pathway rent and rude,
The threshold of the mountains,—
And now we're in the solitude
Of mosses, rocks, and fountains;
There's Haridge, towering up to meet
The sun-lit clouds above him;
And here's the streamlet at his feet,
Whose waters seem to love him.

Stream, thou art nameless, or thy name,
But ill becomes thy beauty;
I'll christen thee with tongue and pen,
Henceforth let none defame thee;
The Brushes is the native glen,
And Brushlin Brook I name thee.

Fed from the steep sides of our hills, flows in the valley the humble representative of the ancient flood that rushed impetuously sea-ward as of old the land uprose. The gentle "Tame"—namesake, though now somewhat differently spelt, of "Royal-tower'd Thame"—wanders along. Of old—say some fifty years ago—it was a wood-shaded, crystal stream, that glided "at his own sweet will," renowned for trout. Now, alas! almost all its trees are gone, and it is, for the most part, compelled to run in straight artificial channels. And, worse still, it is lifeless, being so polluted than nothing can exist in it. Print-works, mills, gas-works have transferred it into a madder-coloured, filthy water

* J. Critchley Prince.

course, bereft of purity and life. Were this a result inseparable from manufactories, then, indeed, though to be lamented, it might well be borne; but it is needless, and ought not to be endured. Still, however, patient of the indignities done to him, as of old he flows along, till meeting near Stockport the "Etherow" and the "Goyt," which have united a mile or two before, they together form the world-renowned "Mersey."

But who first of human race dwelt in this sweet valley, when it was clothed with primeval woods full of animal life, watered by the silver Tame? Such a scene the imaginative Greek would have peopled with Dryads, Hamadryads, and Naiads. A later age would have made it the haunt of Oberon and Titania, and all their train. But we leave Fairy-land to the poets—or, rather, to "*The Poet*" whose "*Midsummer night's dream*" has crowned him for ever sole Laureate of that golden realm.

Yet little better than fancy can picture to us the first human dwellers. Very dark is the cloud which rests over the history of ancient Britain. Our records are but as of yesterday compared with those of some other nations. Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome had flourished, and the first three had fallen, before history casts a gleam of light on this island. The earliest reference to it is made by Aristotle, 350 B.C.; who names it as the county whence tin was obtained, this production of Cornwall having first made our country known in commerce to other peoples. The race then dwelling here was of Celtic origin. Two great races passed in ancient times from East to West; one the Celt, the other the Teuton. The former travelled westward by a more southern direction, while the latter passed more to the north. Wherever the Teuton reached the Celt the latter was driven out, or subdued and assimilated.

The Celts inhabiting Britain were under a species of theocratic government, administered by their priests, the Druids. This valley, then covered with venerable oaks, suited well their religious rites, which were especially connected with the oak, and above all with the mistletoe if found growing on the oak. There must have been much that was grand and solemn in their gloomy rites beneath some splendid, wide spread "lord of the wood."

It seems idolatry with some excuse,
When our forefather Druid in the oak
Imagined sanctity.

The only spot here which bears record to this period or race, is to be

found in some remarkable rocks on one of the hill tops, commonly called "Pots and Pans;"—so designated in consequence of the curious basin-like hollows in them, traditionally attributed to the chisel of the Druids, who formed them to hold the blood so copiously shed in their barbarous sacrifices. And we may observe that similarly cut stones, or "rock basins," and are not unfrequent in the northern and eastern parts of Lancashire.

But, Julius Cæsar is the first who in reality brings our island into history. Sixty-four years B.C., this great warrior and writer landed on our shores, and before long the entire island was subdued to Rome. This was thought a wonderful event, giving titles and triumphs to Emperors and Generals, and themes to Poets. Rome's dominion here lasted about four hundred years. Enduring marks of this great people are to be found in various parts of Britain. Their cities, their roads, or "streets" (*strata*), their forts, old encampments, military stations, &c. ; tell us of this great *doing* people. "Uriconium," near Shrewsbury, well called "the Pompeii of England," is a witness to their cities. "Watling-street," "Stratford-upon-Avon," "Stretford," and all other names in which in any shape we find the word "Street," tell us of their great military roads; which were so well laid down that our modern highways, canals and railways, frequently follow their old track. All towns in the names of which we find the word "Chester"—as Manchester, Chesterfield, Winchester, Colchester—were of old stations, or camps (*Castra*) of Roman soldiers. "Chester-le-Street," in Durham, unites in its name both the Roman camp and street. It was a camp upon the street. The city which gives name to this county—"Chester"—is indicated by this title to have been an important Roman military station, and in accordance with this is the fact, that the 20th Legion had its head-quarters there for upwards of 200 years. In some respects, a still more important station was York, the head-quarters of the 6th Legion. Hence we might expect that cohorts or detachments would be stationed, and forts, and streets, or military roads, made between these two important garrison towns. And this we find to have been the case.

Such records we may find here in Stayley of this Roman period. We have "Stayley-street;" part of the Roman road from Cheshire to the once celebrated Roman town of "Cambodunum," now "Almondbury," near Huddersfield, on the way to York—the very line which the railway takes at the present day. A steep hill, called "Bucton," rises here over this "street," and on its summit, quite commanding the

pass, we have the distinct remains of a Roman encampment, or fort, while the whole hill side is escarped to as to expose more completely the "street" to the fort. A few soldiers here could, thus, securely guard the road which connected the head-quarters of the 6th and 20th Legions. Not far off we have another encampment,—

"Where Rome, the mistress of the world,
Of yore her eagle wings unfurl'd,"

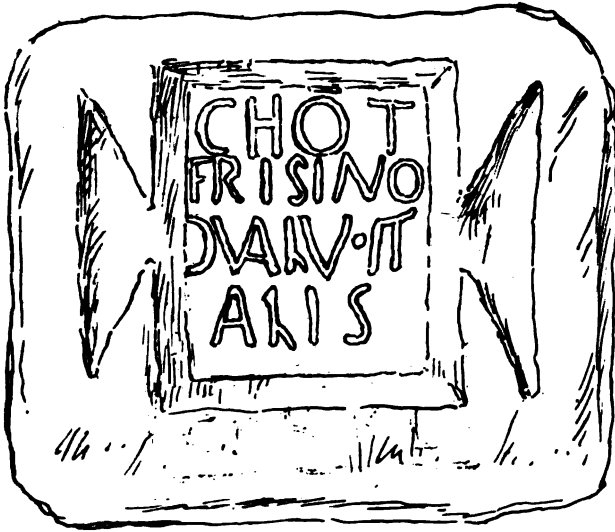
guarding another pass into Yorkshire. This fort, or encampment, is called locally "Milandra Castle." It is in the parish of Glossop and county of Derby. Here a Roman Altar was found, which is now built into the wall of a neighbouring farm-house. It bears an inscription which has been read as follows:—"Cohortis primæ Frisianorum Centurio Valerius Vitalis." Hence it would seem that the troops stationed here were a detachment from the Manchester (*Mancunium**) garrison, which was Frisian; and curiously enough, there is a district here still called Friesland, so named because of the articles manufactured in it, so that it would seem as if this part was always to have connection with that country.

Our local records of the Roman period are, then, distinct. But Rome's dominion came to an end. Britain was one of the last of her conquests, and one of the first that she relinquished. Troubles near home demanded all her troops, and this island was let slip from her enfeebled grasp; and at the same time it vanishes from the light of history. Like those islands which occasionally arise from the sea for a little, and then are again submerged; so Britain sinks again out of history, in which it had for a time appeared. Arthur, Hengist, Horsa are only myths. So completely, indeed, had our island relapsed into the cloud of fable, that, Procopius tells the people of Constantinople of the very country where its founder had assumed the purple, that "there was one province of our island in which the ground was covered with serpents, and the air was such that no man could inhale it and live. To this desolate region the spirits of the departed were ferried over from the land of the Franks at midnight. A strange race of fisherman performed the ghastly office. The speech of the dead was distinctly heard by the boatmen: their weight made the keel sink deep in the water; but their forms were invisible to mortal eye."† During this "dark middle-age" of our national history came pouring in the light-haired, blue-eyed Teuton; first Saxon, then Dane, and at a later period

* Or, according to modern antiquaries, *Mamucium*.

† Macaulay's *England*, vol. 1, p. 5.

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1. CENTURIAL STONE FOUND AT MELANDRA CASTLE.

2. INCISED INSCRIPTION ON AMPHORA-HANDLE FOUND
IN CASTLE-FIELD, MANCHESTER. ORIGINAL SIZE.



the Norman—three cognate tribes of the great Scandinavian race. Even during the Roman rule the Saxons had frequently made hostile descents upon the eastern coast; but, in the confusion consequent on the withdrawal of the Legions, larger bodies of them came. Fierce Vikings led hither their followers seeking plunder, or a new home. These gradually either brought into servitude, or drove out, the old Celtic inhabitants, calling them “Welsh,” or strangers, and shut them up, chiefly amongst the hills of Wales, the land of the strangers.

These Scandinavian conquerors were essentially a country-loving people, in this a great contrast to the town-frequenting Roman. Hence, we have to look for traces of our Saxon-Danish forefathers in the villages and fields. The great men of them would dwell amidst the game-haunted woods, in rustic plenty, surrounded by their serfs and the herds which they tented. Their wealth was chiefly estimated by the multitude of their swine, which supplied both food and clothing to their owners, and were chiefly fed on beech-mast and acorn, or corn of the oak, which the woods abundantly supplied. Ben Jonson, in the “Sad Shepherd,” which is laid in the time of Robin Hood, refers to these sources of Anglo-Saxon wealth, describing one of his characters as appearing,—

Like a prince

Of Swine-herds! Syke he seems, dight in the spoils

Of those he feeds, a mighty lord of swine!

while he, dilating on his own wealth, adds:—

A broad beech there grows before my dur,

That mickle mast unto the ferm doth yield.

An interesting connecting link in Stayley with this period, is found in the name of a rivulet that feeds the Tame. A beautiful valley, called “The Brushes,” lies between two of our hills—“Wildbank” and “Haridge” (Hare-edge.) Its sides are dotted with low, wide-spreading oaks, while through it runs a clear, sparkling, musical streamlet, which has for name the title of “Swine-shaw-brook”—that is, in more modern language, “Swine-grove-brook”—a name which tells its own story of old Saxon times. Doubtless here the large swine-herds of the Saxon thane of Stayley filled themselves with the acorns and mast that would fall thick in autumn, and then refreshed themselves with a bath in the cool margin of the stream. This scene and its name strikingly recal the description in the commencement of “Ivanhoe,” where Gurth and Wamba, the “thralls of Cedric the Saxon of Rotherwood,” are represented as tending the swine of their master in just such an oaked and watered grove. It is one of the most graphic sketches of scenery, amongst his many such, drawn by Sir Walter Scott. One might

almost suppose that he had in his eye, while writing it, our "Brushes," with its stunted, wide-spread oaks, and the "brook of the Swine-grove" murmuring through it. And, indeed, mayhap he had; for he lays the scene not very far off; our "Swine-grove" being an outskirt of the forest of which he writes, and which, doubtless, he visited before he wrote of it. Be this as it may, yet, as the description gives an excellent picture of this scene, and also of the then state of society, we take an extract from it.

Gurth and Wamba, swineherd and jester, clothed with the skins of swine, are represented as tending Cedric's swine in a wood, where "Hundreds of broad-headed, short-stemmed, wide-branched oaks, which had witnessed perhaps the stately march of the Roman soldiery, flung their gnarled arms over a thick carpet of the most delicious green sward; in some places they were intermixed with beeches, hollies, and copse wood of various descriptions, so closely as totally to intercept the level beams of the sinking sun; in others they receded from each other, forming those long-sweeping vistas, in the intricacy of which the eye delights to lose itself, while imagination considers them as the paths to yet wilder scenes of sylvan solitude." Evening drawing on, Gurth, anxious to collect his herd—"The curse of St. Withold upon these infernal porkers!" said the swineherd, after blowing his horn obstreperously, to collect together the scattered herd of swine, which, answering his call with notes equally melodious, made, however, no haste to remove themselves from the luxurious banquet of beech-mast and acorns on which they had fattened, or to forsake the marshy banks of the rivulet, where several of them, half plunged in mud, lay stretched at their ease, altogether regardless of the voice of their keeper." Wamba tells Gurth not to give himself such trouble about them, for, in any case, their end was, to be "converted into Normans." Gurth asks his meaning, and Wamba replies with the question: "How call you those grunting brutes running about on their four legs?" "Swine, fool, swine; every fool knows that," replied Gurth. "And swine is good Saxon," said the Jester; "but how call you the sow when she is flayed, drawn, and quartered, and hung up by the heels, like a traitor?" "Pork," answered the Swineherd. "Pork, I think, is good Norman-French," said Wamba, "and so, when the brute lives, and is in charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; but becomes Norman, and is called pork, when she is carried to the castle hall to feast among the nobles. There is old Alderman Ox, also, continues to hold his Saxon epithet, while he is under the charge of serfs and bondsmen

such as thou, but becomes *beef*, a fiery French gallant, when he arrives before the worshipful jaws that are destined to consume him. Mynheer Calf, too, becomes Monsieur de Veau in like manner; he is Saxon when he requires tendance, and takes a Norman name when he becomes matter of enjoyment." Sir Walter might have added the Saxon sheep in the field, which becomes Norman mutton on the table. All this gives us an idea of the oppressed condition of the Anglo-Saxon people under the victorious Normans, to which we shall again refer.

Of these times we have several other local records in the names of places, and even persons. In Stayley there is one of those enclosures called "towns" in Scotland, and here called "folds,"—which has the name of "Boar-fold." It lies beside a wood called "Early-bunk" (bank), which clothes the side of a steep eminence called "Hough-hill." Here of old, most likely, wild boars were "wont to wone," and this farm-stead had its name because the nearest "*in-tack*" to their haunt. Dukinfield is the name of one of the next townships, and it is said to signify "Raven-field." The standard of the Danes was a Raven; and in this field, no doubt, some battle was fought in which it either fell a prize to the Saxon, or flew triumphant with the victorious Dane. There is a hamlet here by, called "Heyrod." Some have thought that this is a corruption of "hey-rood"—the lofty cross; but I think it is evident that it is from the word "Herad," which signified the district, or tribe over which a Scandinavian chief held sway, and which is still in Denmark used for the jurisdiction of a district judge. Some family names here about are noteworthy, and chief amongst them that of "Knut"—of which also Knott is probably a corruption—the very name of the greatest of the Danish kings of England, which though now commonly spelt "Canute," was indeed "Knut."

Saxon and Dane were, on coming here, savage warriors, worshippers of Thor and Woden. But they were gradually, and chiefly by missionaries from Ireland, converted to christianity and civilized. Their glory reached its culminating point in Alfred. The weak and unpatriotic Edward opened the way to their overthrow. In the year 1066, William the Conqueror brought his Norman forces to England, crushing the Saxo-Danish people in one common overthrow. The Normans were, as their name indicates, of the same Scandinavian race as those they conquered. They had invaded France, and obtained possession of that portion of it which, as Normandy, to this day bears name from them. In England, and in Ireland where they had possession of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, they were known

long before the Conqueror's time under the name of "Ostmans" or "Easterlings"—some suppose because coming from Esthonia on the Baltic, and others imagine as coming from the eastward. Their prowess as warriors, their skill as governors, and eloquence as orators, were known from the frozen North to sunny Italy, Sicily, and Constantinople.

William and his followers treated the vanquished people with great contempt and cruelty. Two languages were spoken, and two nations dwelt apart in the land. The oppression of the Norman was met by the wild justice of the Saxon, as exemplified in the "ballad singer's joy"—Robin Hood and his "gestes." The proud Norman thought the name of Englishman and his language degrading, but the strength of the Anglo-Saxon character finally prevailed. This is marked in the fact that the Saxon language became dominant. The names of our week days prove its victory, as well as some names still cleaving to the marked features of the country. Thus Saxon names are not unusual for our mountains and hills. In and about Stayley we have among our hill-names, for example, "Haridge," "Earldorman," "Elfin." Spencer gives us in the "Faerie Queene" the pedigree of the sprite whose name Elfin bears. He tells us that "Prometheus did create a man" whom he called "Elfe,"—

Who, wandering through the world with wearie feet,
Did in the gardins of Adonis fynd
A goodly creature.

Her he named "Fay," "of whom all Faryes spring and fetch their lignage right;" and their eldest offspring was, he tells us, "Elfin," first king by the "Faryes."

Stayley possesses its local reminiscence of the oppressing Norman baron. The Conqueror gave the Earldom of Chester to Hugh Lupus, a name, most likely, expressive of his character. Lupus would, doubtless, distribute the county amongst his barons and knights, who would build their castles in places excellent for hunting or defence, or both. For both, a Norman castle might be expected to have been erected in Stayley. Accordingly we have, beneath the crest of "Bucton,"—on which the Roman, as we have seen, had before erected his fort to command the "street" into Yorkshire—the Norman's castle built for the same purpose; and, no doubt, also, the baron was attracted here by the hunting which the neighbourhood so abundantly afforded, and in which the Norman so delighted. This, indeed, is not obscurely indicated in the very name of the hill—"Bucton." "Ton," or "tun," is from the same Saxon root whence we have the word "town," and

signifies an enclosed or fortified place, or hill. Writ large, then, "Bucton" would be "The hill with the fort on it, frequented by buck." And equally indicative of the abundance of deer, that harboured in this neighbourhood and attracted hither the hunting-loving Norman, are the names of two districts, one on either side of "Bucton," the one called "Hartley" and the other "Hartshead." "Haridge," too, indicates the abundance of hares; it was the "ridge of hares." Our present representative, on "Bucton" side, of the Norman's feudal castle, whence he enforced his cruel forest laws—preferring hart and buck to man—is a quiet, humble farm-house, still however bearing the name of "Bucton Castle."

The title of "manor" is a link binding Stayley to what may be considered as about the age when the names of Norman and Saxon gave place to the name of Englishman; for, in consequence of a law passed in the reign of Edward the first, it is certain that no manor could be erected at a later period than his time, that is, the close of the 13th century.

The name "manor" is from containing the "mansion," (*maneo*) or dwelling place, of the baron or lord; for manors were formerly called baronies, as now lordships. No residence is properly a mansion, except it be a "manor-house." The lord, or baron, residing in the mansion, held in his own hands a portion of his land, which was called the "demesne" or "demean"—probably from "*de maison*"—because it was the land "of the house." It was always in the immediate neighbourhood of the mansion, and for the use of the household. The rest of the land was "tenemental," occupied by tenants under various tenures. Each baron or lord of manor was empowered to hold a "court-baron," in which all questions between the lord and his tenants, or the tenants one with another, were settled by an elected jury. A "court-leet" is, also, connected with some manors. This was not a necessary adjunct of the manor, but a special grant of the Sovereign to the Baron personally, and for the benefit of the public. Its object, in the latter respect, was to relieve the tenants from going to the more distant "leets" or "torus" of originally the earls, and afterwards of the sheriffs. In these manorial "court leets" view of frankpledge was taken, suit and service were rendered, breaches of the peace, and matters between the king and subject, were determined.

The "court-leet" not being inseparably tied to the land, like the "court-baron," but a grant to the baron and for the public benefit, it might be withdrawn if the Baron did not fulfil its duties—as neglecting

to punish offenders, to hold courts, to appoint constables, ale-tasters, &c., and to provide pillory, stocks, tumbrel, &c. Where this grant was made, the lord held two courts, that of the Barou and that of the Leet. Stayley is very complete in the local marks connecting it with the period of these baronial institutions. The representative of the "Mansion" or "Manor-house" we have in "Stayley Hall," standing on that part of the ground which is still called "The Demesne," and part of which, being now built upon, is called "Demesne-street." This "Demesne" is to the present day tithe free, though all the surrounding land pays it, showing how the old Baron, who gave the tithes of Stayley to Mottram-in-Longdendale, prudently exempted the land held in his own hands from that impost. The "Court-Baron" for Stayley is held twice a year by the Lord's Steward, when a jury and foreman are chosen, and various tenemental questions settled. In the neighbouring manor of Ashton-under-Lyne, with which, as we shall have occasion to observe just now, Stayley has long been united under one Lord, a "Court-Leet" is still held once a year, when a mayor, chief constable, swine-looker, ale-taster, &c., are appointed for the manor, suit and service is rendered, and a view of Frank-pledge taken.

But Saxon, Dane, and Norman, cognate tribes, as we have said, of the one Teutonic family, were to be welded into one compact, strong, and noble people—the English. Great nations are always the result of mixtures. Wide as was once the distinction, thus close and indistinguishably one became the people of this island, producing "this happy breed of men." We may date the beginning of this amalgamation from the reign of John. The Norman noble then began to join with the Saxon yeoman in restraining the regal power. "The first pledge of their reconciliation was the great Charter, won by their united exertions, and framed for their common benefit."* The foreign wars so successfully waged by the Plantagenets tended still more closely to unite King, noble, and yeoman, so that in the fourteenth century Englishmen looked with contempt upon that people who had despised and oppressed their ancestors.

The first recorded mention of the "Manor of Stayley," or "Staveley," as it was formerly spelt, connects it with this important period of the amalgamation of the various tribes into one nation. In the year 1318 we find mention of its being conveyed to Robert de Stayley, or Staveley, by Robert de Hough. We have, however, a more romantic local connecting link with the very dawn of nationality,

* Macaulay.

consisting of the remains of an ancient cross, called "Roe-cross," and the mutilated monument of a Knight and Lady in the parish church of Mottram-in-Longdendale, known as "Roe and his wife." There is little doubt that "Roe" is a corruption of "Ralph," or rather it is the Norman-French form of it, for Rollo and Ralph were very early changed in Norman-French into "Rou." The cross and monument relate to Sir Ralph de Stayley and his wife, of whom there is the following tradition.

Sir Ralph accompanied Richard the first to the Crusades, where he was taken prisoner, and held captive for many years. At length he was, on his parole, allowed to return to his native land in order to raise a stipulated sum as his ransom. Travelling in disguise, he arrived near his home, where he met an old servant, accompanied by a dog which had been a favourite with his master. The dog was the first to recognize Sir Ralph; for, as the poet has truly said,—

What though the porter spurn him from the door,
Though all that know him know his face no more,
His faithful dog shall teach his joy to each,
With that mute eloquence which passes speech.

—so in this case. The dog's barking and joy attracted the attention of the servant to the seeming stranger, whom he, on closer attention perceived to be his old master, so long thought to be dead. Sir Ralph soon heard that Lady Stayley was about to be married again the next day. He, therefore, hastened forward to his mansion about two miles distant, and requested to see her Ladyship, but was told it was not possible, as she was fully occupied with the preparations for her wedding the next morning. He begged, however, to be refreshed with a cup of metheglin; and when he had drunk it he dropped a ring into the bottom of the vessel, and requested the maid to give the cup with the ring to her mistress. Lady Stayley, on examining the ring, exclaimed that he who put it in the cup must be either Sir Ralph or some messenger from him; but, she added, if it be Sir Ralph himself he will know of a certain mole on me, which is known to none but him. The man returned such answer by the maid that Lady Stayley was convinced that he was none other than Sir Ralph. The intended bridegroom, who had in those lawless days used threats to obtain her hand for the sake of her estate, had to disappear. At the point where Sir Ralph so opportunely met his old servant and favourite dog he caused a cross to be erected for perpetual memory of the event, and this is the "Roe-cross" of the present day; and when both he and his lady slept in death, by his will, recumbent figures of them side by

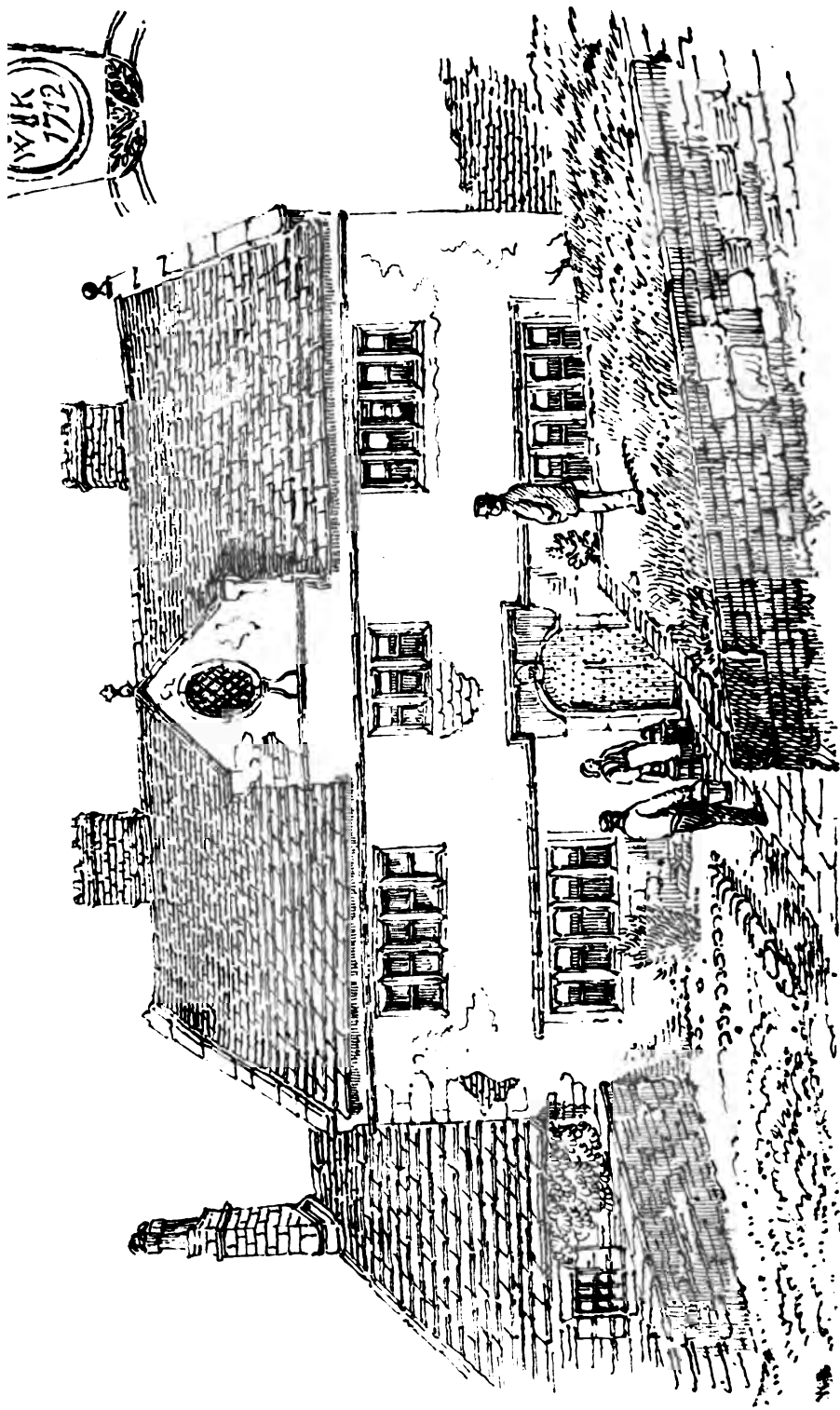
side were carved upon their monument, with a dog at the feet; and "there they be to this day" in Mottram Church, bearing the name of "Roe and his wife."

"Stayley Hall," as it now stands, connects us with a more modern and very glorious period of our English history—the reign of that great Princess, when the nation reached those splendid heights in literature, arms, and discovery, so well depicted by the greatest name of the age—may we not say of any age?—when he speaks of the youths as all gone—

Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away;
Some, to the studious universities.

Like several other manor houses built in this reign, Stayley Hall is somewhat in the shape of a capital E, the initial letter of the great Queen's name, and in compliment to her. Webb in his "Itinerary," A.D. 1622, mentions it as "a fine old manor. belonging to Sir George Booth." How it passed to the Booths from the Stayleys we shall mention just now. It is a house of "five gables," and with three bands or courses, across the front, making its three stories. Its site was selected with excellent taste. It stands upon an eminence which rises abruptly from the plain, clothed of old with wide-branched oaks, &c., while it was watered on one side by the bright Tame, and on another by the sparkling rivulet of Swine-shaw-brook. In one direction it commanded a wide view of the extensive "Wood of Stayley," and in another, it looked up into the romantic valley of the "Brushes,"—a rural scene which, taken altogether, could not easily be surpassed.

Beneath the hill, on which stands the manor house, we find a hamlet with a name which is another record of these old Baronial times. Here lies "Millbrook," where until not long ago was the busy corn water-mill of the Lord of the Manor, in which, under penalties, all the corn of his tenants must be ground. Hence, in autumn mornings, would issue forth upon his pony the lusty miller to take note of the tenants' barn-yards, so that none might defraud him of his dues. The streamlet flows on, and the name still lingers, but the occupation is gone. Where stood the grey mill, with its dusty windows and door, and the clattering wheel which was driven by the plashing water, there is now the formal cotton factory; and the water, forced to give out its latent power in steam, turns with dull noise endless spindles. And corn is no longer grown here, having given place to dairy farming, to supply the mill-hands with their daily needs of milk and butter.



"THE ASHES" HALL, STALYBRIDGE.

We have alluded to the passing of the manor from the Stayleys to the Booths. It will tie the past with the present if we just briefly recount how it has passed from one family to another, until it came to its present Lords—the Greys of Groby—Earls, now, of Stamford and Warrington.

We have already had occasion to mention that the Manor of Stayley was given by deed to Robert de Stayley, in the year 1318. It remained with this family till 1471, when, the male line having failed, Elizabeth, the only child and heiress of Ralph Stayley, married Sir Thomas Ashton (or Assheton), of Ashton-under-Lyne, the next adjoining manor. They had for issue two daughters. The younger of these dying without issue, left her moiety of the united properties of Stayley and Ashton to the heirs of her sister, who married, in 1517, Sir William Booth of Dunham Massey. Thus the Stayley and Ashton families and properties became merged in the Booths.

A descendant of this Sir William and Lady Booth was amongst the first created baronets, being made one by James the First, in the year 1611. His great-grandson took an active part in support of William the Third, and was by him created Earl of Warrington. But in the next generation the title became extinct for want of heir male. The property was inherited by Mary, sole child of the second Earl, who married, May 1736, Harry Grey fourth Earl of Stamford, and their son was, in 1796, created Earl of Warrington, thus reviving the Earldom of his mother's family, and since then the title of the family of "Grey of Groby" unites the two Earldoms—Stamford and Warrington. In this historic family is now, therefore, united the ancient families of Stayley of Stayley, Ashton of Ashton, and Booth of Dunham Massey, their titles, and their ample domains.

But we have here yet another romantic and interesting old hall; not, indeed, so ancient, or so beautifully situated as that of Stayley, yet old, and on a well-chosen position. It is called "The Ashes." It stands well on a shoulder of a lofty hill called "Wildbank," and was doubtless once, as its name signifies, surrounded by a grove of ash trees. It bears on it the date of 1712. It serves to connect our locality with a still later period of national history—the last time that an army has marched in hostile manner on our English soil. When in 1745 the Pretender's son, Prince Charles Edward, held head-quarters and a mockery court in Manchester, a party of his troopers and Highlanders came as far as Stayley seeking forage and horses for the baggage of the army, and they were quartered during their stay in this hall of "The

Ashes." It is not long since some were living who could tell their children that they had seen these soldiers there, and recount their doings.

Coming to to-day, we have many marks which will abide to tell its history to future ages, if such ages are to be. The modern railway runs parallel to the line of the old Roman "street" into Yorkshire, until the latter began to climb the steep hill through which the iron-road pierces its way with its characteristic iron will and might. Our population represents at present all parts of the kingdom. Amidst the various Anglo-Saxon dialects of York, Lancashire, Cheshire, &c., is heard frequently the Irish brogue, and some times the sharp accent of the shrewd Scot, with the foreign sounding tone given to the Anglo-Saxon by the civil and well conducted Welsh. Amidst this modern jumble, we hear with pleasure still used in daily life many graphic and poetic words, elsewhere become obsolete, which glitter in our Chaucer, Spencer, and Shakspeare.

Of buildings marking the age, we have our dozen tall-chimnied cotton factories, and our half dozen woollen mills, together with our two modern churches, their school-houses and parsonages. To these busy hives of human industry are now, happily, added the elevating and softening influences of education and eternal hopes. Man, the worker, is reminded that his work extends into eternity. The altar "besmeared with blood of human sacrifice"—the fort of the armed conqueror—the castle of the oppressor—the feudal lord—the invading host—have, indeed, all left their traces; but finally yielded place to industry, education, and religion. Let us hope that, in this favoured land at least,—

For evermore,

The reign of violence is o'er.

Let us hope great things in the coming, but yet let us not despise the gone. Our new springs from our old. Deep roots in the past have produced and sustained our present. Not as the mushroom have we grown, but as the oak. We stand firm and flourish by our deep and wide-striking roots, while we enjoy the fruits of the present, and look to the promise of the future.

In our halls is hung

Armoury of the invincible knights of old :

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue

That Shakspeare spake ; the faith and morals hold

Which Milton held. In every thing we are sprung

Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

The grouse on our wild moorlands—the ancient relics and names around—the Courts-Baron and Leet, with their antique forms—the modern telegraph, railway, and factory—the church and the school—and the actual life and vigour of to-day pervading all—figure out our national existence, which so happily blends the new with the old—the past with the present—progress with stability. Still, and for ever may it be so with us! Let our advance be unceasing, yet never in rash haste, as though all the past and present were as nothing; but in ripe maturity, may

Freedom broaden slowly down
From precedent to precedent!

P o s t s c r i p t .

Perhaps it may interest our readers to have the history of Stayley brought up to the level of the present day. Its most modern and known development is in the borough town of "Stayley-Bridge;" now, however, by railway, post-office, and general consent spelt "Stalybridge." It has grown up at the point on the river Tame where the township of Stayley meets that of Dukinfield in Cheshire, and Hartshead in Lancashire. Here was, in long gone days, a little hamlet of about a score of houses, clustered near the "Bridge." Originally the woollen trade occupied the people; but the rapid growth of the hamlet into a large and very wealthy community was in connection with the introduction of cotton. He became sole king here, and was certainly a most liberal ruler, bestowing riches and prosperity all around. But, the civil war in the United States produced great suffering here, and since then the decline in wealth has been great, causing a decrease of population.

On the 5th of March, 1857, a Charter of Incorporation was granted to the town, the Corporate body consisting of a Mayor, six Aldermen, and eighteen Councillors. The population of the municipal borough, according to the census of 1861, amounted to 24,921. By the last Reform Bill, the power of returning a member to Parliament was given to Stalybridge, along with a part of Dukinfield not included in the municipal borough. The population included in the Parliamentary borough is about 40,000, the area 2,573 acres. The number of registered electors is 5,339; of whom 4,483 voted at the first election, held in November, 1868. The candidates on this occasion were, James Sidebottom, cotton-manufacturer, of Stalybridge, and R. Buckley, cotton-manufacturer, of Ashton-under-Lyne. The former stood on the Conservative interest, and received 2,405 votes; Mr. Buckley, who stood on the Liberal interest, receiving 2,078. Mr. Sidebottom is a gentleman of much local popularity, and had filled the office of Mayor of the borough three successive years. An attempt was made by petition to unseat him, but he was ultimately declared to have been duly elected.

WHILE this last sheet of a most interesting Cheshire Memoir was undergoing final revision and correction, intelligence of the sudden death of the Author was conveyed to us through the public press. In the presence of a calamity so unexpected, and in respectful sympathy for the bereaved ones of his household, we will confine ourselves to a short biographical notice of our lamented friend, whose very hand as it were, in death, we feel almost to have grasped: a letter, in fact, upon the subject of this Paper, was among the very latest efforts of his valued pen.

The REV. WILLIAM WORTH HOARE, B.D., was the youngest son of the Rev. John Hoare, L.L.D., Chancellor and Vicar General of the Diocese of Limerick, and of Rachel, daughter of Sir Edward Newenham, for 40 years M.P. for the County Dublin.

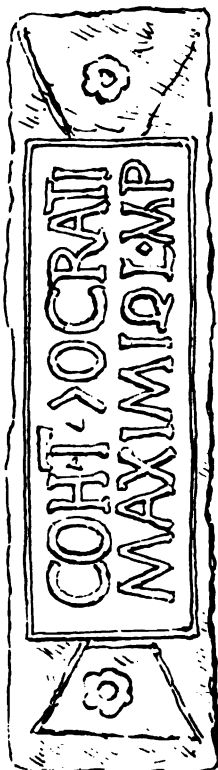
The Rev. W. W. Hoare was born at Lifford, County Limerick, in the year 1811, and was educated at a Private School in Leicestershire. Entering at Trinity College, Dublin, he graduated in 1832. He was ordained in 1835, by Bishop Knox, of Limerick, in which Diocese he held his first Curacy: his second was at Christ Church, Parish of Holy Trinity, Cork, under the Rev. Charles Leslie, Vicar, the Rector being the present Bishop of Cashel. Subsequently, in 1839, he was appointed the first Incumbent of St. Paul's, Stalybridge, where he remained until his sudden death, on April 13th, 1869, a period of 30 years.

In this important and now populous parish, his labours as Pastor were as earnest as they were unremitting: to his exertions are due the building and maintaining of two large Parochial Schools, with commodious Masters' Houses attached, as well as the erection of twelve cottages, as an Endowment for the Incidental Expenses of St. Paul's Church. He was the means also of building a New Church (St. James') at Millbrook, Stayley, to form a district for which he gave up part of his own Parish, having previously assigned another portion containing 500 inhabitants, to form a third ecclesiastical district.

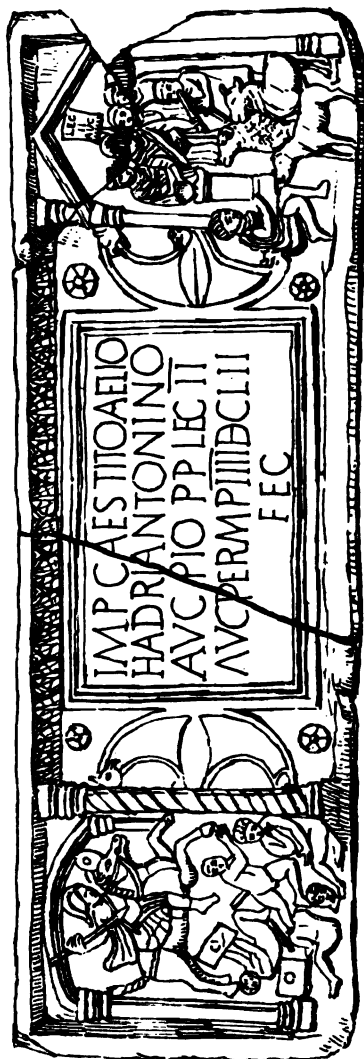
He was the author of "Christian Glory," Lectures on "Geology," "Water," "Shakspeare," "The Breath of Life," "The Law of Compensation," "Undesigned Naturalness of Scripture Narratives;" together with numerous other Lectures, Sermons, &c., nearly all of which have issued from the press during his long Incumbency at Stalybridge.



1



2



1. ROMAN TABLE PRESERVED IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, CHESTER. SCALE - 2 INCHES TO A FOOT.

2. LEGIONARY TABLE FROM THE ANTONINE WALL IN SCOTLAND, 1868. NO SCALE.



APPENDIX.

THE stone referred to as a "Roman Altar" at page 8, and there figured, may be more correctly described as a *Centurial Mark*, of which class of antiquities numerous examples fortunately remain to us in this country. They have been found at or near most of the military stations of Roman Britain, and especially on the line of Hadrian's and the Antonine Walls. The late Mr. Hoare, author of the foregoing Paper, has spoken of Milandra Castle as an outpost of the Frisian Camp at Mamucium (Manchester): in confirmation of this theory, another and similar inscription derived from a discovery in 1796, at the Castle Field, Manchester, is figured on the same page with the Milandra stone. The Manchester inscription records the fact that "the 1st Frisian Cohort has completed 24,000 paces, in honor of the august Jovian." The mention of this emperor's name would seem to fix the date of the Manchester inscription at about A.D. 364.

The inscription on the Milandra stone has been variously interpreted by classical antiquaries, the late Mr. John Harland, F.S.A., of Manchester, reading it thus—"Cohors Prima Frisianorum Centuria Valerii Vitalis," i. e. "The First Cohort of Frisians, the Century of Valerius Vitalis." The stone upon which this inscription occurs measures about 16½ inches long by nearly 12 broad.

Centurial Marks have also been met with at Chester. One, relating to the Century of Abucinus, and but a mere fragment, was dug up about the year 1848, in the neighbourhood of Commonhall Street. Another, and a far more interesting and perfect example, is stated to have been found near to the site of the present Deanery. It probably came originally from the City Walls, near adjoining; and the inscription, which remains beautifully fresh and legible, relates that "the First Cohort of the Century of Ocratius Maximus" had completed a certain defined portion of the military wall of the city. This stone is preserved in the Chapter House of Chester Cathedral, and is figured in the accompanying Illustration.

We have said that inscriptions of similar character have been found on the line of Hadrian's, and of the Antonine Walls. At the eastern extremity of the last named barrier, viz: at Bridgeness, near Carriden, Linlithgowshire, a very beautiful and characteristic specimen was discovered by the merest accident, so lately as the 14th of April, 1868, in the grounds of Henry Cadell, Esq., of Grange. A fine photograph of this really charming and curious relic was exhibited

by Dr. Davies-Colley, at a Meeting of the Chester Archaeological Society, soon after the stone was discovered; and we have now the gratification of presenting a facsimile of it,* to illustrate the more modest, but still in its way, as interesting Milandra Stone. This recent contribution from Scotland to the Roman history of Britain may be shortly described as a slab of free stone, 9 feet long, a fraction less than 3 feet wide, and about 9 inches in thickness. It was unfortunately broken in two places, diagonally across the central inscribed panel, and at the upper proper left hand corner. These accidents occurred at the time of the discovery; otherwise the stone is as perfect as it was when it originally passed from the sculptor's hands. The face of the stone is divided into three compartments; the central panel, containing the inscription, &c., occupying more space than the other two together. The panel upon the proper right is intended to represent a battle field, upon which the vanquished lie strewn about, some decapitated, others wounded; while one is endeavouring to protect himself with his shield from the spear of the victorious horseman above him, as well as from the trampling of the steed. The opposite subject presents to us a priest, surrounded by attendants, one of whom holds erect the *vexillum* or standard, bearing the martial inscription LEG. II. AVG. The priest is engaged in sacrifice, and stands beside an altar, the very counterpart of those that have been so frequently found at Chester. The sheep, &c., intended for sacrifice stand bleating before the altar, and a boy is playing upon the double pipes to drown the cries of the dying animals. The central inscription has been thus translated by a northern antiquary, "To the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his country, the Second Legion, called the Augustan, has completed 4652 paces."

* We are indebted for the two Plates, in illustration of Roman Centurial Marks, to the friendly pencil of a member of this Society, Mr. Alfred H. Davies-Colley, of this city and Manchester, architect, who has carefully reproduced them, after a personal study of photographs of, and rubbings from the actual stones.

Richard ii.

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO CONNECT SOME CHESHIRE PERSONS,
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PLACES WITH SHAKSPERE'S
DRAMA OF THIS NAME.

BY WILLIAM BEAMONT.

WHICH of all our English monarchs do we consider the most fortunate? those who reigned long, or those whose reign has been of short duration? Those who, after triumphing in war closed their life in trouble? or those who have ruled well, lived happily, and descended to the grave in peace? Leaving for awhile all these questions, one circumstance occurs to us, which, as it makes some of our kings twice monarchs, it so far renders them superior to the rest; and these are they on whom Shakespere has employed his pen, and who stand before us in the lineaments which he has drawn! Such are King John, the second and third Richard, and the fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth Henry, who at the poet's touch revisit their old kingdoms, and live their reigns on earth again. Any one who enquires what part of our history is generally best known, will find it, I think, to be that on which our great bard has laid his enchanter's spell.

The story of Richard of Bordeaux,—the second of his name after the Conquest, the second, too, in the series of our great bard's English historical dramas, and the second also in the order of their production,—challenges especial attention as being the first page in “that purple testament of bleeding war,” which bequeathed to England the wars of the Roses,—

When, like a matron butchered of her sons
And cast beside some common way, a spectacle
Of horror and affright to passers by,
Our bleeding country pled at every vein!

Lormont, where the king was born, is an old castle, near Bordeaux, which to this hour is haunted by a ghost traditionally connected with the Black Prince and his wars in France. Richard bore a name which

has never been auspicious in our English annals. His Saxon namesake, and a predecessor on the throne, in the year 722 set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, and falling sick, died at Lucca, leaving his purpose unfulfilled. But though he was not permitted with his mortal eyes to see the holy city, the Pope, commending his pious purpose, finally canonized him as Saint Richard. Richard of the Lion heart, after a troubled life, died by an ignoble hand. Richard of York fell in the field at Wakefield, when the crown he was so nearly clutching slid from his grasp. Richard III, after a short and unquiet reign, deservedly lost both his crown and his life at Bosworth. Richard Cromwell, "Queen Richard" as he has been called, had the empire in his hands and suffered it to depart like a shadow. What was the fate of Richard II, we shall shortly see.

Of Richard II, we have the first portrait of any English monarch painted by a contemporary hand. The portrait, a full length sitting figure of life size, hangs in that Jerusalem Chamber of the Sanctuary of Westminster, where Convocation generally meets. It was lent to the Art Treasures' Exhibition at Manchester, where many of my hearers probably saw it, and it has since been engraved and published by the Liverpool Historic Society.* The king, whom it represents holding the orb and sceptre, has yellowish hair, and a fine rosy countenance rather round than long. The king is good looking, but he has an expression which is rather feminine. He is of middle stature, and his portrait corresponds with the description given of him by the old chroniclers.†

Although then only 11 years old, Richard was actually crowned king at his accession to the throne. From its commencement his reign was involved in trouble, and in its second year we read that the country was infested by an armed banditti, who went about despoiling people of their property, and committing many enormities. One of the expedients they resorted to for extorting money, was to carry off young maidens, and send to their friends demanding ransom. The king's writs not running into the two counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, thither, as to a safe sanctuary, the offenders especially resorted.‡

* See their *Proceedings*, Vol. x. p. 287.

† *Trahison et mort Rich. III.*, p. 295. But since the above was written the picture has been restored. See an account of the restoration in the *Journal* of the Royal Archaeological Institute for 1867, pp. 68—70.

‡ Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. iii. p. 147.

A few years later, when an insurrection of the lower classes against the higher was raging in France, Flanders, and other parts of Europe, a spark of the same flame came wafted to England, and kindled Wat Tyler's celebrated rebellion. The boy king on this occasion shewed great courage and self possession, and after their leader had been struck down by the Lord Mayor, and despatched by Robert Standish, a Lancashire Esquire, the king rode unattended into the rebel host, which so overawed them that, ceasing their lawless proceedings, they dispersed and returned home. Such a beginning gained the king much credit, and from it men argued well for his future career.

It is not my intention to examine critically either the king's character or the poet's story; but to use the latter only as a thread on which to string such passing remarks as may occur to me as connecting the persons, circumstances, and places of the story with this neighbourhood, and in so doing render it more vivid and real. To give a local habitation and a name to events, persons, or places which history has commemorated or the hand of genius touched, is so natural as to require no apology, if only it be kept within due bounds, and not carried to a mistaken excess: such an excess as possessed the Scottish idolater of Burns, who, determining to identify all the persons in *Tam-o'-Shanter*, insisted that "Care, mad to see them all so happy," must be meant for Kerr of Bellenden!*

Without emulating this extravagance, we shall however meet with real personages enough, and have no need to call up imaginary ones. From the reign of Henry III. the eldest son of the reigning sovereign had been Earl of Chester, and throughout the long French wars, the county under the immediate eyes of Edward III. and his son the Black Prince, had won much renown. Remembering this, and remembering with just pride the feats of Lord Audley and his Cheshire Squires,—of Sir Robert Knolles, the favourite of Froissart,†—the rescue of the king's standard, at Cressy, by Sir Thomas Danyers,—and Sir Hugh Calveley's achievements at Navarete and elsewhere,—loyalty to the crown, and to Richard its youthful wearer, became almost a Cheshire instinct.‡ On the king's side too, the bond was further strengthened by the precaution, which on the death of the Black Prince, he had

* Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Vol. i, p. xxxii.

† Ibid, Vol. ii., p. 419, iii. p. 266 n.

‡ Williams' *Trahison et mort Richard II*, p. lxxxiv.

taken to create his son Earl of Chester and Prince of Wales; * and by the favour which the king himself in his various charters had shewn to the city of Chester.† We need not wonder therefore at the intimate connection which existed between the king and the palatinate, or that in his reverses, this and the enrolment of his Cheshire guard which arose out of it, should have been amongst the most serious of the charges urged against him at his deposition. The charge however is one, which, notwithstanding Grafton's prejudiced account of it, was of so general a nature that dispassionate enquirers are of opinion, not only that it was much exaggerated,‡ but that the other charges against the king and his friends must be received with the more caution, since, with two exceptions, all the chroniclers who record them were Lancastrians, whose judgment at such a time could hardly be unprejudiced. This Cheshire guard are represented as thus addressing the king—"Dycun slep secury quile we wake, and drede nought quile we lyve, Sefton : giff thou hadst weddet Perkyn, daughter of Lye, thou mun well holde a love day with any man in Chester schire i faith."§ But independent of the improbable familiarity of this address, it can hardly have been used; for Perkin à Legh and his wife Margaret (on whom, for Sir Thomas Danyers, her father's services at Cressy, the king had settled the Lyme estate, in 1386, and which Perkin à Legh was the only person to whom the speech could apply,) had no daughter whom the king could have married.

A few words of explanation seem necessary as to this Cheshire guard. The personal service of his feudal retainers was first dispensed with by Henry II, in his expedition to Thoulouse, in the 5th year of his reign, when the persons excused were required to pay escuage, or, a sum of money to provide substitutes. After the decay of the feudal system, there seems to have grown up a plan of retaining men for service at stated rates of pay, but with the prospect of increased gains from a share of the ransoms and other perquisites of war.

In this way great numbers of men were retained by John of Gaunt, and the king afterwards confirmed them in their offices with their annuities and fees. || The king also, in two successive years of his

* Ibid I, p. 173, and *Chester Archaeological Journal*, Vol. i, p. 181, where the king's seal is engraved.

† *Chester Archaeological Journal*, Vol. ii, page 160, where the charge is reprinted.

‡ *Archæologia*, Vol. xx. p. 68.

§ *Grants and Emoluments*, 22 Richard II.

|| *Whitney's Choice of Emblems*, p. 357.

reign, retained Randle (Honkyn) Mainwaring, of Peover as *Armiger Regis et sagittarius de corona*,* and he retained as "frank" or "free archers" of the crown (the *dis Freischutzen* of the time) no fewer than 500 men,† whose names are all given in the records, and of whom many doubtless at a later period took service under Henry V. in France.‡ In the Welsh wars of Edward I., about a century before this time, an archer was paid at the rate of 2d. a day; but either men were now scarcer or money was more plentiful, for the king paid his archers not less than 6d. a day. One of them, who had served Edward III in Gascony, for which, in the 32nd year of his reign he had had a grant of the feeding of six cows on Row Marsh in Frodsham, had his pay increased 2d. a day by the king for his life.§ But besides these archers, the king retained great numbers of knights, esquires, and other gentlemen, at salaries varying from C's to XL marks a year. To the last the Cheshire men held fast by their faith to the king, and their conduct in the next reign shewed that they still cherished his memory. On the 23rd November, 1385, the king appointed John Cartelache to the office of porter of his Castle of Beeston for life. The appointment, it appears, took place by patent, and under the king's genuine seal, and not like that which beguiled the porter of Carlisle Castle, in the story of "Adam Bell," when he exclaimed

"Welcome is my lord's seal," he said,

"For this ye shall come in!"

He opened the gate full shortly,

An evil opening for him!

In the same year the king led an army into Scotland, penetrated as far as Edinburgh, burning the enemy's towns, and doing them great damage; but the Scotch, under their French commander, De Vienne, declining to encounter the king while he was ravaging their country on the east, entered England on the opposite side, and having advanced as far as Lancashire, returned home laden with spoil. Although through his impatience to return home, the king won but little glory by his expedition, it had the effect of detaching from his allies their French commander, and sending him away in disgust, both with them and their mode of warfare. In this advance into Scotland, the Cheshire men do not appear to have had any considerable

* *Cheshire Records*, 21 and 22 Richard II.

† *Williams' Gesta Henry V.*, p. 273.

‡ *Cheshire Records*, 21 Richard II.

share. Like some of their Lancashire neighbours, they were probably in the retinue of John of Gaunt, then on an expedition to Spain, seeking the crown of Castille, whence, on his return, one of the Lancashire men brought back a sort of certificate or "compostella," still in the possession of his descendants, admitting him into the confraternity of the church of St. Salvador, at Oviedo, and entitling him to the full benefit of all their relics, privileges and prayers.

In 1387, having been ten years upon the throne, the king, as others who have become their own masters too soon, began to experience what it was to have been

Left by his sire, too young such loss to know,
Lord of himself, that heritage of woe.

At his grandfather's death he had fallen, nominally, under the guardianship of his three uncle Dukes, respectively of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester. Of these, the first was proud, passionate, and unpopular; the second, indolent and inactive; and the third, bold and turbulent, but popular. Their guardianship, however, was in reality political and not personal. In John of Gaunt, one of the three, the county of Chester claimed a share. The Duke, the early friend of protestantism and Wycliffe, and the brother-in-law of Chaucer, was Constable of Chester, and Baron of Halton, where he had a hunting seat, with considerable other possessions in the county.

When the king came of age, his uncles' neglect of his education was seen in his ignorance of the art of governing; and thus, when no longer a minor, "he came of age" says an old chronicler "to undo himself,"—unlike in this respect one of his early successors, Prince Hal, who it is said gave no promise of knowing how to rule until the sceptre was actually in his grasp.

With a view to ingratiate himself and win favour with his friends, the king about this time visited Chester, the Duke of Ireland at the same time repairing to the northern borders of Wales to strengthen himself against a coming struggle.* The Duke of Lancaster's absence in Spain when the king came of age, favoured his brother Gloucester's design to retain the control over the king which he had exercised so long. Under pretence of removing the king's favourites, but in reality to carry out this design, he assembled a large body of men at Haringay Park, in Highgate, upon which the king, who did not want spirit, commanded Thomas Molyneux, his constable of Chester Castle, to call the Sheriff to his aid and to raise an army and march with the

* Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. iii, p. 163-4.

Duke of Ireland to his relief. Molyneux, who had been Justice or Deputy Justice of Chester in 1383, and was a man of undoubted valour, and of great power both in Cheshire and Lancashire, hastened to obey his sovereign's command, and calling in besides the Sheriff, Sir Richard Vernon, who afterwards died in the king's cause, and Sir Richard Ratcliffe, he raised a force of 5000 men, with which, in 1388, he advanced to meet the Duke of Gloucester.* The muster roll of this Cheshire host, could it be now recovered, would prove a curious and interesting document.

Meeting in Oxfordshire, the two armies encountered each other near Radcot bridge, when the gallant leader of the Cheshire men † having fallen in the battle, his troops were put to rout, and the Duke of Ireland, fleeing from the field, escaped into the low countries, where he shortly afterwards died.‡ Lady Molyneux, the widow it is presumed of Sir Thomas, was shortly afterwards, by Gloucester's influence, banished the court. By the same influence too, all the Duke of Ireland's moveables in Cheshire were seized and lodged in Chester Castle until the 21st of January (11th Richard II, 1388,) when the king, under the penalty of £1000, commanded Peter, the son of Robert Legh to restore them.§ The king shewed that his affection for the memory of his favorite was lasting, by bringing over his remains, and causing them to be honorably interred at home, in the year 1395.||

Richard must have loved field sports, for he paid for two falcons and two lanerets, 39 marks, and at another time 17 marks for a falcon and a tiercel. With this taste of the king's, still less with that of Henry V., who maintained and hunted a pack of hounds, a Cheshire man will hardly quarrel.

About this time one William de Marshton, probably one of Wycliffe's followers, being arrested and sent to Chester Castle on a charge of Apostacy, the abbot of Evesham presented a petition to have him given up to him.¶

In his attempt to control the king after his majority, Gloucester was joined by his nephew Henry Bolingbroke, who was thus early arrayed against his sovereign; and as men generally hate whom they have injured, the king was not long ignorant that he wanted "his

* Holinshed, p. 460-1.

† Hume's *History of England*, Vol. iii., p. 20.

‡ Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. iii., p. 165.

§ *Cheshire Records*.

|| Holinshed, p. 485.

¶ *Cheshire Records*, 11th Richard II.

cousin's love." The Parliament which Gloucester called in 1388 to confirm his irregular proceedings was called indifferently, either "The Wonderful," or "The Merciless" Parliament,* neither of them an enviable appellation.

In 1389, when the king led an army into Ireland, he displayed such courage and talent for command as to revive the memory of his father's and grandfather's old renown, and make men think the old English strain of valour was not extinct.† As a County Palatine, Cheshire has its own records, which are not wholly confined to state affairs; but occasionally give us glimpses of matters of a more private nature. Thus, on the 5th July, 1392, one of the entries shews how the king remunerated his surgeon. On that day, John Leche, no inappropriate name for one of his calling, had a grant for life of the manor of Moston, in Flintshire, as the king's surgeon, in return for his giving up a former patent of the moor of Over Marsh. The new manor was worth £14 13s. 4d. a year, at that time no small sum, so that the king's officer was not ill paid‡.

On the 27th October, 1393, when Cherburg was to be given up, the king commanded Robert Whiteney and another to receive it from John Golafre, and to deliver it to the procurator of the king of Navarre.§ Whiteney, a Cheshire man, was not the only one of his name whom the king took into his service for a few years later he retained Howell de Whiteney as one of his archers.|| Both these Whiteneys were probably of the same family as the poet, whose works have been lately so ably edited by a Cheshire man.

In 1393 there was probably some domestic disturbance in the county, for a commission issued into the hundred of Macclesfield, commanding the arrest of all malefactors and disturbers of the peace. The Macclesfield commission was addressed to Sir Robert de Legh, and Peter de Legh, and, a similar commission probably issued into the other hundreds of the county.¶

Two years afterwards in contemplation of another voyage to Ireland, the king, on the 23rd June in the 18th year of his reign, commanded John Drax, his serjeant at arms, to enquire and ascertain what ships and sailors could be had in the county of Chester, for

* Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. iii, p. 169.

† Hume's *History of England*, Vol. iii, p. 46.

‡ *Cheshire Records*, 15th Richard II.

§ *Cheshire Records*, 16th Richard II.

|| *Cheshire Records*, 21st Richard II.

¶ *Cheshire Records*, 2nd August, 16th Richard II.

transporting the king and his host across the channel.¹ Drax, the person selected for this commission must have been a man of some consequence, for in the following year we find him ordered to receive from the Earl of Huntingdon the castle and outworks of Brest, and to deliver them to the Duke of Brittany.² There had been an old connection between Brest and Cheshire, for her hero, Sir Hugh Calveley, after having had charge of Calais in 1380, became governor of Brest. On the 8th of August following Sir John Lovell, Knight, was ordered to take up all kinds of ships and shipping, and to arrest and impress sailors to man them, in all parts and places within the counties of Chester and Lancaster and the parts of North Wales.³ Monsieur John de Lovell, who appears here in the rather ambiguous character of something less than an Admiral and something more than the leader of "those four and twenty pressgang fellows" mentioned in the ballad, was a person of consequence, for on the march of the royal army to Scotland, in 1385, he and two companions had charge of 100 men at arms and 200 archers forming part of the right wing of the army.⁴

In September, 1394, the king arriving at Chester on his way to Ireland with the Duke of Gloucester and a large retinue of nobles, was met and escorted into the city by the mayor, carrying the sword of state, and attended by a large procession.⁵

On the 21st August, 1396, by letters patent tested by Edmund, Duke of York, keeper, or as he is afterwards called, "our uncle York, lord governor of our kingdom," the king granted his protection to John, son of Robert Dumvill, of Lymm, abiding in Rokesburghe Castle, in the king's service, under John Stanley its governor, and on the 10th October in the next year the king, then at Chester, granted this Cheshire soldier C's a year as a retainer.⁶ Another Cheshire man, Hamo Smithwicke, who, about the same time had a grant of 12d. a day as one of the king's 30 men at arms had his grant afterwards confirmed to him by the king's successor.⁷

Amongst other similar grants to other Cheshire men met with in the county records, there is one to the above named John, or Sir John

¹ *Cheshire Records*, and *Trahison et Mort Richard II.* p. xlij.

² *Trahison et Mort Richard II.*, xxi.

³ *Cheshire Records*.

⁴ *Trahison et Mort Richard II.*, 239, 294.

⁵ *Ormerod's History of Cheshire*, i, 195.

⁶ From copies of the originals in my possession.

⁷ *Grants and Enrolments*, Henry IV.

Stanley. In 1385, he had served as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in 1396 we find him Constable of Rokesburgh Castle, a post of importance on the Scottish border, requiring for its governor, a cool, shrewd, and able commander. On 3rd October* he was retained by the king at a salary of 40 marks a year.† After returning again to Ireland he was made first Lord Justice and then Lord Lieutenant. Sir John accompanied the king on his return from Ireland to Conwy; very shortly afterwards we find him, alas, arrayed against his master. In the next reign he was made by his new master a Knight of the Garter, Born, a younger son of a Cheshire Knight, Sir Wm. Stanley, of Stourton, his rapid rise to wealth and power was remarkable even in that age. He did not, however, owe all his advancement to royal favour, for it was his good fortune to win the hand of Isabel de Lathom, and from his alliance with that rich Lancastrian heiress has descended a long line of illustrious names, amongst whom none has been greater than that the poet statesman and orator, who so lately sustained the dignity of the Earldom of Derby.

By the death of Sir Ralph de Percy, owner of Fulk Stapleford, an event which happened about this time, his brother and brother general, Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, now aged 30, who had been taken prisoner at Otterburne, became his heir, and so introduced into the Cheshire bead roll, an historic name which has since passed into a household word. Having become Justice of Chester and North Wales, he possessed in the next reign great influence, not only in the county, but throughout the principality.‡

In the year 1397, when the king had determined to regain the power of which Gloucester and his cabal of nobles had deprived him, and for that purpose had called a parliament, the nobles, as if fearing violence, came to Westminster attended by great numbers of their retainers, while the king trusted his safety wholly to his body guard of Cheshire archers, a body of 2000 men, all of whom wore his badge of the White Hart.§ Of this parliament|| one principal business was to try the Earl of Arundel and others for attainting the king's ministers under an illegal commission. The earl being found guilty of this

* 21st Richard II.

† *Cheshire Records*.

‡ Lingard's *History of England*, iii, 180,

§ *Cheshire Records*, 20th Richard II.

|| *Yclept the "Great Parliament."* (Harl. MSS) cod. 266, fo. 107.

charge, was guarded by a portion of the Cheshire force to the scaffold.* After a sitting of twelve days, either from some distrust of the nobles, his displeasure against the citizens, or in order to be nearer Roger Mortimer, the king adjourned the parliament from London to Shrewsbury, where it again met on the 27th January, 1398, and Roger Mortimer came over from Ireland for the purpose of attending its sittings. By an Act then passed, Cheshire was raised to a principality of which the king, who thereupon assumed the title of Prince of Chester, was to be the head. But this Act, which further enacted that no grant of the principality should be made to any but the king's eldest son for the time being was only short lived, for the first year of the next reign saw it repealed.†

In the same year the king commissioned the Earl of Salisbury to collect forces in Cheshire and North Wales, probably with a view to recruit that large army which, (under convoy of the fleet which, as we have seen accompanied Roger Mortimer back to Ireland) Sir John Lovell had been ordered to collect.‡ One of the Eaton Charters has preserved to us the name of Urian Brereton, a Cheshire man who sailed in this expedition, and lost his life the same year in the incursion led by the Irish Chieftain O'Brien in which Roger Mortimer also fell.§ A William Brereton and his son of the same name were retained to serve the king at C's a year on 10th October.|| The date of Urian's death admits of his having been one of the persons so retained, and if so, a careless or a hasty scribe may have written Urian for William or *vice versa*; tho' Urian was certainly a frequent family name of the Breretons. The king, who was affectionately attached to Roger Mortimer, grieved over his death.

It was during the sitting of the parliament at Shrewsbury that Bolingbroke made his memorable charge of high treason against the Duke of Norfolk. There is reason to believe that the king had the first intimation of this charge, during the sitting of this parliament at a time when he was the guest of Sir Robert Legh the constable or keeper of Oswestry Castle. It is certain that Norfolk appeared at Shrewsbury to answer it. The memory of the king's short sojourn at Oswestry is preserved by his favourite cognisance, the Hart in Park, still swinging as a tavern sign in the neighbourhood; the

* Hume's *History of England*, iii, 30. n., and *Traison et Mort Richard II*, 138.

† Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 492, *History of Cheshire*, I, xxxiii, and I. 45.

‡ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 497, 499.

§ *Westminster Papers*.

|| *Ibid.*

phonetic painter however, has made havoc of the cognisance by representing it as a Bloody Heart surrounded by a park paling! The appeal thus made brings us to the opening scene of the poet's story, which is occupied with the short remainder of the king's reign, a period of about a year and a half, and from this time we take the drama as our guide.

The first scene opens in the palace at Westminster, when the king is present, and John of Gaunt and other nobles are attending upon him. At this time the king was about 30 years old, and John of Gaunt, born 23rd June, 1340, was 58: although this was not a very advanced age, the king invariably addresses his uncle as *old* John of Gaunt. Was it a compliment in England *then* as it is in the East *now* to call a man old, or did war and their hard lives make men in that age look prematurely old? It would seem to have been so, for Falstaff, who had been page to the Duke of Norfolk and was by far John of Gaunt's junior, was constantly addressed as old Jack Falstaff, though the title did not always please him, for when the Chief Justice so addressed him, he resented it sharply, and said that he was only old in wisdom and understanding.

Being informed that Bolingbroke and Mowbray are in attendance, the king summoned them to his presence, and after hearing the charge and the denial, strives to reconcile his two angry nobles—

Wrath kindled gentlemen, be ruled by me,
Let's purge this choler without letting blood!
Forget, forgive!

Blood letting was *then* in as much favour with our fathers as it was *once* with Doctor Sangrado, and as it is in Italy *now*. The frame of man is indeed wonderfully made, or it must have succumbed under the severe treatment, which in every age it has encountered from dangerous and mistaken nostrums! Down almost to our own times blood letting was periodical five out of twelve months in the year. August, however, was a fence month, when it was forbidden: but on that fatal night of St. Bartholomew, 24th August, 1572, Tavannes set aside the prohibition, crying in his frenzy as he ran through the streets of Paris

Saignez, saignez, la saignée est aussi bonne
Au mois d'aût qu'au mois de Mai!

Let blood, let blood, arise, let blood and slay,
'Tis well to bleed in August as in May!

The angry nobles are both refractory, but of the two, Mowbray is the most moderate in his language:

I am disgrac'd, impeached, and baffled here ;
 Piero'd to the soul with slander's venom'd spear ;
 The purest treasure mortal times afford,
 Is—spotless reputation ; that away,
 Men are but gilded loam, or painted clay.
 Mine honour is my life ; both grow in one ;
 Take honour from me, and my life is done.

Although the person most injured, the king tries to appease their wrath, until, finding all his efforts of no avail, he at length exclaims

We were not born to sue, but to command :
 Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
 Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,
 At Coventry, upon St. Lambert's day :
 There shall your swords and lances arbitrate
 The swelling difference of your settled hate.

The appeal for high treason before parliament thus unwillingly allowed, was a trial decided by the two parties fighting from sunrise until sunset, unless one of them was sooner killed or cried craven, either of which was taken to be a proof of guilt. It seems strange to us that a man's guilt or innocence should be made to depend on his prowess or the strength of his arm. But heaven seemed nearer to our ancestors than to us, and either their faith or their superstition was stronger, for they believed that providence would not only not suffer wrong to prevail, but would defend the right and award victory where it was due.

At the time when the appeal was made, parliament was still sitting, but the members took the unusual course of appointing twelve noblemen and twelve commoners, to be a committee to complete whatever business was still unfinished, and parliament then rose and the members hastened to their homes. Even now a committee of parliament sits occasionally during a recess for a special purpose, but that both houses should thus delegate their great powers to a committee authorising it to live and legislate after their own demise, seems an unprecedented procedure. Before this committee, this parliamentary anomaly, the appeal of the two nobles was now to be tried at Coventry, on St. Lambert's Day, the 17th September, 1398. There is a throne set, and the king has taken his seat. The Duke of Norfolk, who was then Earl Marshal, being one of the combatants, *Surrey* is acting in his place ; and Aumerle, the king's cousin, who had lately been raised to his honourable title, which is to be found in the peerages both of France and England, being Aumerle in the former, and Albermarle in the latter, is High Constable on the occasion. The Lord Marshal

has made proclamation, and both the challenger and the challenged, arrayed in their proper coats (for heraldry was never more accounted of than at this time, the king having in the same year created a new herald, by the title of Chester Herald,* and conferred the office on William Briggs,) have taken solemn leave of their friends.

Being mounted, and both roused in their seats,
 Their neighing coursers daring of the spur,
 Their armed staves in charge, their beavers down,
 Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel,
 And the loud trumpet blowing them together.

But, lo! the king has thrown down his warder, and the combatants are arrested in mid career.

The king was no stranger to the course of a trial by battle, for on the 7th June, 1380, such a trial had taken place in his presence in the precincts of the Palace at Westminster, between Sir John Annesley and Thomas Katrington, Esquire, when the latter was struck down and slain before the king's eyes, a circumstance which had made him painfully alive to the cruel usages of this mode of trial; and this perhaps was one of the motives which made him at the last moment interpose in the death struggle between Bolingbroke and his opponent. After consultation with his council, the king pronounces sentence on his two nobles; addressing Bolingbroke by his title of Hereford, which was one of his many honours,

You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of death,
 Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields,
 Shall not re-greet our fair dominions,
 But tread the stranger paths of banishment!

to which, in the spirit of the Roman maxim, "omne solum forti patria est," Hereford replies,

Your will be done, this must my comfort be,
 That sun that warms you here shall shelter me.

Turning next to his opponent, the king says,

Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
 The hopeless word of never to return
 I breathe against thee!

Norfolk, who was unprepared for such a doom, thus feelingly laments it,—

A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege,
 And all unlook'd for from your highness' mouth:
 The language I have learn'd these forty years,
 My native English, now I must forego:
 And now my tongue's use be to me no more,
 Than an unstringed viol or a harp.

* *Cheshire Records.*

Out of concern for John of Gaunt, the king immediately consents to shorten the term of his son's banishment four years, whereupon Gaunt, though sufficiently distressed himself, still attempts to offer comfort to his son :—

All places that the eye of heaven visits,
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens :
Teach thy necessity to reason thus ;
There is no virtue like necessity.
Think not, the king did banish thee ;
But thou the king : Woe doth the heavier sit,
Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.

Feeling there was more imagination than philosophy in this advice, Hereford thus beautifully comments upon it—

For gnarling sorrow has less power to bite
The man that mocks at it, and sets it light.
Oh ! who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus ?
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite,
By bare imagination of a feast ?
Or wallow naked in December snow,
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat ?
Oh, no ! the apprehension of the good,
Gives but the greater feeling to the worse.
Then England's ground, farewell : sweet soil, adieu ;
My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet ;
Where'er I wander, boast of this I can,—
Though banish'd, yet a true born Englishman.

The concluding boast sounds so modern, that we can hardly persuade ourselves it is Bolingbroke who says it.

For a few moments let us now accompany the two earls. Norfolk, attended only by a few friends proceeded to a port near Lowestoff, and thence took shipping almost unnoticed for Holland. Bolingbroke's progress on the other hand was so like a triumph as to be thought ominous. Great numbers of his friends attended him to Sandgate, and thence, on 3rd October, 1398, he sailed to France, where he was met on landing by the Dukes of Orleans and Berry, of Bourbon and Burgundy. He was well known to the Duke of Bourbon, and had been his fellow soldier in Barbary, in 1390, and he was doubtless known by fame, if not in person, to the other Dukes, having served in the crusade in Lithuania, in 1392, and having afterwards made a pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, and the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. *

On 3rd February, 1399, John of Gaunt, who, though outwardly consenting to it, had taken his son's banishment greatly to heart, was

* *Traison et Mort Richard II.* xliv.

lying upon a sick bed, which he was never to leave, in his palace at Ely House, a place which has obtained some notoriety since. From its garden, it was that Richard III. on that fatal morning when he so abruptly broke up the council and sent Hastings to the block, desired to have some strawberries. At a later period it was coveted by Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton, whose name it has since borne, as well it might, for he did not obtain it without some trouble, as this characteristic letter from his mistress to the Bishop of Ely, its then owner, will shew :

“PROUD PRELATE,—I understand you refuse to give up a portion of your garden at my request. I would have you know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you, and by St. Paul, if you do not comply with what I ask, I will unfrock you.”

Here too, at a still later period occurred the incident commemorated by Cowper :

So in the Chapel of old Ely house,
When wandering Charles, who meant to be the third,
Had fled from William and the news was fresh ;
The simple clerk, but loyal, did announce
And eke did rear right merrily two staves,
Sung to the praise and glory of King George.

To this palace and to Lancaster's bedside the king has come. It had been reported that the king, to some or all of his four favourites, had let out the kingdom to farm, and the dying prince taking it as true, beautifully, but rather too warmly expostulates with him upon it.

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This fortress, built by nature for herself,
Against infection, and the hand of war :
This happy breed of men, this little world ;
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leas'd out (I die pronouncing it),
Like to a tenement, or pelting farm.

The sick man utters this with almost his dying breath, and he is scarcely dead before the king declares

To-morrow next

We will for Ireland.

His continual wars having brought leanness to his exchequer, the king now declares an unkingly resolve to seize all the deceased's effects to meet the charges of his great affairs, of which the principal was to chastise the Irish for the death of Roger Mortimer.

Arriving at Milford on the 19th May, 1399, he determines ere

sailing to increase the strength of his Cheshire guard by a fresh levy, and summonses for that purpose were addressed to Richard Venables, of Kinderton, Sir John Massy, of Tatton, Sir Richard Wynnnyngton, Sir John Hawkston, William Venables, of Bollington, and Sir Hugh Browe, commanding each of them to summon the archers of his hundred between 16 and 60, and out of them to select 80 to attend him to Ireland.* He did not actually sail, however, before the 4th June, on which day he was joined by his faithful friend and subject Sir Richard Vernon, who on the 10th October previous had been retained for his service at a salary of £10 a year. Of this knight it is said that Sir Walter Scott makes that *fast* young lady Diana Vernon somewhat irreverently say that her ancestor had been sadly slandered by a sad fellow called Will Shakspeare, whose Lancastrian partialities and a certain knack of embodying them, had turned history upside down, or rather inside out. Surely he was not unjustly treated by the poet, who has put into his mouth the noble character of the prince, his enemy.

I never in my life
Did hear a challenge urg'd more modestly,
Unless a brother should a brother dare
To gentle exercise and proof of arms.
He gave you all the duties of a man ;
Trimm'd up your praises with a princely tongue ;
Spoke your deservings like a chronicle ;
Making you ever better than his praise,
By still dispraising praise, valued with you :
And, which became him like a prince indeed,
He made a blushing cital of himself ;
And chid his truant youth with such a grace
As if he master'd there a double spirit,
Of teaching, and of learning, instantly,
There did he pause. But let me tell the world,—
If he outlive the envy of this day,
England did never owe so sweet a hope,
So much misconstrued in his wantonness.

When the shepherd is absent with his dog the wolf easily leaps into the fold. Hardly had the king loosed his sails before a cabal of discontented nobles meet to plot his downfall and inflame their mutual discontents. Northumberland, one of their number communicates to them this piece of intelligence—

I have from Port le Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, receiv'd intelligence,
That Harry of Hereford,
Well furnished by the Duke of Bretagne,
Is making hither with all due expedience.

* *Cheshire Records*, 22nd Richard II.

Amongst the handful of bold men who embarked on this rash enterprise, which if it had not succeeded would have been called madness, one name, that of Sir John Norbury, has a Cheshire ring in it; but I have failed to find him in the family pedigree. Possibly he was the same person who was a witness to the will of Henry IV. A Sir Thomas Norbury who had some connection with the port of Brest so early as the year 1377, and was ordered to procure and send there a supply of gunpowder,* may have been Sir John's father. Bolingbroke, the leader of this expedition, was no laggard, and after hovering upon the coast no longer than was sufficient to communicate with his friends, he landed very early in July, near the mouth of the Humber, at Ravenspurg, the place where, coming on a similar errand, Edward IV landed at a later period, but it exists no more, having been swallowed up by the sea, so that neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist may now go on a pilgrimage to visit it. As soon as he landed, Bolingbroke dispatched no less than 150 pairs of letters to his friends in all parts of England, intreating their favour and assistance, and three weeks afterwards we find him at the head of a large force in the wolds of Gloucestershire, attended by the Earl of Northumberland; and that nobleman's answer to his leader's question, how far it is to Berkeley, shows how soon he has become a courtier.

I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire.
 These high wide hills, and rough uneven ways,
 Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome;
 Yet your fair discourse hath much beguild
 The tediousness and process of my travel.

To Ross and Willoughby, who next arrive and tender their service, Bolingbroke thus returns his courteous thanks—

All my treasury
 Is yet but unfelt thanks, which, more enrich'd
 Shall be your love and labour's recompense.
 Evermore thanks, the exchequer of the poor,
 Which, till my infant fortune comes to years,
 Stands for my bounty.

"But who comes here?" he exclaims, as he sees his uncle the Duke of York approach. Fickle and timid, if not treacherous, the Duke, though regent of the kingdom, first admits Bolingbroke to a parley, and then openly declares his intention to stand neuter between him and the king.

When, twice or oftener in every day, the mail between England and Ireland in our time, passes to and fro with more regularity than a village post, and a trembling wire speeds messages swifter than a weaver's

* *Traison et Mort Richard II.*, 185, n.

shuttle through air and ocean, we can hardly believe that rebellion could for several weeks be stalking unchecked through England without the news reaching, in the sister island, him whom it most concerned. The proverb, "that ill news has swift wings" was singularly falsified in this instance, for, not until Bolingbroke had secured most of the Castles, and was almost master of the whole kingdom, did the king hear of his return. On the 19th July, the king issued his commission to the Earl of Salisbury, his seneschal of the Cheshire principality, committing to his government all and singular the king's lieges in North Wales, and requiring them to serve under his orders wherever he might direct.* If this commission was a consequence of Bolingbroke's advance, it is the earliest intimation we have that the news had reached the king. Before the 1st August 1399, Salisbury, who had landed in Wales, endeavours to persuade an impatient Welsh commander to await the king's arrival; but no, his superstitious hearer insists on disbanding his forces, because, as he says, the bays have all withered, and the omen is evil. Holinshed, who records that these trees did so wither at this time, tells us that, contrary to all men's thinking, they afterwards revived and grew green again; which, had he only waited long enough, would have puzzled the Welsh captain still more. The bay tree withering has long been held an ill omen. One instance of it is noticed as having occurred in the mild winter before Nero died; and in 1629, when all these trees died before a great pestilence at Padua, it was said that Apollo, who wore the bays, and the nine sisters over whom he rules, were taking a mournful leave of that far famed university.

On the 9th August the king landed on the Welsh coast, near a place called Barkloughly Castle.† Creton, the rhyming chronicler whom he had taken with him to Ireland, has left us the best account extant of the expedition. He, however, arrived before the king, and when the king landed he was at Conwy, so that his account of the place of debarkation, which he says was Milford, is only from hearsay. No sooner has the king landed than Aumerle asks him

How brooks your grace the air,
After late tossing on the breaking seas?

To which he feelingly replies,

Needs must I like it well: I weep for joy,
To stand upon my kingdom once again.—

* *Cheshire Records*.

† *Holinshed*, 499.

Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
 Though rebels wound thee with their horses hoofs :
 As a long parted mother with her child
 Plays fondly with her tears, and smiles in meeting ;
 So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth.

Having heard Salisbury state that his forces are dispersed
 Aumerle, noticing the colour leave the king's cheek, asks

Why looks your grace so pale ?

The king only replies by another question,

But now, the blood of twenty thousand men
 Did triumph in my face, and they are fled ;
 And, till so much blood thither come again,
 Have I not reason to look pale and dead ?

Alternating for a while between hope and despair as he hears the
 varying reports of his followers, he at last seems to throw away
 hope, and gives this passionate utterance to his despair :

No matter where ; of comfort no man speak :
 Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs :
 Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
 Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.
 Let's choose executors, and talk of wills :
 And yet not so,—for what can we bequeath,
 Save our deposed bodies to the ground ;
 Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's,
 And nothing can we call our own, but death ;
 And that small model of the barren earth,
 Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.
 For heaven's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
 And tell sad stories of the death of kings :—
 How some have been depos'd, some slain in war,
 Some poison'd by their wives, some sleeping kill'd ;
 All murder'd :—For within the hollow crown,
 That rounds the mortal temples of a king,
 Keeps death his court : and there the antic sits,
 Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp ;
 Allowing him a breath, a little scene
 To monarchise, be fear'd, and kill with looks ;
 Infusing him with self and vain conceit,—
 As if this flesh, which walls about our life,
 Were brass impregnable ; and humour'd thus,
 Comes at the last, and with a little pin
 Bores through his castle wall, and—farewell, king !

But let us now accompany the king from Milford, or wherever
 else he landed, to Conwy, where we next find him. That he rode
 between the two places in the space of a single night, as Creton would

have us believe, is impossible from the distance alone. At this time, or shortly before, the king must have been at Haverford Castle; for in an account taken of his property after his deposition, certain parts of it were found there, and amongst the rest "xxv. draps d'or de d'yses suytes dount iiij de cypre les autres de Lukes."* If he landed at Milford, he may have passed from thence to Haverford, which is in the direct line from the former place to Conwy. Some authorities make the king disembark at Caermarthen, and tell us that there being no army to receive him, seven gallant Cheshire men, John Legh, of Booths, Thomas Cholmondeley, Ralph Davenport, Adam Bostock, John Done, Thomas Beeston, and Thomas Holford, each with 70 retainers became his body guard, wearing on their shoulders his cognisance of the "white hart rising from the ground," and kept watch over him night and day with their battle axes, for which loyal service they were expressly excepted out of the act of indemnity granted by the usurper in the next reign.

When the king became fully assured that Bolingbroke was at the head of a great host while he had no army to oppose him, he quitted his small force in a friar's dress, with only 15 of his attendants, and repaired in succession to several of his Welsh castles. He came first to Harlech or Hardelagh, next to Carnarvon, afterwards to Beaumaris, and finally to Conwy castle, where Creton saw him arrive at daybreak.† It is not easy to say which of these three castles has been corrupted into Barkloughly. Harlech, the first of them, was rendered famous in the wars of the Roses by one of its Governors, who used this boast, "I held a castle in France till all the old women in Wales heard of it; and I will hold Harlech till all the old women in France hear of it." Harlech, which is but 40 miles from Conwy, is within a night's ride from that place, and near it is a mountain ridge called Lough Legh, which probably once gave the castle its now forgotten name. The monk of Evesham distinctly says, indeed, that Harlech was the place of the king's landing, and a recent writer in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, after investigating the subject, though he concludes that the king landed at Barmouth, is of opinion that Harlech was Barkloughly.‡ If, however, the king visited Carnarvon and Beaumaris in his way to Conwy, his journey must have occupied more than one night: and if so, the chroniclers who record it are not to be understood

* *Antient Kalendars of the Treasury*, iii., 350.

† *Traison et Mort Richard II.*, 282 *History of Cheshire*, ii, 135, 6.

‡ *Traison et Mort Richard II.*, 186, and *Arch. Camb.*, Jan., 1858. p. 10.

as meaning that the whole journey only occupied that space of time. Otterburne in his account, which Holinshed follows, leads us to believe that the king in his wanderings visited the several castles above mentioned, and in a manuscript on the Antiquities of Chester in the Harleian collection, we have many other particulars, some of them highly honourable to the Cheshire men.* On the 14th August, while the king was at Conwy, he exercised one of his few remaining prerogatives of royalty, by appointing Sir Richard de Wynnyngton, Knight, and Richard de Manley, Esquire, to be keepers of the peace (*custodes pacis*) for the Hundred of Edisbury during pleasure.†

Meanwhile Bolingbroke was not idle. Having occupied Bristol, he concluded that the king's aim would be to reach Chester, where he had many friends, and his power was strongest. He therefore wheeled about, and marching through Gloucester, Hereford, Leominster, and Ludlow, came to Shrewsbury, crying as he went havoc and destruction on Cheshire and the Cheshire men. Alarmed by this cry, or influenced by baser motives, Sir Robert Legh, of Adlington, and his brother John Legh repaired to Shrewsbury and made their submission to Bolingbroke; conduct which was both treason and ingratitude, for within one short year John Legh had been both retained and pensioned by the king, while Sir Robert had been made constable for life of the castle of Oswestry, with an adequate salary, and as we have seen had the further honour of receiving the king as his guest during the sitting of the parliament, at Shrewsbury.‡

From Shrewsbury, Bolingbroke advanced to Prees, and from thence he came to Chester, which he entered on the 9th August, and, to mask his intention, caused peace to be proclaimed at the city cross. The next day, however, men saw a strange commentary on this proclamation. His policy being to

Cut off the heads
Of all the favorites that the absent king
In deputation left behind him here,
When he was personal in the Irish wars.

He had put Bushy Green and the Earl of Wiltshire to death at Bristol, and his resentment now fell on Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, brother of that Sir Robert who has been already mentioned. Sir Peter had received many favours from the king and had great reason to hold

* *Treason et Mort Richard II.*, 189, n.

† *Cheshire Records*.

‡ *Cheshire Records*, 20 and 21 *Richard II.* Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 500.

by his allegiance. On 4th August, 1387,* very soon after he came of age, the king confirmed to him and John Holland, the king's brother, an annuity of C's a year out of the manor of Northwich, and he also granted him the Lyme estate, in satisfaction of the annuity which the Black Prince had given to Sir Thomas Danyers, in return for his services at Crescy. Sir Peter was also made equitator, and one of the park keepers of Macclesfield forest, and he was frequently one of the Cheshire forest judges in eyre, with a salary of C's a year.† It may have been in consequence of his appointment as forest Justice in eyre that the poet Drayton calls him the chief justice, and thus addresses him,

Nor thou, magnanimous Legh, must not be left
In darkness, for thy rare fidelity
To save thy faith, content to lose thy head,
That reverent head, of good men honoured.

The day after Bolingbroke's entrance into Chester, Sir Peter Legh was apprehended and beheaded.‡ What his offence was, or whether he was subjected to the formality of a trial we do not know. Probably nothing worse was laid to his charge than that he desired to hold fast by his allegiance, and to preserve for his lawful sovereign either Chester castle or some other fortress which had been committed to him to keep. His head was placed upon the East gate, where it remained until the following year; when it was taken down and buried in the same grave with his body, in the church of the Carmelites, at Chester, whose house stood near the present White Friars. The Carmelites perhaps claimed to do the last offices to Sir Peter's remains out of a grateful memory of his grandfather, who, on All Saints' Day, 1348, had purchased from them for 40 marks a perpetual chantry within their house.§ Richard Pygas, their prior at this time, must be added to the list of Carmelite priors at Chester. Richard Doune, their prior in 1386, was probably still the head of the house when Sir Peter Legh met his fate. The foundations of the Carmelite priory, and of that of the Friars' Preachers which stood near, have lately been uncovered. In 1459, when John Holland, who probably succeeded their prior Richard Runcorn, was at the head of the house, the Friars' Preachers issued letters of fraternity to such as were willing to purchase them. The demand for these letters must have been considerable, since they were prepared in blank so as to allow of the purchasers' names being

* *Cheshire Records* 11 Richard II.

† *Cheshire Records*.

‡ Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, i, 275.

§ *Lyme MSS.*

inserted afterwards. One of these letters without a name is in the possession of John Ireland Blackburne, Esquire, of Hale. From Chester, Bolingbroke took in the castles of Holt and Beeston, in the latter of which the king is said to have deposited 200,000 marks.* Returning again to Chester, he was there joined by the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Worcester, Lord Lovell, the king's admiral, and Sir John Stanley, his lieutenant of Ireland, all of whom had deserted the king, and now hastened to make peace with his enemy.

On the very same day that Bolingbroke ordered Sir Piers Legh to be put to death he granted the following letter of safe conduct to the Prior of Beauvall. It bears date at Chester, and was probably made in consideration of some services which the prior had rendered. "Henry duc de Lancastre, Conte de Derby, de Nycole, de Leycestre de Herford et de Northampton, Seneschal D'Angleterre. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront ou orront salut. Sachiez nous avoir donne et ottrroye a nostre bienaime en Dieu le Prieur de Chartreux de Bauval, nostre bon congie et licence de venir par devers il luy nous et ailleurs ou il luy plaira. Sy vous prions et mandons que vous souffrey le dit nostre bienaime en Dien le Pieur de venir a nous ou ailleurs a son plaisir sauvement & suerement avecques ses chevaulx, hernoyz, & biens quelzconques sans leur faire dommage, injure, empeschement ou grievance quelconque. En tesmoignanie de ce, nous avons mis a ces presentes nostre seel. Donne a Cestre le x jour D'aoust l'an du regne vint et tierce.—(*Madox Formulæ Anglicanum*, p. 327.)

We last heard of the king at Conwy, where he was attended only by the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, and a few other friends. On Sunday, 17th August, at a council held at Chester, Northumberland, under orders from Bolingbroke, went to meet the king, and the next day waited on him at Conwy, where, professing the most humble duty, and presenting a forged letter from the Duke of York, he induced the king to leave Conwy and set out with him to Flint castle. In the narrow pass where Gwrych castle now stands, Northumberland, who appeared at Conwy with only seven followers, had placed an ambuscade. The king, when he perceived that he was betrayed, would have returned to Conwy: Northumberland however would not allow it, but forced him on, and after a short halt for rest and refreshment at Rhudlan, they passed on to Flint and reached the castle the same evening.† On the 19th, Bolingbroke, at

* *Chester Archaeological Journal*, part ii, 182.

† *Holinshed*, 500.

the head of his host appeared before the castle. Even in the poet's day the castle must have shewn signs of ruin, for, approaching its walls, not only does he make Bolingbroke thus commission Northumberland

Go to the rude ribs of that ancient castle;
Through brazen trumpet send the breath of parley
Into his ruined ears;

but in another place he speaks also of "its tottered battlements, Shakspeare must have seen this venerable castle and been familiar with its appearance, when he thus twice alluded to its ruined state. Within the castle occurred one of the spirited scenes which is given in the drama, and here also that striking incident occurred which so dispirited the king's remaining friends. During his interview with Bolingbroke, Math, his favourite hound, quitting his master's side went to crouch and fawn on his adversary. Have dogs, or men, or both, degenerated since the heroic times when Argus, the dog of Ulysses, could claim and cling to his master, though travel-stained and in disguise, after long years of absence and in the presence of his enemies?

Bolingbroke, who had so lately professed his strong intention to deserve the king's love, having him now fairly in his toils, the king thus sadly concludes the scene at Flint castle—

Well you deserve:—They well deserve to have,
That know the strong'st and surest way to get.—
Uncle, give me your hand; nay, dry your eyes;
Tears show their love, but want their remedies.—
Cousin, I am too young to be your father,
Though you are old enough to be my heir.
What you will have, I'll give, and willing too;
For do we must, what force will have us do.—
Set on towards London:—Cousin, is it so?

Mounted on two sorry hacks, both together not worth the sum the king had paid for his cast of hawks, the king and Salisbury at two o'clock set out from Flint and rode straightway to Chester, where the king was taken direct to the castle and lodged in the dungeon, or as the Cowper MSS. have it, in a tower over the great outer gateway opposite to Gloverstone.* Here two of his servants, John Pallet and Richard Seimer counselled an escape and pointed out a way across the sands of the Dee; but the king was too narrowly watched to allow the attempt to be made.† Although he remained at Chester only one or two nights, he stayed there long enough to issue writs for the assembling

* *History of Cheshire*, i, 196.

† *Treason et Mort Richard II*, 211.

of parliament.¹ On the 21st August he was at Nantwich and the next day at Newcastle-under-Lyne. On the 24th August he was at Litchfield where he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, which led to his being afterwards more strictly guarded. At Northampton, which he reached on the 29th he indulged in a lingering show of sovereignty, and granted a patent of the priory of Derehurst to one Master Richard Wyche, probably a member of a once celebrated Cheshire family.² On the 30th the king was at Dunstable and on the next day at St. Albans. On the 2nd September he entered London, and that well known scene occurred described by the poet with such inimitable pathos. The king, however, was still in semblance, but only in semblance, a monarch, and so late as the 23rd September he issued his commission constituting Richard de Vernon, of Shipbroke; Thomas de Fouleshurst, of Edlaston; Richard de Roop, Tho. de Maisterson, Richard Massey, of the Hough-in-mere, and Wm. Crue de Sonde, keepers of the peace (*custodes pacis*) for the hundred of Wich Malbank,³ which was perhaps the last warrant issued by his authority and in his name before his deposition.

In the reign of Richard II, woe of battle was a violent epidemic of which the fury rose to such a height that in one instance it stripped the clergy of their sacred character, and men saw even an archbishop challenged to mortal combat. This prevailing taste is shockingly illustrated in the next scene of the drama. Sir. Wm. Bagot, (who had a Cheshire name, for there is a charter extant granting to one Richard Bagot, the custody of the Bridge Gate in 1269⁴) is led a prisoner into the presence of Bolingbroke. Sir William had been in high favour, and in 1397 the king had appointed him with others to set forth his grievances before parliament.⁵ He occurs more than once in our Cheshire records, and possibly for the above service he had grant of the seneschalship of the possessions of the late Earl Arundel, after his execution.⁶ During the lists at Coventry the king had lodged at Bagot's house at Lyne, and had afterwards granted him the manor of Chaylesmore, and an annuity of £60 a year.⁷ In 1398 he had a general pardon of all crimes and offences whatsoever.⁸ When th

¹ Lingard's *History of England*, iii., 193.

² *Lancashire Historic Society's Journal*.

³ *Cheshire Records*, 23rd Sept., 23 Richard II.

⁴ *History of Chester*, i, 279.

⁵ Holinshed, 490.

⁶ *Cheshire Records*, 28th March, 21 Richard II.

⁷ Holinshed, 494. *Traison et Mort Richard II.* 17 n.

⁸ *Cheshire Records*, 20 Oct.

king set out for Ireland, he left Sir William one of his four lieutenants or commissioners.† He was with his colleagues at Bristol when they were shut out of the castle; and after the fall of that city he fled to Chester, and then to Ireland, where he was afterwards taken prisoner.‡ Standing now before Bolingbroke, Aumerle, Surrey, Northumberland, Percy, Fitzwalter, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and other nobles, the king's favourite boldly charges Aumerle with being an abettor of the Duke of Gloucester's murder. The latter, denying the charge, throws down his gage, and offers to prove his innocence in mortal combat. Upon this several other lords interfere, other gauntlets are thrown down, and a general mêlée ensues, in which "liar" and other unpronounceable epithets are freely applied by the nobles to each other until, as a great historian informs us, as many as forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, strewed the floor of the house at the same time.§ If manners are regulated by the law of gravitation, as Sir Edward Coke tells us the law of inheritance is, and descend by a regular gradation, we may hope that the language used by these nobles, which is now used only by the lowest vulgar, will in time pass away and disappear, and be buried in the earth where it deserves to be. Well might Bolingbroke, though he had himself indirectly profited by the law of battle, desire to see an end to it; and accordingly one of the first acts of his reign was to obtain a statute abolishing this appeal to heaven for ever.

Norfolk's name being mentioned in the course of the stormy debate, just alluded to, awakes in Bolingbroke a generous feeling towards his old opponent, and he thus interposes between his nobles:—

These differences shall rest under age
Till Norfolk be repealed, repealed he shall be,
And, tho' mine enemy, restored again
To all his lands and seigniories.

Upon hearing which, the bishop of Carlisle sorrowfully announces to the assembly that the duke is no more. Having visited Jerusalem, and returned from thence to Venice, he died there a broken-hearted man, on the 22nd September, 1399. The speed which wafted this news, which could only just have reached England, appears in strange contrast with the tardy pace at which the intelligence of Bolingbroke's

† Holinshed, p. 496.

‡ *Traison et Mort Richard II*, 185. 6.

§ Hume's *History of England*.

rising had travelled to the king in Ireland. Norfolk was at first buried in the church of St. Mark at Venice; but, in 1533, his family performed the pious office of bringing his remains to England, and committing them to the family burial place.

The Duke of York, by a preconcerted signal, now enters and announces that the king has adopted Bolingbroke as his heir, on which he invites him to ascend the throne; exclaiming, as the latter nothing loath proceeds to accept the invitation,—“Long live King Henry of that name the Fourth!” which calls forth from the bishop of Carlisle this grave and loyal protest.

Marry, heaven forbid!
Worst in this presence may I speak,
Yet best beseeching me to speak the truth.
Would God that any in this noble presence
Were enough noble to be upright judge
Of noble Richard; then true nobleness would
Learn him forbearance from so foul a wrong!

For this bold speech the bishop, Thomas Merkes by name, was forthwith arrested. But the age was not yet ripe for putting a bishop to death, nor was it easy to deprive or depose him. The pope had indeed recently taken upon him to assume that right against refractory bishops in England; but to his great honour king Richard had manfully resisted the attempt and stigmatised it as a horrible excess; whereupon his holiness had recourse to another expedient, which answered the same end. He no longer deposed or deprived a refractory prelate, but translated him to some other see, which might either be *in partibus infidelium*, or a sinecure without revenue. In this way, even in this very reign, the archbishop of York had been transferred from York to St. Andrews.* And in the same way Merkes was made bishop of Samos, in Greece. Bolingbroke at first committed the bishop to ward in St. Alban's Abbey, but the prelate's honest boldness could hardly fail to commend itself to the usurper; and afterwards, when he found his seat more secure, he pronounced on him this sentence:—

Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,
More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life;
So as thou liv'st in peace, die free from strife,
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.

When we next hear of Merkes, he was vicar of Sturminster, in Dorsetshire, from which he was removed to the rectory of Todenham.

* Lingard's *History of England*, II. 166.

in Gloucestershire. What trouble would it not have saved William III. at the revolution, if Sancroft and the non jurors could have been thus dealt with?

But Merkes, although the boldest was not the only prelate who thus openly dissented from the king's deposition; for the bishops of Bath and Wells, of Lichfield and Coventry, and of Hereford and Worcester, shared his views.

Amongst those of lower rank, who espoused the king's part, was William de Bromborough, once rector of St. Olave's in Chester; but when Richard was deposed, parson of the neighbouring rectory of Aldford.* Sir William, a man of some note, on the trial between Scrope and Grosvenor, as to which of them had the best right to bear the shield "azure with the bend or," sat as one of the judges during the three days that the court sat at Warrington, in the year 1386. He and John de Coke, one of his parishioners, had been employed to provide a supply of hay for the king's horses when he came to Chester, on 21st February, 1398, to be present at the installation of bishop Burghill, in St. John's church, and the money he expended, 26s. 2d., was only repaid him just before the king's deposition.† In or about 19 and 20 Richard II., Master William de Bromborough, bachelor of laws, was retained to act in the place of the justice of Chester in a cause touching the annulling the divorce (*annullationem divortii*) between John de Olton, deceased, the king's tenant in *capite* by knight's service, and Peterina his wife, and the chamberlain was charged 20s. disallowed in his account as paid to the said Master William de Bromborough. This entry is repeated in the three following years.. Probably it was intended to make the chief justice bear the expense of his deputy.‡ He was still rector when the king was deposed; but in a bad game choosing to adhere to the losing rather than the winning side, he left his benefice and went on pilgrimage beyond the seas, first obtaining a protection for himself and his tenants and their lands and goods.§ The case of this good man, who to save his faith and loyalty

* *History of Cheshire*, I. 272, II. 414.

† *Cheshire Records*, and *History of Cheshire*, I. 195.

‡ In the *Cheshire Records* are these entries:—"15 and 16 Ric. II.

'Recept Mag. Will. de Brunburgh de Aldeford, persona ecclesia ibidem, de denar. per camerar. sibi prius prestit.' 17 and 18 Ric. II. 'De prestit. de argento domini regis,' from which it seems that an advance of money had been made to him.

§ *Cheshire Records*, I Henry IV.

gave up his benefice, is so faithfully described by Dryden in his paraphrase of Chaucer's good parson, that he might have sat for the portrait, so exactly do the circumstances correspond:—

The tempter saw him too with envious eye,
And, as on Job, demanded leave to try.
He took the time when Richard was deposed,
And high and low with happy Harry closed;
He joined not in their choice, because he knew
Worse might and often did from change ensue.
Much to himself he thought, but little spoke,
And undeprived his benefice forsook!

At Aldford, Bromborough's former living, there is a sculpture of an ecclesiastic, which I would fain believe is the effigy of this good parson. If so, it is sad to see it turned out of the church and abandoned to neglect.*

I may observe in passing that the succession of the rectors of Aldford, as given in the *History of Cheshire*, is very inaccurate, and that of St. Olave's even more so.† The latter makes Sir William Bromborough die in 1393, which was before the king's deposition.

Passing over several intervening scenes of the drama, I next pause to notice the singular question which the duchess of York put to her son, when she asks him

Who are the *violets* now,
That strew the green lap of the new-come spring?

If she did not mean that the courtiers were hastening to adopt the violet as a *fleur de souvenir* and a Lancastrian emblem, she meant that they who were flocking in such haste to pay court to Bolingbroke, were no other than *violates* of their faith to their late master, Richard. But there was at least one man, Tanico d'Artois, a Gascon squire, who

* Since this Paper was read before the Chester Archaeological Society, the Parish Church of Aldford has, by the munificence of Richard, second and late Marquess of Westminster, been almost entirely rebuilt. The sculptured effigy referred to above still remains exposed to the weather on the east side of the churchyard, and is probably the one referred to in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Vol. 2, p. 413, as "a recumbent figure of a female, the hands clasped in prayer," and as being then "nearly covered by the turf of the churchyard." It is hoped that room may yet be found for it in the body of the church, simply, if for no better reason, as a curious relic of days gone by, a connecting link between the old structure and the new.

† Ormerod's *Cheshire*, I. 272, II. 414.

was no such *violet*. Groom of the king's stud, he went with him on his last journey to Ireland;* and, returning with him, accompanied him to Conwy and Chester. At the latter place he was committed to the castle, for persisting to wear, after it had been forbidden, his master's cognisance of the white hart. The fidelity with which he clung to his humanity.† This faithful follower, passing through Pontefract, master in his misfortunes, and which is alike honourable to both, is one of those incidents which is calculated to make us in good temper with where his master (who had been previously sent to Knaresboro' and some other castles) then was, sought and obtained leave to visit him. Their affecting interview is interrupted by the entrance of the keeper, and Tanico is compelled to take a last farewell of his master. After the characteristic fashion of the age, the king desires his keeper to taste his offered food, and strikes him upon his refusing to do so; whereupon Sir Piers Exton and a number of armed men rush into the chamber, and fall upon the king. With a weapon snatched from his assailants he defends himself, but is at length struck down, and he dies exclaiming—

Mount, mount my soul on high,
While my gross flesh sinks downward here to die!

The chronicler, who records the king's burial, tells us that his obsequies were performed at Langley, by the bishop of Chester, and the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham.

But did the usurper imagine that Richard's death would tranquilise the kingdom and make his seat secure? Did he believe that whatever removed his victim—whether that slow fate, which in rapt vision was present to the poet when,

Close by the regal chair
Fell thirst and famine scowl
Upon their baffled guest,

or the stern and more sudden violence which waited on Sir Piers Exton's axe—his future life would bring him days of quiet and nights of rest.

Great delusions often accompany great crimes; but if Henry Bolingbroke had been hitherto thus blinded, his eyes were soon

* *Traison et Mort Richard II.* 197.

† *Holinshed's Chronicle*, 500. *Traison et Mort Richard II.* 47, 210, and *Chronicle Henry V.*, *passim*.

unscaled. Monarchs in misfortune, especially when their misfortune is past remedy, always draw after them many sympathies. Scarce was Richard dead, before there was a great revulsion in his favor, and those who, when he lived, would have him die, now exclaimed

Oh! earth, yield us that king again
And take thou this!

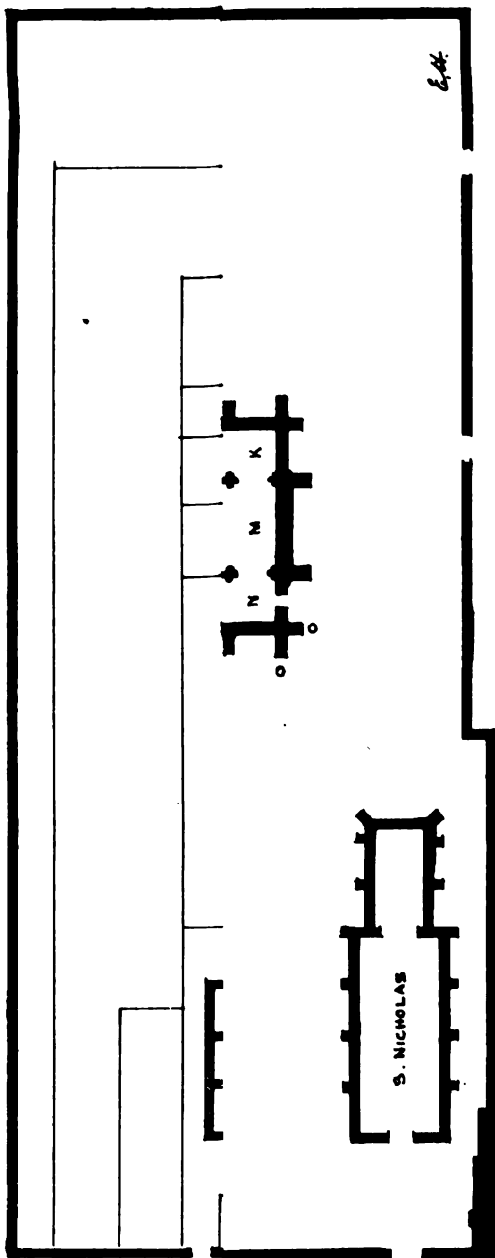
He was canonized, too, after a sort, and hostile hosts, consecrate their march, carried before their banners

The blood of fair king Richard scraped from Pomfret stones!

And the usurper, who had dreamed only of a crown lined with ermine, found himself seated between two fell spectres,—conscience and insatiate treason, with the sword of Damocles suspended over his head.

The realm was filled with turbulence and disquiet, and the usurper became a monument of the retribution of heaven; which, commending the poisoned chalice to his lips who has mingled it, makes success the very means to punish and chastise his crime!





PLAN OF THE MONASTERY OF ST WERBURGH CHESTER

644

ON THE
Architectural History of Chester Cathedral,*

AS DEVELOPED DURING
THE PRESENT WORK OF RESTORATION.

BY GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.

IN addressing the Chester Archaeological Society on the subject of CHESTER CATHEDRAL, and in that of my capacity as architect to its restoration, my proper object would be rather to describe the present condition and necessities of the fabric; to detail what we are doing and desire to do, and to chronicle the discoveries we have made during our operations,—than to attempt an antiquarian history of the Cathedral, a task for which many of my audience are better fitted than myself. As, however, some slight sketch of the history of the building would form a useful introduction to my subject, and especially with such among my hearers as are in any degree strangers to it, I will venture on giving a rough outline of what little I am able to learn of it, uniting it, as occasion serves, with my remarks on the existing buildings.

I may begin by saying that, unlike the majority of great mediæval churches, its origin and the date of its foundation are unknown. Chester having been a Roman city, it follows that it must, during the last century of the Roman occupation—when the empire was Christian—have possessed churches, and one may have stood upon this site. The same may be said of the interval between the departure of the Roman legions and the Anglo-Saxon conquest; a period prolonged in this instance through the district which includes Chester having been held much longer by the Britons than most parts of England. They were Christians, and must have had churches, and one may have stood here.

* Read at a Meeting of the Society, held in the King's School, on June 8, 1870.

Whenever founded, the original church is said to have been dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul; and Mr. Parker conjectures it to have been Romano-British. During the Anglo-Saxon period, however, the dedication of the church was changed from St. Peter and St. Paul to St. Werburga and St. Oswald. This was at least as early as the reign of Athelstan, as he and several later kings are recorded as having paid their devotions at St. Werburga's Church. I wish much that we knew with certainty when and why this change of dedication was made. I imagine, however, that it was about the year 908, during the time of Ethelred, duke of Mercia, whose wife Elfleda was the daughter of the great King Alfred, and resembled him both in piety and valour.

It may seem a somewhat strange step to transfer the honours of dedication from the two great princes of the glorious company of the Apostles to names which may appear to us to belong to an obscure and semi-barbarous period. The change was, no doubt, remarkable; but far less so to those who made it than it appears to us. The country had just been saved by the good providence of God, and by the hand of the immortal Alfred from a devastation more general and more dreadful than we can now conceive. After possessing the country for nearly four centuries, and after having become Christian for between two and three, the very existence of the English nation, and of the Christian religion in England, was threatened. All the north and north-east of the country had been almost re-peopled by hordes of Pagan Scandinavians. The churches and monasteries from one end of the country to the other had been overthrown; the pious King of the East Angles had suffered martyrdom, and the admirable successor to the west Saxon throne had been only saved by long concealment, while no one of the other royal families of the Heptarchy remained to defend their race or their religion. The cloud had at length dispersed; right, religion, and order had been re-established; the new settlers were becoming Christianised, and all agreed in submitting to the rule of the one remaining English King—Alfred.

No doubt the old church of St. Peter and St. Paul, like a thousand others, had suffered from the hands of these Northern ravagers (who we know took the city in 894), and what could be more natural than that the heroine daughter of our hero King, in re-founding it, should dedicate it to the memory of two English and royal saints—worthy representatives directly of two, and indirectly of several more, of the dethroned or extinct royal families of the Heptarchy?

St. Oswald, the early Christian and chivalrous King of Northumbria—who had freed his kingdom from the united forces of the British Cadwallon and the still Pagan Penda, the savage king of the Middle Angles or Mercians, and had added temporarily to his dominions the very district in which Chester stood—was a most natural type of a Christian royal race contending for their country and their religion. He had died, not far from here, in battle against the Pagans, and praying for those around him. His character, as sketched by an eminent French historian, is as follows :—"Gentle and strong, serious and sincere, pious and intelligent, humble and bold, active and gracious, a soldier and a missionary, a king and a martyr, slain in the flower of his age on the field of battle, fighting for his country and praying for his subjects. Where shall we find in all history a hero more nearly approaching the ideal, more richly gifted, more worthy of eternal remembrance?" "Who," says an ancient writer quoted by Camden, "is Alcides, who is Julius Cæsar, who Alexander the Great? Alcides, they say, conquered himself, Alexander the world, and Cæsar the enemy. But Oswald conquered at once himself, the world, and the enemy!"

"Quis fuit Alcides? Quis Cæsar Julius, aut quis

"Magnus Alexander? Alcides se superasse

"Fertur, Alexander mundum, sed Julius hostem.

"Se simul Oswaldus et mundum vicit et hostem."

Can we wonder then at the selection of a saint for the re-dedication of a church so circumstanced as this, at once royal, English, and chivalrous—the very type of what a Christian and an English King should be?

But who, it may be asked, was St. Werburga, that her name should be coupled with that of this hero of romance?

If St. Oswald, I would reply, was one of that catena of royal saints which we may trace from Ethelbert, through St. Edmund and Alfred, to Edward the Confessor, the last king of the royal English race, St. Werburga was equally one of the yet more unbroken chain of saintly princesses which extends from Bertha, the grand-daughter of St. Clotilda, whom we received from France and whose gentle encouragement introduced Christianity among our race, to St. Margaret, whom we gave to Scotland and who restored the true royal blood of England to our later kings. Nothing can be found, perhaps, in the world's history more remarkable than this succession of saintly English princesses. Their name is truly legion; and not only were they the

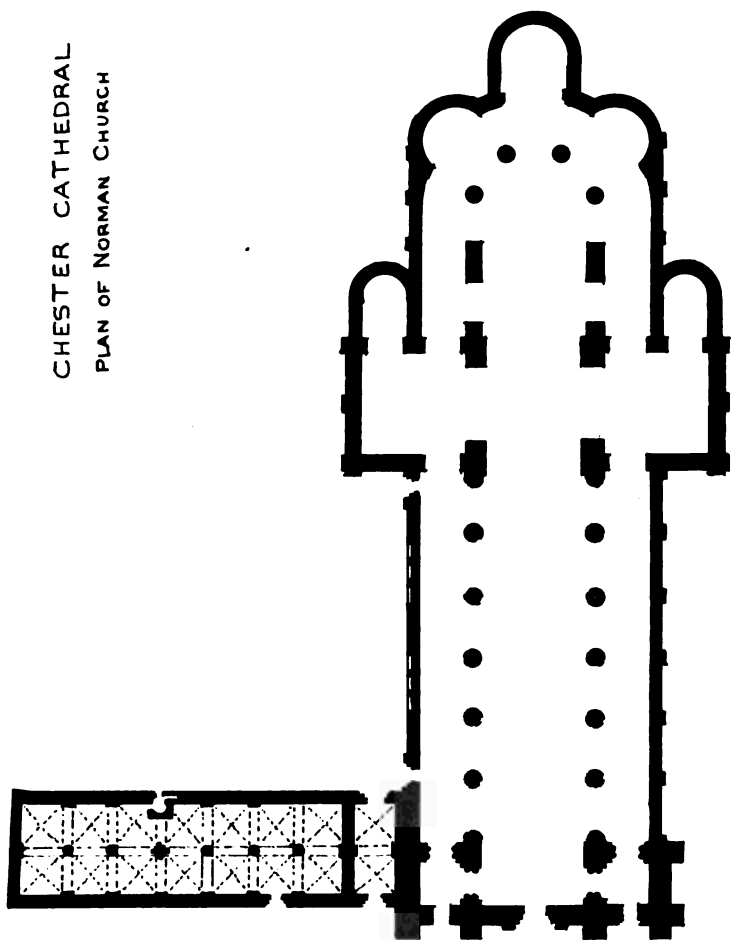
almost immediate descendants of Pagan Kings, but were actually of the family of the great demigod of Scandinavia, Woden himself ; as if, in gracious retribution on a family whose head had been the object of Pagan worship, his descendants were destined to become the special instruments in the overthrow of Paganism !

The same French historian whom I have before quoted says of them : "Strength, veiled by gentleness, is in their very breath. Their appearance in history is characterised by something clear and firm, sober and yet animated, as well as by that sacrifice of life in its flower, which is of all things in the world the most touching. These are the daughters of the Anglo-Saxon kings and lords, and with them a true nation of virgins, voluntary prisoners of the love of God."

First in precedence comes St. Hilda, the foundress of the Abbey of Whitby and the patroness of the first English poet, Cædmon, the Milton of the Heptarchy. Of her three nieces—St. Etheldreda, St. Sexburga, and St. Withburga—the two first were Queens of Northumbria and Kent, and subsequently abbesses of Ely, and the latter was abbess and foundress of the Monastery of Deerham. The daughter of St. Sexburga was St. Ermenilda, first the Queen of Mercia, and during her widowhood abbess of Ely ; so that the three first abbesses of that great monastery were ex-queens of three of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ; a fact symbolised to this day by the three crowns in the arms of that see.

The daughter of the third of these queen abbesses was our own St. Werburga, and she became in her turn the fourth abbess of Ely, besides being superintendent general of the nunneries of Mercia, of which her father Wolfhere, and after him her uncle Ethelred, were kings. Thus the relationship of our two saints, Oswald and Werburga, is most remarkable. He, first the conqueror and then the victim of the savage Penda, and she, the granddaughter of the same Pagan monarch, devoted to the religion which he had so fiercely opposed. Alban Butler describes her as the very mirror of piety, humility, meekness, and obedience. Her father had been the founder of the great monastery of Peterborough, and of the Cathedral and Abbey of Worcester, and her uncle probably of that of St. John at Chester ; while she, by her aid, founded those for nuns at Trentham, Stone, Hanbury, and Weedon on the street. She died at Trentham, in 699, and was buried at Hanbury, where her remains were, a few years afterwards, placed in a costly shrine. In 875 they were removed to Chester

CHESTER CATHEDRAL
PLAN OF NORMAN CHURCH





for safety during the first great Danish invasion, and eventually enshrined by Elfreda, the daughter of King Alfred, in the church rededicated in the joint names of this royal and saintly lady, and of Oswald, the typical English Christian king—a fit memorial at once to the old English royal race (all of which are represented), to true English patriotism, and to the holy religion then again so recently threatened by the inroads of Paganism, yet now so happily re-established. I may mention that Elfreda founded a monastery at Gloucester in memory of St. Oswald, thus showing her devotion to both of our saints. Indeed her life seems to have been devoted to building churches, founding castles, and carrying on in person furious wars both against the Danes and the Welsh. A mediæval poet, long afterwards, was as enthusiastic in his praise of Elfreda as one already quoted was of Oswald. She, in her turn, is described as more splendid in her actions than Cæsar himself.

O Elfreda potens, O terror virgo virorum,

* * * * *

Cæsare splendidior virgo, virago, vale !

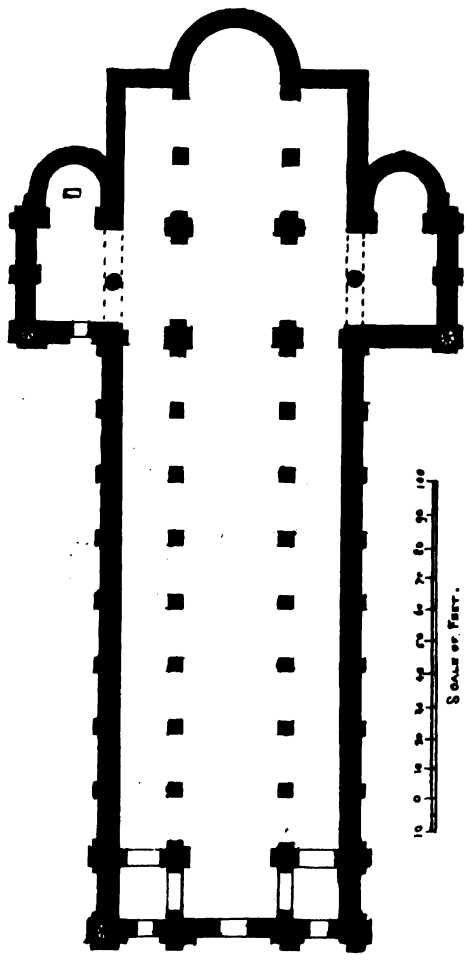
A century and a half later we find the church to have become ruined, probably during the second great Danish invasion, and restored or rebuilt during the reign of King Edward the Confessor, by Leofric, the wise and great Earl of Mercia, and his pious Countess Godwina or Godiva, of famous memory. The restored English rule thus again did homage to the memory of their royal saints ; nor, when our country fell once more under foreign dominion, was their memory dishonoured, for the first Norman earl, Hugh Lupus, sister's son to the Conqueror, and his Countess Ermentruda, refounded the church on a far greater scale, converting it from a church of secular canons (just such a collegiate body as now exists) into a Benedictine monastery ; and that, not at the instigation of the English alone, but of the great foreign ecclesiastic, St Anselm, then Abbot of Bec, but soon to become Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus we have had in review a long series of kings, princes, and rulers, as well as of royal and noble ladies—century after century—promoting the interests of the church ; and we find that this only shared with many others their pious and princely munificence. We find two kings of Mercia, Wolfhere and Ethelred, with the Princess Werburg—daughter to one and niece to the other—founding churches, abbeys, and cathedrals throughout the length and breadth of their extensive dominions. Two centuries later we find the Duke Ethelred

with his Duchess Elfreda, refounding both the great churches here, and at the same time others in all parts of their duchy. Then, after another century and a half, Earl Leofric and his Countess Godiva, restoring the churches here, and founding the cathedral and monastery at Coventry, and founding or enriching the priory at Leominster, the churches of Wenlock, Worcester, Evesham, Stow, and others, throughout their earldom; and, lastly, we find the first Norman earl and his countess following in the steps of their English predecessors. It is now as much as we can do to get funds to keep the few which remain to us of their great foundations in a state of decent repair! "Oh, but," I hear some one reply, "did not these people act upon mistaken motives? Did not they seek to purchase heaven and atone for their sins by all this munificence?" Be it so, I would venture to rejoin; it may be that they were no nearer heaven through "honouring the Lord with their substance," but it may, nevertheless, be the case that we shall be further from it if we neglect to do so.

Not only was it customary with the Normans, while dealing with the ecclesiastical structures of their predecessors, to make a clean sweep and reconstruct them on a greatly enlarged scale, but the change from a comparatively small collegiate institution to a great monastery of necessity involved this. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that no vestige of the older buildings remains. Our architectural investigation must consequently commence with the new foundation, begun by Hugh Lupus about 1195. The previous church, if only a restoration of the older Saxon edifice, was probably of no great dimensions; though, if it was actually rebuilt by Leofric, it would be contemporary with the Confessor's work at Westminster, and might therefore have been of large size. We have, too, a work remaining, partly erected by Leofric, at Stow, in Lincolnshire, which might afford some suggestion as to the probable scale on which he would have been likely to build; but all such speculations are useless.

Of the Norman structure, however, we have enough remaining to give a very fair idea of its dimensions and arrangement. The parts of it existing above ground consist of the lower portions of the north transept, of the wall of the north aisle of the nave, and of the north-western tower. In addition to the above, the bases of the columns, &c. of the choir have been found beneath the pavement; and we have recently discovered the lower courses of the walls of the choir aisles, with the bases of the buttresses, and in one case the commencement

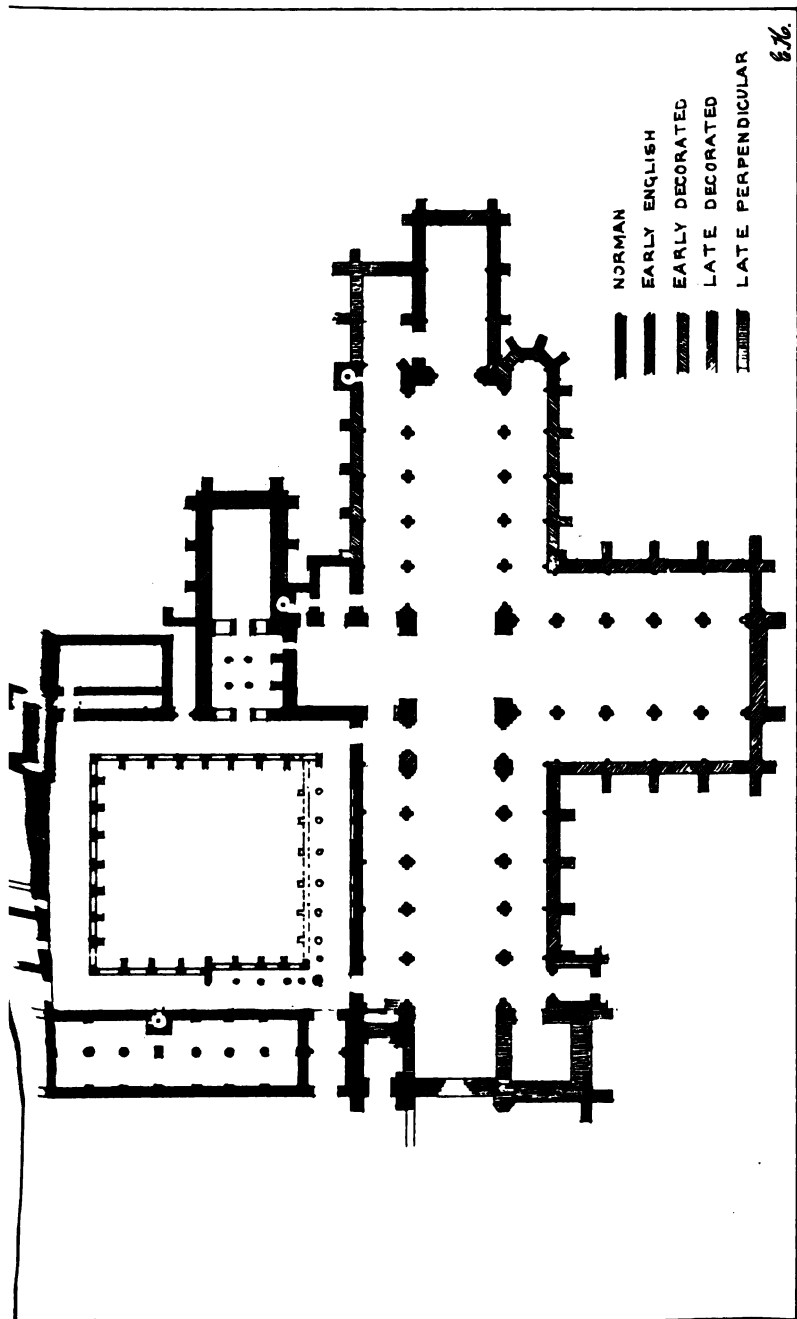


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SCALE OF FEET.

NORMAN PLAN OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.
ACCORDING TO PROFESSOR WILLIS.

part of the church), and probably one bay of the nave. This would give the choir and the chapels—in fact, the parts absolutely requisite to divine service. Accordingly, we find in the transept the earliest (English) type of Norman, while in the western tower we find the style in a more advanced form. This feature, so far as it exists, is particularly fine. I should conceive its date to be about 1120. In a line with it, and bounding the western side of the cloister, is a very fine structure of considerable size, vaulted throughout upon a central range of Norman pillars. This formed the substructure of the abbot's hall, and was probably of the same date with the tower, though the narrow chamber between them, forming the passage from the abbot's lodging to the cloister and supporting the Abbot's private chapel above, is later; in a style, probably, as late as quite the middle of the 12th century. These substructures are found in all early works of a semi-domestic character. It was the custom of the period for persons of rank to have their living-rooms well raised above the ground. We accordingly find almost every important room in dignified residences of these early periods placed on an upper floor, and vaulted substructures placed beneath them, which were used for stores, cellars, and for other less important purposes. Even private chapels were often similarly raised for the convenience of being on a level with the living-rooms. It is so with the Abbot's Chapel just mentioned, and this is the reason why St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, and the Sainte Chapelle at Paris (both the private chapels of the palaces,) were erected over crypts. We see the same in the Prior's Chapel at Ely, in the chapel at Ely-place, London, in the chapel of the Tower of London, and in many other instances.

We know nothing of the history of the fabric for a considerable time after the erection of the Norman church. All we read is of the places where the abbots were interred; and six of these are still marked by arched recesses in the northern wall of the nave, facing the cloisters. These are of different periods during the 12th century. They were intended probably for the tombs of the first six abbots, though I can only hear of four who were really buried there, after whom most of them were for the next century buried in the Chapter-house. Towards the end of this century, that is to say about 1195, the eastern parts of the church appear (from some malconstruction probably) to have become dilapidated and to have threatened actual ruin. So far as I can make out, it seems to be said that the choir had been rebuilt from its foundation by



about 1205: but as the Norman foundations of both the outer wall and the columns of the eastern arm still exist, this expression must either have been an exaggerated one, or their use of the term "choir" must have been limited to the central crossing where the actual choir—that is, the monks' stalls—were placed. Probably, however, there was some considerable reconstruction of the eastern part, though not literally from the foundations, for we find the eastern chapel of the north transept to have been rebuilt at this time, and its form changed from apsidal to square; and, in excavating among the foundations of the portions east of the choir, we have found numerous fragments of beautiful architecture of this transitional period, which I cannot account for, except on the supposition that the eastern portion of the old church had been a good deal altered and remodelled at the end of the 12th century. We have quite recently found under the remains of the apsidal end of the south aisle the foundation of an older square-ended aisle, which shows that these works must have been more extensive than we were previously aware of.

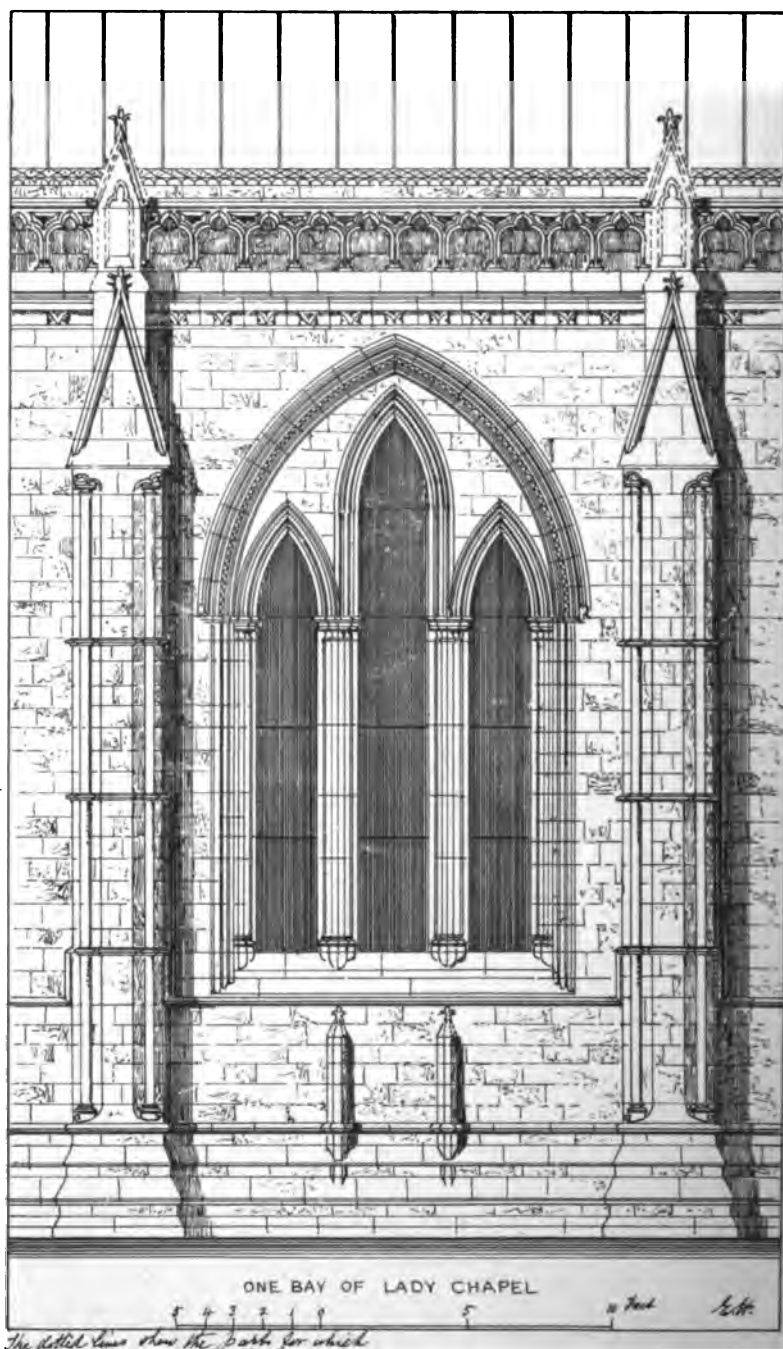
From the lugubrious tone in which the monks make petitions for pecuniary aid, and the exaggerated style in which they describe the ruin of the church and their own poverty, I fancy Geoffrey the Abbot must have been much like his contemporary at St. Alban's, John De Cella, whose high artistic aspirations, united with unbusiness-like habits, are so humorously described by Matthew Paris. Geoffrey describes the choir of his church as "intolerably threatened with ruin, and threatening with danger of death those who assisted at the divine offices." He boasts of having rebuilt it at great cost from the foundations, yet we find within a century all had been rebuilt again, and not a vestige excepting one small chapel left of his work. Just in the same way De Cella at St. Alban's had begged throughout the kingdom, and paraded through the country a monk asserted to have been raised from the dead by the relics of one of their local saints, and had "added many gifts of gold and silver, if perchance they might promote the work;" but that unfortunate work (says his biographer), like the sea, swallowed up all the rivers, nor as yet had a happy advancement begun, and after thirty years' labour "scarcely had the work added in that period more than two feet to its height." We happily possess the remains of his unfinished work, and nothing more admirable survives to us of that most remarkable period of our architecture. Our Abbot, or his successor, was more fortunate; for we find that in 1211 the choir and

tower were finished. The relics we possess of his work are scanty in the extreme, but, like those of his contemporary at St. Alban's, they are of a very high merit.

About 1240, the number of the monks was increased, which probably led to the rebuilding of the Chapter-house, which would naturally be too small for its greater number of occupants; and it was probably from the same cause that in the time of Edward the First, or somewhat earlier, they again undertook what was called at the time "the great work of rebuilding the church," for the choir also must have been found too small. In 1259, the monks met to consider the rebuilding, though only 50 years since it had been before rebuilt. In 1281, they came into possession of considerable property. In 1284, the King made a grant of venison from his forests at Delamere and Wirral; and a memorandum in the margin of the grant says that it "was for the monks engaged in the great work of rebuilding their church."

The very important works of which we possess this scanty information were carried on during the abbacy of Simon de Albo Monasterio, or Whitchurch—a prelate apparently of great ability, a man of energy, a man of taste, a man of piety, and a thorough man of business. I may describe him as the Dean Howson of his age. He ruled the monastery from 1265 to 1289. He freed the Abbey from sundry lawsuits, obtaining decisions very much to their advantage, and it is clear that he must have at least commenced the reconstruction of the entire eastern arm of the church, including the Lady Chapel. It is to his work that I shall have occasion now to direct your special and most detailed attention.

The conclusions I have come to respecting the order in which these works proceeded differ somewhat from those of Mr. Parker; he thinking that some parts of the choir are earlier than the Lady Chapel, while I cannot avoid a contrary conclusion. The reconstruction of the time of King John is, and must remain, a mystery. I can trace no relic of evidence of it, excepting in the northern chapel, now used as a vestry, and in the scanty fragments we have exhumed. As, however, no cause is given for it but the ruinous condition of the older choir, and as no increase had as yet taken place in the number of the monks, I see no reason to suppose that a radical change of outline had taken place. If the old outline of the choir remained, a glance at the plan will shew that the Lady Chapel and the apsidal ends of the choir aisles might have been added by Abbot Whitchurch without causing any



disturbance to the choir or the services of the church. We find that, in 1283, King Edward I. attended high mass here, probably in the old choir, as yet undisturbed. So far as I am able to judge, the whole of the eastern portions of the building formed a single and complete design, but were carried out piecemeal, the details being varied at pleasure as the works were, bit by bit, carried into execution.

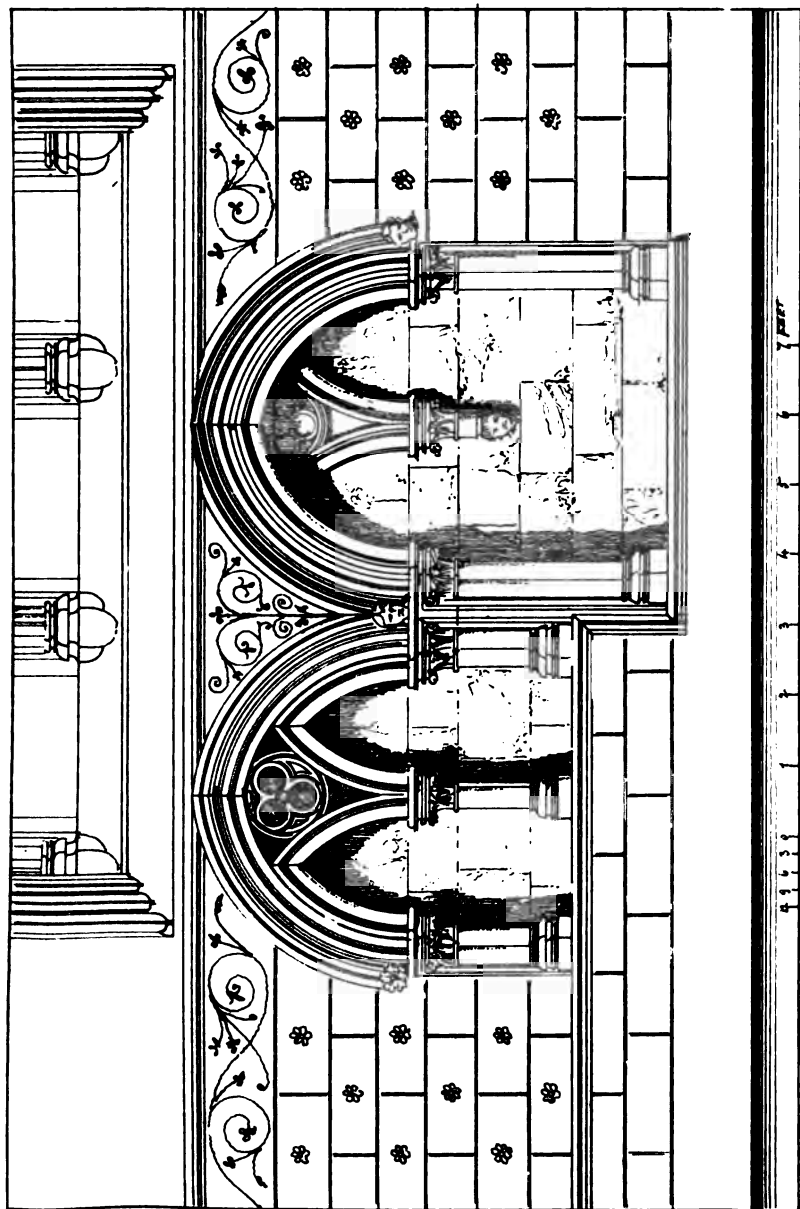
This design bore no kind of resemblance to that of the old choir. Instead of the apsidal altar end, with its continuous aisle and radiating chapels, we have the prolonged choir with a square end and parallel aisles. The three chapels, however, of the old structure were provided for in a very marked manner. For the central or eastern chapel was substituted the present beautiful and spacious Lady Chapel, and for those radiating to the right and left were substituted chapels at the ends of the aisles, each having an elegant apsidal termination of its own. The high altar was necessarily placed at least a bay in advance of the east end, a screen or reredos running across from pillar to pillar, which made the aisles, if viewed as a processional path, continuous, and afforded an unobstructed access to the Lady Chapel. Though all this was planned at once, the part first carried into execution was the Lady Chapel. With it, or very nearly at the same time, were erected the piers and arch forming its entrance, and, on the south, one pier only of the apse of the aisle, while, on the north, the whole of that apse was, at the least, commenced. These were works which could be completed in great measure without touching the choir. And we find not only a decided change in detail before the work was carried on westward, but that it must have been effected very much by degrees, as numerous changes of character are traceable in the choir, its aisles, and its clerestory.

I will limit your attention for a time to the Lady Chapel. It was a structure of peculiar beauty, and was erected at one of the very best periods of our national architecture—that which may be called the second transitional period. The first and great transition was from the round to the pointed-arch style; and, had the works of the close of the 12th century remained, we should no doubt have had a beautiful specimen of this most interesting period, as, indeed, is proved by the fragments which we have exhumed. The clerestory and triforium of the neighbouring church of St. John are beautiful specimens of that period. The second transition was from the lancet style, in which the windows were single and undivided openings, into the middle-pointed

or decorated period, in which they consist of wide openings divided by mullions, and their arches filled with tracery. One of its earliest examples in this country is the eastern part of Westminster Abbey, erected between 1245 and 1269; and perhaps its richest production is the eastern part of Lincoln, dated about 1280. The example before us is less advanced, but not necessarily earlier. Its windows have the comprising forms of the large windows of the later style; but, within this, they are filled by openings purely of the lancet form, though the full knowledge of the formation of tracery is proved by the design of the piscina, which has a beautiful traceried head. The Lady Chapel is internally 58 feet long by 26½ feet wide; it is divided into three bays in length, each of which contains a three-light window, while at the east end there is one of five lights. The details are of the most studied and perfect character, every moulding being perfectly and artistically designed—simple, elegant, and refined.

Unhappily, its structure was less perfect than its design. The foundations were not well constructed, and the thrust of the vaulting overpowered the buttresses to such an extent that in the course of two centuries the walls were nearly a foot out of the perpendicular, and the building threatened ruin. This led to the erection, probably early in the time of Henry VIII., of side chapels as abutments. These were made to cover two bays on either side, the windows of those bays being roughly converted into arches uniting the chapels. The remaining three windows were deprived of their original mullions, and filled with very common perpendicular tracery. The overhanging walls were pared off to render their deviation from the perpendicular less apparent; the roof with its gable was lowered to a flat pitch; the old cornice and parapets removed, and the whole, so far as the exterior was concerned, reduced to a mere wreck of its former self. While the decay of the stonework was going on, even this wreck had become still more ruinous.

A few years back I was commissioned, in conjunction with Mr. Hussey, to do a good deal in the direction of restoring the interior, which was undertaken by a munificent and excellent lady. And, so far at least as the interior went, we took much pains in recovering the original design, and I think that as regards the windows, we did so with a great degree of certainty. The mouldings of the jambs of some of those which opened from the Lady Chapel into the side chapels remained perfect, and we found enough of their heads to enable us, with



PISCINA AND SEDILIA IN LADY CHAPEL

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some study, to ascertain their old forms, The positions of the mullions were arrived at by a curious piece of evidence. Beneath each window externally there had been curious little buttresses, which rose from the base moulds of the building to a few feet in height. Their meaning I have never been able to ascertain, as it is clear that their original intention had been abandoned. By carrying up, however, their perpendicular lines we found that, both in the side windows and in the great east window, they gave us true centre lines for the mullions of the windows, proportioning the lights so as to perfectly satisfy the eye.

Though our work at that time did not extend, in any but the most minute degree, to the exterior, I nevertheless devoted much thought to the question of its probable design. The remains of the eastern buttresses showed them to have been of a chamfered form with detached shafts against the chamfered sides. These buttresses I at once recognised as being almost precisely like three which I had long ago carefully sketched at Bangor, then nearly the only object of much beauty visible in that cathedral; so like indeed were they, that I at once concluded that the same architect had been at work on both, and in all my attempts to recover the design of those at Chester I made use of the more perfect evidences procured from Bangor.

Since that time both works have been simultaneously investigated, and both with most successful and most interesting results. Both must have been built at about the same time—the days of Edward I.; that at Chester erected, probably, during the time of the frequent visits of that great king, while engaged on his wars against Llewellyn; that at Bangor, let us hope, as a kind of “chapelle expiatoire,” after the overthrow of that valorous prince and the appropriation of his principality. Anyhow, he was ever oscillating between Chester and Bangor. He was here either as a prince or a king in 1256 and 1274; again, when marching against Wales, in 1276; again, for the siege of Rhuddlan, in 1278; again, in 1281, 1282, and 1283, when, on St. Augustine's Day, he, with Queen Eleanor, heard mass in our church on his return from a Welsh campaign; again, in the following year; and ten years later again to suppress the rising of Prince Madoc; and, in 1300, the Welsh did homage here to the young Prince Edward, the first Prince of Wales who was heir to the English throne. And it is, to say the least, interesting to find at each place what may be called sister works of his period.

In a report I have recently made to the committee for the

restoration of Bangor Cathedral, in which, as in the present lecture, it was my object to describe the results of recent investigations, I have offered the following remarks :—

“ These may be viewed as sister works :—sisters in date, sisters in dilapidation, and sisters both in the investigation and the restoration of their beautiful details. If a person interested in what is being unfolded at Bangor were to visit the Cathedral at Chester under the intelligent guidance of the Superintendent of the Works,* he would find a precisely similar course of investigation and of restoration going on. In both cathedrals the portions which form the main subjects of investigation are of the same date, and perhaps the works of the same architect.

During the long intervening ages, the work of Edward at Bangor was burned by Owen Glendower, and after lying waste nearly a century, was restored in the time of the semi-Cambrian dynasty of the Tudors, though the restoration was more destructive of ancient work than even the conflagration itself; while the sister work at Chester, after suffering severely by structural failure, was at about the same time subjected to a somewhat similar process of destructive restoration, in which nearly all its ancient features were obscured and its exquisite design rendered unintelligible. It has been reserved to our own day, by a happy coincidence of time, to search out among the *debris* of both works, imbedded in the later walls, for fragments displaced from the older work and immured in safety, to be ready to come forward now as intelligible evidence of what each of these sister works originally was.”

The result of these investigations at Bangor has been the recovery of the beautiful design of the transepts and crossing, of which we possessed before nothing but three buttresses. The result of the parallel investigations here has been the restoration to its old form of what was before a mere wreck, and, as I shall be able presently to show you, the recovery of other features of the most rare and unexpected character.

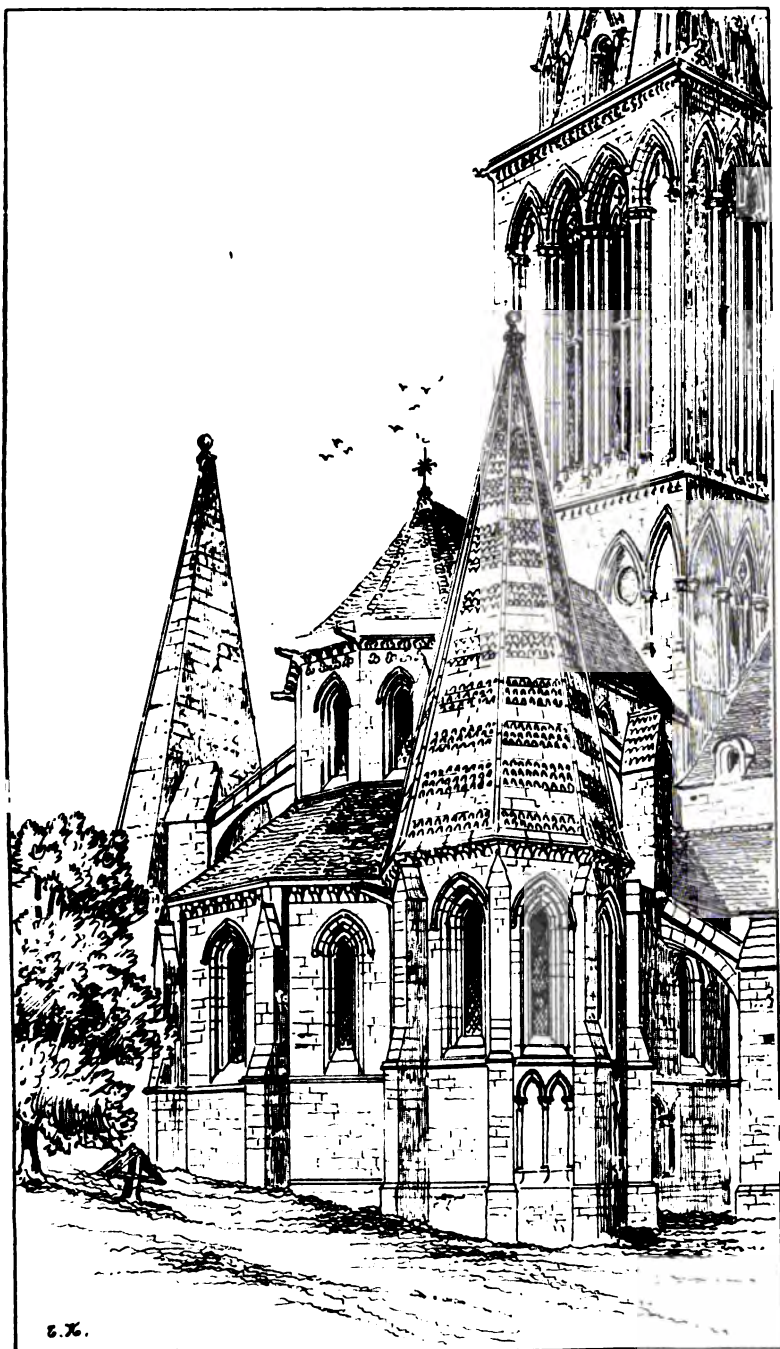
The beautiful cornice of the Lady Chapel, though non-existent externally, remained within the roofs of the side chapels, but the parapet was gone. Where, however, it would have abutted against the east end of the choir I long since found a sinking, into which the top moulding of the parapet would have been inserted, and which gave me

* I refer to Mr. Frater, of whose untiring and intelligent research into every item of evidence as it came to light it would be impossible for me to speak in too high terms.

both its height and, approximately, its section. My son also, some years ago, found over the vaulting of the chapel a fragment of the parapet itself, which gave me its mouldings perfectly, and showed it to have been pierced; he also found there a stone, of which for years all my endeavours failed me to make anything. Recent investigations, however, have unravelled the entire design of the parapet, and showed that the mysterious stone was one of the bases of its slender mullions: so we have recovered both cornice and parapet. Of the terminations, however, of the buttresses we as yet knew nothing, or very little beyond what we could guess from those at Bangor. Those which remained had been remodelled at a late period, and those which had once existed where the side chapels had been added had been removed. There was, however, visible on the wall the outline of where they had impinged upon it, a sloping line on either side diminishing their width from 8ft. 3in. to 1ft. 9in., and crossing the cornice at the reduced width. The number of attempts I made to recover the design from this evidence no one would credit. I have them in all sorts of shapes, made years before the present restoration was undertaken. At length, however, the bright idea struck me (one only wonders that it was not the first thought of) that two of the veritable buttresses themselves might be immured in the end walls of the later chapels. I made an incision near the base of the northern chapel, and there I found one, but when we attempted to trace it upward it soon disappeared. I tried the other one, but my time failed me before I found anything. At another visit, however, I pursued the search, and to my intense delight I exhumed almost the entire side of the southern buttress, including the lower part of its gabled head. So now we possessed nearly all which was wanted, as high as the top of the parapet—but no higher; not a vestige could we find of the gable of the roof nor of the extreme apex of the buttress, for we see that they had continued up again another stage above the gables. Every now and then, however, some little new scrap or other fell into our hands to perfect that which we had found, and to make sure the ground won. Nor would I allow a step to be taken in advance of evidence obtained, and which indeed at that time was limited to the one bay projecting eastward of the side chapels.

I will now quit the Lady Chapel to follow up our investigation in an adjoining part. I have before mentioned that the choir aisles had terminated apsidally. These apses had been destroyed when the side

chapels had been added to the Lady Chapel, but their previous existence remained evident from the jambs of their side windows retaining the direction of the diagonal walls, and the last bay of vaulting to the aisles was clearly the beginning of that of the apses. There was other minor evidence. A print in Ormerod's History shows the side window of the southern apse, which was unhappily destroyed some fifty years since, and several of the old plans show a buttress at this point projecting obliquely, which was, no doubt, a corner buttress of the apse. Over the groining of either aisle are three low and massive arched ribs in the roof, greatly strained by the weight they have supported. Those on the north side still carry a stone roofing to this part, and those on the south side clearly must have been for the same purpose. All this was manifest enough. The stone roof on the north side, however, is of moderate height; and against the eastern side, as seen from within the roof of the later chapel, the marks are visible of that part of the stone roof which belonged to the lost apse, showing that the whole of the roof, externally and internally, was of stone. We never thought, however, but that the roof of the south apse had been similar to that of the north, and of the same moderate altitude. But on removing a part of the later timber roofs of the south chapel, and some of the rubbish which had accumulated beneath it, we found concealed by it portions of the sloping surfaces of the old apse roof of that side. These were small in extent, but potent in evidence. The first thing which struck us was their excessive steepness of slope—almost like the spire of a church; and on tracing up these slopes to their intersection, what was my surprise at finding that they represented a stone roof of no less than 42 feet high above the tops of the walls. The western side of this extraordinary structure we found to have been vertical, for a fragment of the lower part of it remains with the weather mould of the aisle roof upon it. Against the clerestory is the mark of another very high stone roof running at right angles to this spire, and, as we find, intersecting with it. This is shown in all the old prints, and still exists. We found, then, that we possessed ample proofs of the former existence of a feature which, though unique in England, is in several instances found in France, especially at Norrey in Normandy, where the radiating chapels at the east end are precisely similarly roofed. We found vestiges of its eaves-course at its intersection with the east wall; and, on cutting into the modern wall below, we found remnants of the corner buttress shown on the old plans, and of the window-jamb attached to it, as well as of the window of its southern



NORREY NEAR CAEN
North East view of Church

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face ; so that, though we had not yet perfect material for its reproduction, we had a good instalment of the necessary evidence.

The double fact that we possessed evidence of such an architectural curiosity, and that we possessed also nearly sufficient details for the restoration of the beautiful design of the side of the Lady Chapel, gave rise to the idea, at first but timidly thought of, whether it might be considered lawful, under circumstances so exceptional, to remove the southern chapel, which had been the means of obliterating both, and to restore the southern side to its original design, as it was in the days of Edward I. At first it seemed to go counter to our established views in restoration, and it was only the extreme architectural value of the features to be recovered which led me to entertain it. Many architectural antiquaries were consulted, and there seemed to be a general consensus of opinion that the exceptional circumstances would warrant an exceptional course ; and so, after long consideration, we determined on it. The result has been that in the later walls which we have removed, nearly all the remaining evidence and details have been discovered, and we are now enabled to reproduce this remarkable apse with almost absolute precision and perfectness.


We have found the gable caps of its buttresses intersecting with the stone roof ; its eaves-course ; many stones of the angles of its roof ; the watertabling of the buttresses ; the sills and jambs of every window, and also their traceried heads, showing two alternating patterns. The same mine has supplied us with additional aid for the Lady Chapel itself, and for the buttresses of the south aisle, so that we have profited largely by working it.

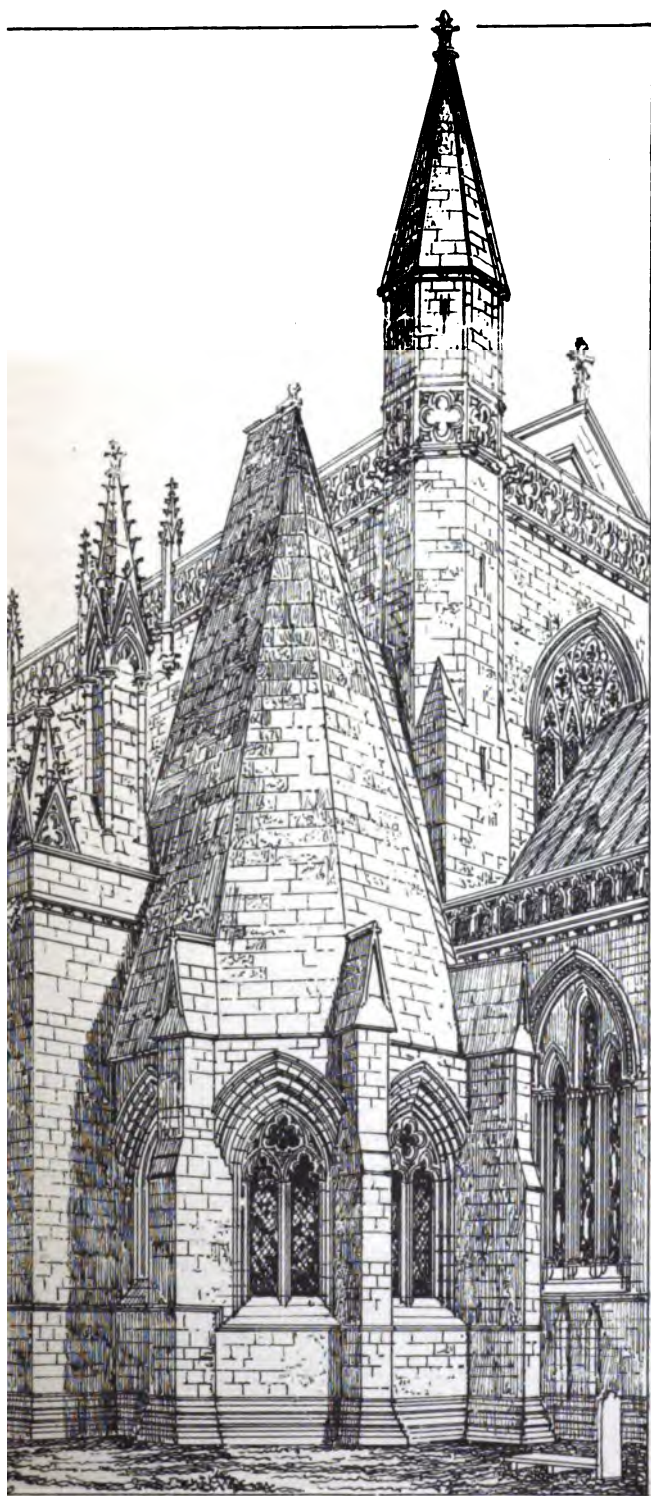
I have before mentioned that the Lady Chapel was built before the choir and its aisles, and that on the south side only one window-jamb of the apse of the aisle was coeval, or nearly so, with the Lady Chapel. I may add that all the other jambs are wholly different from the older one, and that the tracery is a good deal later in style than the Lady Chapel. The tracery of the two windows of the south aisle next to the apse has, if anything, an earlier look than that of the apse itself, though really, it is probable, coeval ; but the two westernmost windows of the aisle are of unquestionably later date. A similar difference obtained also between the eastward and westward windows of the opposite aisle, though here only one window was of the later date. On the south side a curious discovery has been made in the second bay from the transept. The lower stage of the buttresses of this bay was

thicker than the upper stage, the difference lying on the inner sides facing each other. This was found to represent the thickness of the walls of a building which had formerly projected here, and opened by a lofty arch into the aisle. This arch, on the removal of the building, had been carefully walled up, and both a doorway and a window inserted, the former being in its turn walled up at a subsequent period. Curiously enough, though the arch towards the church is high and strangely pointed, that towards the projecting building was excessively flat. There was also a sort of doorway into this building from the west, close to the wall of the aisle. This may have been a chapel or a sacristy; but it is most singular that after existing apparently only some 30 or 40 years it should be done away with. That it did not exist in the Norman period is clearly proved.

Internally this aisle has, near its eastern end, a piscina and sedilia, and near them a fine arched recess for a tomb very curiously united with the vaulting shaft. The vaulting of the aisles, excepting in the apse, though its springers are original, was not finished till the 15th century. It is unique in its original scheme, as not having been intended to have transverse ribs. The cornice, parapet, and pinnacles of the south aisle were entirely lost. I have adopted a very beautiful cornice remaining in the north aisle. My restoration of the parapet is only conjectural, but that of the pinnacles is founded on a fragment discovered in the wall of the late chapel. It is of a very peculiar character; and in reproducing it, partly conjecturally, I have been guided by the design of the pinnacles of the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, and those of the Eastern Chapel at Beauvais, which I found very suggestive in completing the design from the recovered fragment.

The order in which the different parts of the choir were erected is quite an architectural enigma. Nearly all writers—excepting, I think, Mr. Rickman—have fancied that at least the eastern bays, including the eastern arch, were older than the Lady Chapel. I fancy, on the contrary, that it is susceptible of proof that they are later. The eastern arch is coeval with one jamb on the south and two jambs on the north of the apses of the aisles. This one jamb on the south is older than the rest of the apse, which, in its turn is, as I think, coeval with the first two bays of the south aisle, and these with the two first pillars of the choir eastward. Consequently these two pillars are later than the eastern arch. This eastern arch itself is not, I admit, identical in its details with the Lady Chapel, but there can be very little difference





APSE AT END OF SOUTH AISLE



between them in date, and I imagine the chapel to be earlier.* The western arches and pillars of the choir are manifestly of later date than the eastern ones.

It is evident that the older parts (to say the least) of the choir were not at first carried up beyond the level of the triforium; for whatever may be the difference of age in the arcades below, the clerestory is throughout of later style. It is probable that a temporary roof was placed on the lower stage, and the work carried on without stopping the uses of the choir. This has in our own day been done in erecting the nave of Cologne Cathedral, which was for years roofed in temporarily at the triforium level, and its interior left undisturbed, while the upper stage was being completed. The style of the clerestory is rather advanced, though still not late, Decorated. Two only of its windows retain to our day their original tracery, all the rest having been barbarously renewed, probably in the seventeenth century. The exterior, too, had been pared down, not refaced, as Mr. Parker supposed, and most of its details obliterated. By careful study, however, of what remains, I have been able to recover their entire design, to which the southern range is now restored. The parapets had been renewed at a late period, though a fragment of the old cornice remained against the tower. This, with the later plain parapet, looked so ill, when renewed in smooth stone, that I have been constrained to depart from my rule, and to add, from conjecture only, a pierced parapet with pinnacles, which I have designed with reference to old features in the cathedral. The choir, I should mention, was, like most parts of the church, designed for vaulting, but never completed, the present groining being of lath and plaster.

The next great work undertaken was the reconstruction, on a most extraordinary scale, of the south transept; and simultaneously, as I suppose, with it, of the south aisle of the nave. The south transept, as first erected, was no doubt like the north, consisting of only two unaisled bays; it now consists of five bays, with aisles on either side; being, in fact, of precisely the same dimensions with the choir. I have failed to meet with any information as to the time or circumstances of this prodigious addition, beyond what is suggested by Canon Blomfield in his interesting paper on St. Nicholas' Chapel. If always intended

* It may be, however, that the first window of the south aisle is older than those of the apse and coeval with their one earlier jamb. In which case it (with the two first pillars) would agree in date with the eastern arch, and would consequently be still a shade later than the Lady Chapel.

as the parish church of St. Oswald, it, to say the least, assumed a curious form; its structure running from north to south, while a single bay of one aisle served as its chancel. Its equality of size with the choir seemed to point to a feud or rivalry between those whose devotions favoured St. Werburg or St. Oswald. The plan of the building, taken shortly after the dissolution, and now in the Harleian Library, shows things nearly as they are now, excepting that no separation existed between the transept and the rest of the church. The chancel, as now, occupied the central bay of the eastern aisle, while two other bays are respectively the Chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Mary Magdalen. The former of these chapels alone is vaulted, and apparently at a later date; perhaps at the time when the old chapel of St. Nicholas was desecrated, *i.e.* 1448.

Here again the first builders only worked to the triforium level, leaving the upper stage to their successors, and probably temporarily roofing in what they had done. This transept and the nave were prepared both for vaulting and for flying buttresses, but neither was carried into execution. I have no doubt that Mr. Parker is correct in assigning this work, with the commencement of the reconstruction of the nave, to Abbot Richard Synesbury, who held the abbacy from 1349 to 1363, and was deposed for wasting the goods of the monastery. Perhaps the erection of this vast transept for the parishioners of St. Oswald may have been a part of this alleged waste, and truly it must have been a costly work. Its character is of the latest variety of the "middle pointed" or "Decorated" style, and is an excellent work of its period. The shattered fragments of the southern ends of its aisles are as fine as any work we possess in this style. Unhappily, the main south front has been replaced by as mean a work as the present century has produced. The old prints, though not very intelligible, show it to have been once of great magnificence, and I earnestly trust that it will become so again, and I wish this most important feature may be one of the earliest works undertaken. Its upper stage is in a later style, though of what precise age I cannot judge. The nave and transept are said, though on what authority I cannot ascertain, to have been finished by Abbot Simon Ripley, between 1485 and 1492, who is also said to have erected the northern arcade of the nave in imitation of the southern one of a century and more earlier date. In the latter opinion I am disposed to coincide, but I confess I should have thought the clerestory of the transept to have been of very much earlier date than

that of the nave, nor can I without strong proof believe it to be otherwise. It seems to me to agree with that of the first bay of the nave from the west, which is clearly an early specimen of the Perpendicular style.

The windows of the west aisle of the transept and the south aisle of the nave, though of the decorated period, did not receive their tracery until after the establishment of the succeeding style. The latter have, however, within the last few years, been renewed in the earlier style. The earlier documents frequently speak of the "Campanile," which I imagine to have been the south-western tower. This was taken down by Abbot Birkenshaw, and the foundation of a new tower laid in 1508, when a new west front was also commenced.*

He only succeeded, however, in carrying up his tower to one stage of its intended height, and with this work, including the west end and the south front, closed the mediæval building of St. Werburg's Abbey Church. The great central tower had been already rebuilt, though at

* It has been suggested, by Mr. Thomas Hughes, that the Campanile so often mentioned was not the southern tower, but the northern one, of which we have still such interesting remains. My own information does not enable me to decide this.

[The following entries, relating to one or other of these Towers, are copied from the MS., Treasurer's Accounts of the Dean and Chapter :—

1544, Pd. for a kay to the new Steple, iijjd.

1552, Pd. for reparacons don on the bell house, xliijs ixd.

1553, the Commissioners left, inter alia, to the Dean and Chapter of Chester, iij bells in the steple by the Quere, and a clok, and ij great bells in the new steple.

1559, For iijj, gret pecys of tymber for Reparacons in ye Tower, viijd.

1562, Pd. for a new rope to ye great bell in ye oulde steple, vjs.

1567, For mendying one of the bells in ye quyre steple, iiijd.

1574, To Hugh Stookan, for peeing the clapper of the great Bell belonging to the Quier, iijs. iiijd.

1576, For a rope to one of the Quere bells. iijs. vjd.

1591, Sep. 6. Paid to Wm. Welch, Jo. Welch, and three labourers for caryinge intoe the Chapter house the Roufe of the gr: bell house and other leade, and tymber, blown downe by tempestuous weather, iijs.

1610, Paid to Jo: Welshe for cariage into ye Store house from ye ould Steple all ye Boardes weh were fallen of, iijs. iiijd.

1612, Paid to Arratt Watt, for takinge downe the Roofe of ye owld steeple, xxs. iiijd.

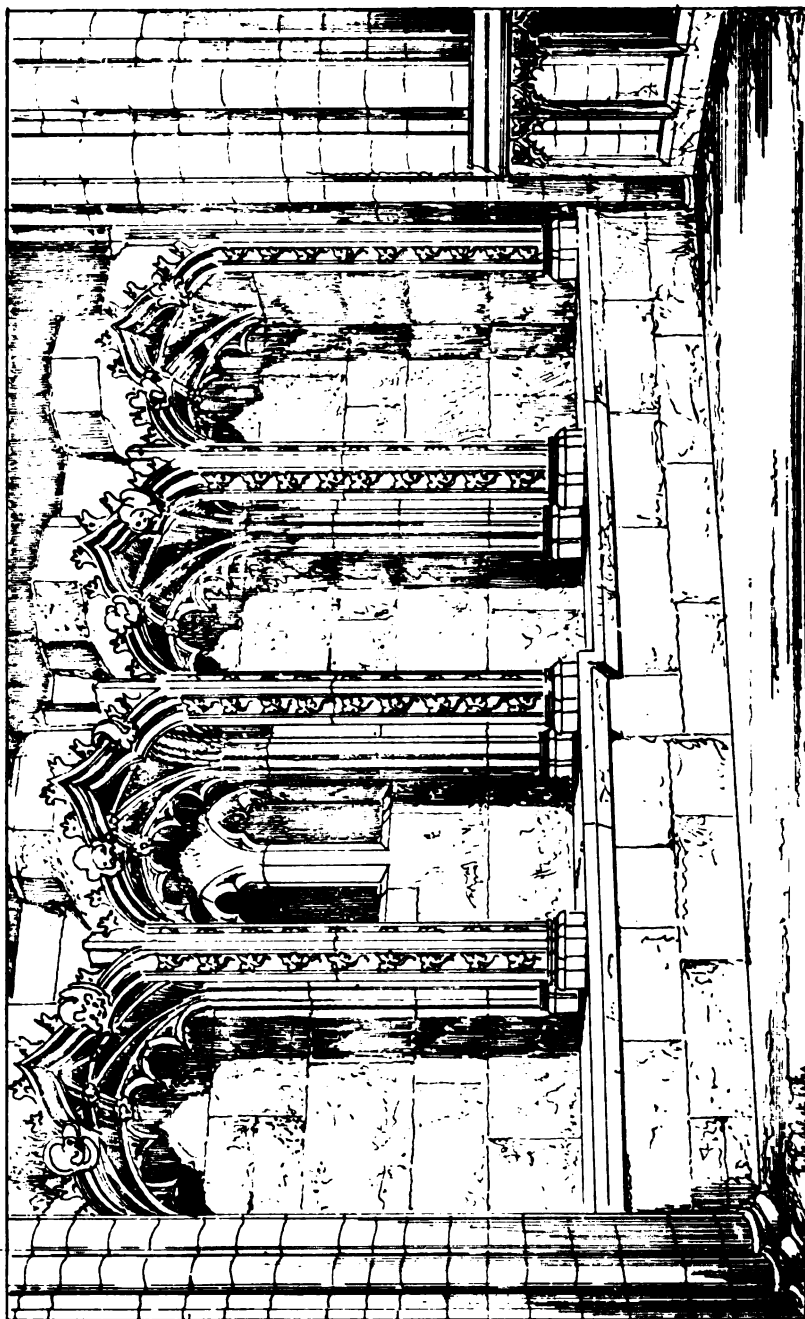
1626, Bestowed about the greate Doore towards the old Belfry, in nails and a bolt and other things, iijjs.

1699, May 20. Paid to James Evans, for helping about pulling down the Towers, 0 : 2 : 0]

what period I am uncertain. It is attributed to Abbot Ripley. It is a very fine structure, and was prepared for a lofty spire, which would have added greatly to the dignity of the church.

I will here remark that we much need a chronological series of notices bearing upon the church, simply in the words of their authors. Nearly every writer has given us his own comments upon them, but with scanty quotations from the actual documents; and if these comments chance to be erroneous, we have no means of correcting them without going through the laborious process of again searching out the documents. This is especially needful, as regards the perpendicular work of the nave and transept, which is so intermingled and complicated as almost to defy our attempt at disentangling the works of different dates. We sadly want Professor Willis to take the subject in hand, the only one antiquary who unites all the qualifications for such a task.

I accompanied my sketch of the history of the eastern part of the church by a description of the restorations we are effecting there. As regards the western parts, these consist, externally, simply of the renewal of decayed portions in some parts more and in others less extensive. The decay of the external stonework throughout the Cathedral is most lamentable—probably no building in England has suffered so severely. In many parts, in fact, it is impossible to retain any portion of the old stones, so that restoration means renewal. Such has been the case with the eastern clerestory, with almost the whole of the Lady Chapel, and with the central tower. The decay had gone deep into the stone and left its courses projecting, rounded and shapeless, like the layers of a mouldering rock; so that it was only by accident, here a little and there a little, that it was possible to trace out the ancient design which has been further hidden by many barbarous reparations. It is a distressing kind of work, yet if conscientiously carried out it is the saving of the old design, even though the old material gives place to new. At the east end the foundations, too, have given much trouble and caused great expense, having had to be under-built to a very great depth—a thankless duty, which just goes for nothing with the public, though it ensures the stability of the building. Internally, we have as yet done but little. Among our greatest internal works will be the completion of the vaulting—the aisles in stone, but the higher vaults in oak—as we fear to load the pillars and clerestory walls with stone. That of the nave is now in



SEDILIA IN CHOIR

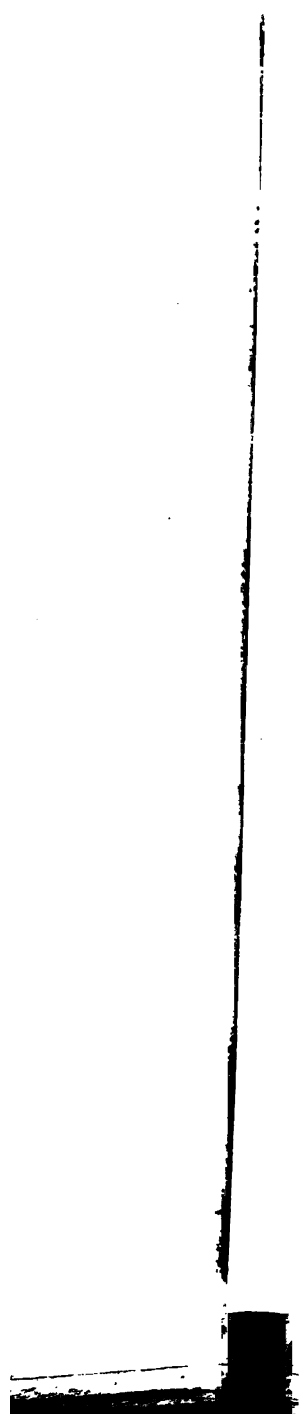
preparation. It follows precisely the lines given by the incipient ribs contained in the old stone springers. I have taken the vaulting of the beautiful neighbouring chancel at Nantwich for my guide as to the more ornamental portions. The same will, I hope, be carried out when the great southern transept is undertaken

Among ancient features, internally, I will call attention to the sedilia of the choir, a beautiful work of the 14th century (once a bay further to the west than at present); the bishop's throne, once the substructure of the shrine of St. Werburg; the choir screen, formerly painted with pictures of English Kings (also both of them works of the 14th century); and the beautiful stall work of the choir, belonging to the 15th century. I may here mention that the position and extent of the choir have undergone several changes. In Norman times it extended from the pillars of the great apse, through the central crossing, and one bay into the nave. When the reconstruction of the 13th century was completed, it probably extended to one bay short of the arch into the Lady Chapel. When the side chapels of the Lady Chapel were added, its east end was probably carried forward to its present position, and its western end moved to the eastern arch of the crossing. At that time, probably, the paintings but now discovered on the western piers of the crossing were executed. In our own day the screen and choir have been brought back to the western side of the central tower.

It will be gathered from what I have said that our Cathedral, though its beauty is now so sadly dimmed by decay and barbarous repairs, is a building of great architectural merit, and of great antiquarian value. I will add that few of our cathedrals exhibit a more complete consecutive series of specimens of the different varieties and chronological phases of our mediæval architecture, from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation. Of the earliest Norman we have a specimen in the north transept. Of the middle Norman we have the remains of the north western tower, and the substructure of Abbot's Hall, with, perhaps, the recesses for tombs in the north wall towards the cloister; of yet later Norman we have the passage from the Abbot's House to the cloister, with the chapel above it, and later still the doorway from the eastern cloister into the nave. Of the transitional style from Norman to Early English we have the Chapter House with its vestibule, as beautiful works as could well be produced. We have also the beautiful refectory of the monks in which this Lecture

is delivered, and which contains one of those exquisite pulpits—such as we find at Beaulieu, at Shrewsbury, at St. Martin aux Champs at Paris, and in many other monasteries. Of the transition from Early English to the Middle Pointed or Decorated style, we have the Lady Chapel; of the somewhat more advanced “Decorated” we have the two eastern bays of the choir aisles, with a further advance in their western bays and the clerestory. Of the later Decorated we have a truly magnificent example in the south transept, and smaller ones in the substratum of St. Werburg’s shrine, the sedilia, and the choir screen. Of the Early Perpendicular I should have thought that we had specimens in the clerestories of the south transept and of the eastern bay of the nave; of the more advanced style in the central tower, and in the stallwork of the choir; of the latest phase in the west end, and in the clerestory of the nave. The cloisters also belong to one of these two latest phases. Thus we have the whole series of changes which the middle ages produced represented in this one cathedral, all alike, however, clouded by decay, and all crying equally loudly for restoration. It is for the public to respond to that cry, and to render this, the great central Temple of God in this diocese, worthy at once of its sacred uses, of its rank as the great Diocesan Church, and of the importance of the diocese, including, as it does, some of the most princely residences of the nobility, and the greatest mercantile emporium of the greatest commercial country. The Church has come down to our day—what with decay and barbarous repairs—a mere wreck of what it once was—a melancholy relic of former ages, and a reproach to our own. It is for the men of Cheshire and Lancashire to do honour at once to the past and the present by liberally aiding their excellent and zealous Dean in effecting its proper restoration.

The Editors of the Chester Archaeological Journal feel bound to acknowledge their obligations to Mr. Scott for the admirable series of Illustrations, contributed at his request by his Assistant, Mr. Edward Hughes, an old Member of this Society.



ON THE

Roman Roads and Occupation

IN

NORTH CHESHIRE.*

BY JOHN ROBSON, M.D.

IT will hardly be necessary for me to make any excuse or apology to a Chester audience for offering to their notice some remarks upon matters intimately connected with the early history of Cheshire, and I shall at once proceed to the subject for our evening's consideration.

In a military occupation extending over more than four centuries, the Romans had diffused over the length and breadth of the land the benefits of civilization, and the people seem to have adopted the arts of their conquerors, and in a certain way to have naturalised them. Many of our most important cities—such as London, York, Lincoln, and Chester—have kept even to recent time the traditions of those early days, and are still prosperous towns. Others, as Wroxeter and Silchester, are utterly ruined, buried under the green sod, but marked by immense substructures which show what has been; while in other places again we have hardly a remnant of building, but an abundance of broken pottery and relics, which show that peaceful homesteads had existed there for successive generations. These villages, as they may be called, have been discovered in late years near Middlewich, Wilderspool, Wigan, and Walton-le Dale, and contrast strongly with the more important places before named,—and it is with them that we are at present concerned.

* Read at a Meeting of the Chester Archaeological Society, on April 28th, 1870.

The Roman geography of this island, while it has always been an important object with archaeologists, is, nevertheless, attended with peculiar difficulties. The original authorities are few, and in fact, consist of little more than lists of names. The earliest of these is the geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria, who flourished about A.D. 120. His work consists of geographical tables, in which the latitudes and longitudes are given in a rather indefinite form. We shall merely consider his account of this neighbourhood. He first gives a sketch of the coast line. We may suppose him sailing round the island on the west side, and taking the position of the rivers, havens, and headlands as they occurred from north to south, giving the latitude and longitude of each. This, however, has been done to so little purpose that not one of them has been identified, and the havens of the *Setantii*, the *Belisama* estuary and the *Setia* estuary, have been assigned to all the different rivers from the Wyre to the Dee, according to the notions of various writers.

In his remarks upon the interior of the country, after describing various tribes in Scotland, Ptolemy says:—"Reaching to both seas dwell the *Brigantes*;" and he names nine towns belonging to them, including York and Eboracodunum. The last was at a very early period assigned to Warrington, simply on account of a supposed similarity of name. "South of the *Brigantes*, to the extreme west, dwell the *Ordovices*, and their towns are *Mediolanum* and *Brannogenium*." These have always been supposed to be in North Wales. "More eastern than these are the *Cornavii*, whose towns are *Deva*, the head quarters of the Twentieth Legion, surnamed the Victorious, and *Viroconium* * " "Next after these are the *Coritani*, whose towns are *Lindum* and *Rhage*," which have been assigned to Lincoln and Chester.

Now from these quotations it will be remarked that no boundaries of any sort are given, and that each writer has fixed his own boundary according to his own theories. Thus, some have made the Mersey the boundary between the *Brigantes* and the *Cornavii*, others have assigned the Ribble, and the *Setantii* are not named elsewhere except in connection with their haven. Some have placed them in Cumberland. Ptolemy lived at Alexandria, and while his geography is a wonderful work for the period, the rudeness of his instruments, and the insufficiency of his observations, prevent anything like the necessary precision which would be required in the present day.

Another document, equally important in connection with this subject, but in some respects still more imperfect, is the *Itinerarium*

* Otherwise *Ureconium* (Wroxeter), five miles east of Shrewsbury.

of Antoninus. The object of this work has not hitherto been elucidated, and doubts have been expressed as to the period in which it was composed. I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that it is neither more nor less than a book of the post-roads, formed and managed for and by the Imperial Government, most likely by one of the Antonines. But it will not be necessary to take up our time by entering further into this question at present.

A portion of the second of these post-routes runs from York to Chester and is thus described:—

Eburacum		York.
Calcaria	M.P. ix	Tadcaster.
Camboduno	„ xx	
Mamucio	„ xviii	Manchester.
Condate	„ xviii	
Deva Leg xx victrix	„ xx	Chester.

It is evident that one or more post-stations have been omitted here, as the actual distance between York and Chester is 106 miles against the 85 miles of the *Itinerary*. As there has never been any dispute about Tadcaster, the first stage from York, and *Mamucium* or Manchester, the second from Chester, the difficulty is in the stages between Manchester and Tadcaster, *Cambodunum* being the only station named. Whitaker, in his usual positive manner, places it at Slack, near Halifax, simply on the ground that it was 22 miles from Manchester; other writers place it at Almondbury, near Huddersfield, others near Gritland. But as it was 20 miles from *Calcaria* or Tadcaster, and Tadcaster being 58 miles from Manchester (*Mamucium*), it is evident that one or two stations must have been omitted. *Cambodunum* would be not far from Leeds if that was the route, and we might expect to find a station on the eastern side of the Yorkshire hills, and another on the western side. This must always have been a very difficult country to travel over; indeed, all the passes into Yorkshire are proverbially bad—the best being the one over Blackstonedged, which we suppose to have been the Roman post-route.

From *Mamucium* (Manchester) to *Deva* (Chester) there have been two routes from time immemorial—the one going by Stretford, Northwich, and Delamere Forest; the other by Stretford, Lymm, Wilderspool, and Frodsham; and upon one of these lines was the post station *Condate*. This has also been the subject of much dispute—Camden, Gale, and other early Archaeologists, placed it at Congleton, from a supposed similarity of name. Horsley and Stukeley placed it at Northwich, Whitaker and late Cheshire writers at Kinderton.

The first and most important point in fixing the position is the distance between Chester on the one side and Manchester on the other, as given in the *Itinerary*, viz., xviii miles from Manchester and xx from Chester. Now the actual distance from Manchester to Northwich is xx miles, and from Northwich to Chester xviii miles, while the distances on the other route are, xviii from Manchester to Wilderspool, and xx from Wilderspool to Chester; in exact accordance with the *Itinerary*.

But with respect to Kinderton, besides the distances not at all agreeing with those of the *Itinerary*, there is no direct road from either Chester or Manchester to that place; and the course which Whitaker took from Manchester would be eight or nine miles out of the way, and as King-street is the only way back again, it would be much the same in getting to Chester. The Ordnance map shows this very plainly, and has rendered these enquiries much easier than at any former period.*

By Dr. Kendrick's kindness I am enabled to show the course of all the roads connected with Chester, Middlewich, Manchester, and Wilderspool, which are named Roman road or street, as given in the Ordnance Survey. These lines of road, for the purpose of being visible to persons at a glance, are strongly marked, but we may fancy a slender line running along the centre of each to be the precise line of the Roman roads. Commencing at Stretford, one line runs through part of Dunham Park, by Bucklow Hill, along Holford-street, to Northwich, and then over Delamere Forest, at the foot of Eddisbury Hill, by Kelsall, to Chester. This course is as direct as it can be, and the breaks, which are of later date, are very few, and of no importance.

Whitaker's description of it is very misleading. He says, "From Buckley Hill it passed to Mere Town, going in the same line and retaining the same name. And about two miles beyond the latter, passing the hollow channel of a brook, it assumes the name of Holford street, and preserves it for half a mile together. A little beyond the conclusion of this, the present road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich, the Roman insensibly steals away to the left, but about a mile beyond the point, and in the direction of the course, we recover it again. And this new part of it is a well gravelled lane, denominated street, and extending in a right line for four or five miles together." (*Hist. of Manchester*,) v. I, p. 142.) When we examine the map accompanying this Paper, we see at once that the road we have been

* See Map accompanying this Paper.

tracing could not by any chance have been intended for Middlewich or Kinderton. It has pointed all along to Northwich, and leaves Middlewich five miles to the south. So far from the Roman road "stealing insensibly," it actually forms an acute angle with King-street, and yet strange enough, Whitaker's assertion has been adopted by all who have written upon the subject, and it may be particularly noticed that King-street is two miles to the east of Northwich, and that its continuation northwards is in the direction of Wilderspool.

There are two other early roads running southwards from Middlewich, one going to Nantwich and the other towards Sandbach. These are all the roads marked as Roman that centre in Middlewich, and while there is no road leading direct from Middlewich to Chester, neither is there any road leading from Chester to Middlewich. The actual line of road of the *Itinerarium* left the first described road in Dunham Park, and, going along Warrington-lane and Pepper-street, in Lymm, got to Wilderspool by Stoney-street. It then went along the present highway, and, passing by Frodsham, fell into a road named Street, at Bridge Trafford, and so proceeded to Chester.

The late Ven. Archdeacon Wood was the first to bring before the public the proofs of Roman occupation near Middlewich. The Archdeacon unfortunately laboured under some disadvantages. He adopted Whitaker's fancies as given in the "History of Manchester," and of course was not aware that *Mamucium* and *Manecunium* were different places, and he seems to have had no particular acquaintance with Roman sites generally. Till the Archdeacon found the Roman remains in the Harboro' Field, there really was no evidence that the Romans had occupied the spot at all. In a paper contributed by him to the first volume of this Society he brings the following evidence that Kinderton was the *Condate* of the Roman *Itinerarium* :—

I In the name Kinderton we have a corruption of "Condate," or as Whitaker remarks, "*Condate* is well echoed in Kinderton."—

II. We find at this place a Roman camp at the confluence of two rivers.—

III. The distances from Kinderton to Manchester, by Stretford, and from Kinderton to Chester, agree with the distances given in the *Itinerarium* between *Condate* and these places.—

IV. We have a Roman road called Kind street, terminating at Kinderton.—

V. We find at the Broadway, in Kinderton, the junction of six Roman roads, which must have rendered it a place of note, and a station of importance."

Early in the last century an Englishman, Bertram, living at Copenhagen, professed to have found an old manuscript describing Britain as it was in the time of the Romans, and including what he called *Diaphragmata*, in fact another series of *Itinera*, differing in some respects from those of Antonine. It is hardly necessary to say now that this work is acknowledged to be an unprincipled forgery, and the mischief it has done in confusing the geography of Roman Britain can scarcely be appreciated. We shall at present leave it out of sight altogether.

And now to reply to the late Archdeacon's five propositions.

I. Etymological evidence is always hazardous, as is shown in this very word *Condute*, which was at first placed at Congleton, for precisely the same reason that it has since been placed at Kinderton. Besides other etymological difficulties, I do not think that a single instance could be adduced of the termination "ton" being added to a Roman name in the form of Kinderton: it is called Cinbretone in "Domesday."

II. Though there has been a Roman town or village at or near Middlewich, there certainly has never been a camp or fortress there.

III. The distances between this place and Manchester on one side, and Chester on the other, do not at all agree with the *Itinerarium*, and it is only by altering these numbers in every particular that Whitaker arrived at his conclusions. He says (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol 1, p. 145,) "The distance of this station from *Mancunium* is fixed by the sixth Iter of Richard (Bertram's forgery) at 36 miles, but in the tenth at 23, and by the tenth and second of Antonine at only 18. And in this diversity of information we are fully at liberty to choose such of the measures as best agree with the real distance, and to reject all of them if none agree," a process which Whitaker thoroughly entered upon and carried out.

IV. King-street, under the same management, and for similar etymological reasons, was transformed by him into Kind-street, but not a shadow of proof has been given, so far as I am aware, that it ever bore that name.

V. With reference to the Broadway at Kinderton, the Archdeacon seems to have adopted Whitaker's notion that two or more Roman roads might meet immediately at the gate of the fortress, though coming in various directions. There is nothing, however, in the plans of Roman towns or fortresses to support this notion. We have in Chester a fair specimen of the arrangement of a Roman city, with its four gates, one on each side, and where a road takes a new direction, branching off from the original line, at a greater or less distance from the gate.

There is one curious circumstance mentioned by Archdeacon Wood in a note—"The farmers tell me that they find this road (from Occleston Green towards Wem, in Shropshire) very little below the grass sod, and that, like many of the Roman roads, it has, at intervals, narrow footways branching from it." It would be very desirable to know something more about these footways, as I am not aware of having heard of any other instance.

In Part VII., p. 236, of the *Journal* of the Chester Archaeological Society, there is an abstract of an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1862, by Mr. Francis R. Carroll, which requires a short notice. He supposes that *Condate* stood on the present site of Manchester, and *Deva* at Frodsham, as he says that there is "a great similarity in the sounds of Weaver and Deva." He places *Bovium* at Chester, and then comes round to Kinderton, where he places *Mediolanum*. I think it is hardly necessary to make any observations upon this topography, but it serves to show how very uncertain the attempts to establish a correct system of Itineraries are. Mr. Carroll sees the difference between *Mamucium* and *Mancunium*, as he places the former at Castleshaw, near Rochdale, and the latter at Blackrod. Ono other Iter, named by Mr. Carroll, the eleventh, from *Segontium* to *Deva*, which has always been supposed to be from Carnarvon to Chester, he takes from Frodsham to Sedbergh in Yorkshire, observing "the name of Sedbergh is more Roman, and is more like in sound to *Segontio*, than Carnarvon." It is sufficient to say that the commencement of this Iter, is from *Caer Seiont*, which is clearly the original of *Segontium*.

I have already observed that we are indebted to the late Mr. Archdeacon Wood for the actual proofs of Roman occupation at Kinderton, but he seems to have adopted implicitly all Whitaker's notions, and consequently got into inextricable difficulties. We have, therefore, to set aside the assertions of the historian of Manchester, and shall now proceed to an examination of the termination of the eleventh Iter of Antonine.

It will not be necessary for me to go into the various hypotheses which have been started respecting this Iter, which ends at *Mediolanum*, but it is generally acknowledged that it went from north to south on the western side of the kingdom. But not one of the names in it is found elsewhere, except that of *Condate*, which appears to have been 17 miles from *Mediolanum*, and this is the only direct clue we have for tracing the road. At Wilderspool evidences of Roman occupation have been found, and at exactly 17 miles to the south we

come to Middlewich, where similar remains in still greater abundance have been discovered. These two places—Wilderspool and Middlewich—are connected by a road of Roman construction, (perhaps one of the most remarkable in the kingdom,) which is traceable northwards to Lancaster.

I consider it quite certain that the Romans were acquainted with the salt-springs in the vale of the Weaver, and in all probability Middlewich was a central and important point. With respect to Northwich, which the road leaves two miles to the west, one may reasonably doubt, notwithstanding the name of Castle has been given to part of it, whether it was ever fortified; certainly not by the Romans. The Castle-hill, as I remember it (for it is now much altered), consisted of two peaks, as one may call them, one of them rather higher than the other, but not capable of holding more than a dozen or 15 men, and affording no shelter from the ground (nearly as high) just behind. I should be more inclined to consider them as beacons, but will not be very positive any way.

The road which has just been described has been found in remarkable preservation for two or three miles southwards from Wilderspool, running through Stretton, seven yards wide, and formed of large pieces of broken sandstone covered with a thick coating of gravel, much upon the plan of our best road makers of the present day. The same construction was found at Haydock, in Lancashire, eight miles to the north of Wilderspool; and it would be very desirable, if possible, to ascertain whether King-street to the south is formed in the same way.

Any member of this Society wishing to follow up the subject more fully is referred to the early volumes of the *Transactions* of the "Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire."

In conclusion, I beg to draw attention to what I believe to be the very earliest event connected with Chester. It is told by Tacitus, in his *Life of Agricola*, and, though no locality is mentioned, it could at that time have happened only on the west coast, and I believe that the Romans had no other possible station for such an occurrence. The story is as follows:—The Roman General Ostorius, in the year 50, advanced against a tribe called by Tacitus the *Cangi*, "whose territory extends to the Irish Sea,*" but he was called back by some

* Ptolemy names the promontory of the *Cangani*, which is generally considered to be the great Ormeshead; and we have also pigs of lead from the same neighbourhood with the name *Ceangis*, A.D. 60.

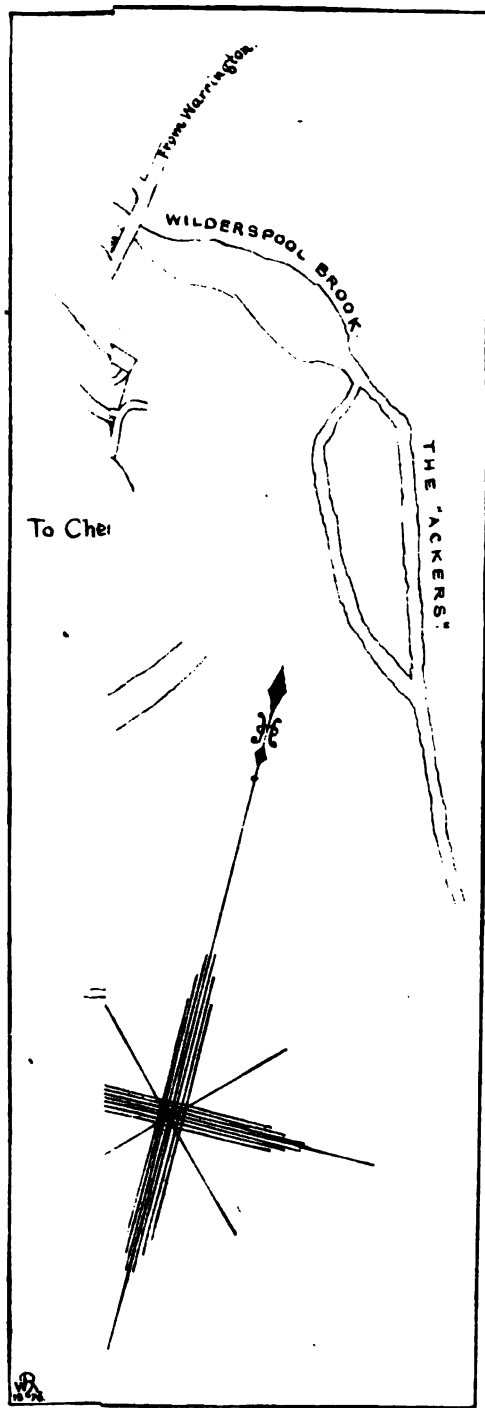
disturbances among the *Brigantes*. One of his successors, Suetonius Paulinus, in 61, had reached the Menai Straits, when the insurrection of Boadicea broke out; and amongst the troops with which he marched from North Wales towards London, Tacitus tells us, were the Vexillarii of the Twentieth Legion, evidently showing that the Legion itself was left behind. In the time of Ptolemy it was fixed at Chester, but there can be little doubt that Chester was already a Roman settlement; and that Paulinus, leaving the main body there, and so disposed as to keep up his communications, took with him that portion called the Vexillarii, who, having been a certain period in the service, were favoured troops, still attached to the *Vexillum*, or standard, but called into the field only under especial circumstances.

Twenty-one years after this, namely, A.D. 83, Vespasian had become Emperor, and Agricola, the governor of Britain, was engaged in the Highlands of Scotland. During the summer a cohort of *Usipians*, who had been enrolled in Germany, were sent over into Britain, for the purpose of being trained, and attached as auxiliaries to one of the legions. A few Roman soldiers were placed in each company to act as models and teachers, and the whole was under the command of a centurion. These men, probably not liking the drill, killed the soldiers and their commanders, seized three galleys, and before anything was known, in a wonderful manner got out to sea. One of the pilots made his escape, and fearing that the two others would betray them, they put them to death. The beginning of the voyage was fortunate, but afterwards they were at the mercy of the wind and tides; and, when in want of provisions, were forced to make attacks upon the country people, being generally successful, but sometimes defeated. At length, suffering the extremity of hunger, they devoured the weaker among themselves, and then cast lots who should die next. They then sailed northward round the island; and having from ignorance of navigation, lost their vessels, they were taken as pirates, first by the Suevians and then by the Frisians, and sold as slaves: and some were finally brought as such for sale on the left or Roman bank of the Rhine, where they related the wonderful adventures they had passed through.

There can be no doubt that Chester was already, not merely a Roman garrison, but the head-quarters of the 20th Legion; so that there would be nothing unlikely in the foreign auxiliaries which were to join it being sent there to go through their training. But if at this period the Romans did not occupy Chester, they would have had no post at all on the western coast; and it is impossible to conceive these

men leaving Richborough or Porchester, and sailing round the island, to reach Sweden or Holland. We know, too, that, the year before this, Agricola had ships in the Irish Channel, though his great fleet was on the eastern coast, from which side he is said to have circumnavigated the island the following year. When the men, however, got out to sea, supposing they sailed from the Dee, they must have been well aware that their best chance of escape was to keep to the north; but, their vessels not being provisioned for such a voyage, they were under the necessity of landing and getting supplies as they could, till they were driven to the coasts of Sweden and Holland. We may remark, also, that amongst the numerous foreign troops that are named as being stationed in England, we never meet with any *Usipians*.





AN ACCOUNT OF THE
Roman Remains
DISCOVERED AT
WILDERSPOOL NEAR **WARRINGTON**
(THE PRESUMED *CONDATE* OF ANTONINE).

BY JAMES KENDRICK, M.D.

IN compliance with a wish expressed that, as a supplement to the foregoing paper by Dr. Robson, "*On the Roman Roads and Occupation in North Cheshire*," I would contribute an account of my own recent discoveries on the Roman site at *Wilderspool*, near Warrington, I feel pleasure in accepting the invitation, strengthened with the feeling that, as I have conducted the investigation singly and unassisted, I am in a manner bound to accept the task, however inadequate I may feel to its complete performance. Fortunately, these researches afford no room for speculation or theory, for they establish the existence of a Roman station at *Wilderspool* (probably only a *mutatio* or post-station), beyond the possibility of dispute; and what I saw with my own eyes, and can at any time exhibit to others, is all that I am called upon to record here. By the liberality of the Chester Archaeological Society I have also the aid of lithographed representations of many of my relics, thus rendering the labour less and the general result far more satisfactory.

As shewn by Dr. Robson, and delineated upon the map at page 1 preceding, portions of the Roman Roads of the 2nd and 10th *Itinera* of Antoninus, running respectively from north to south and from east to west, crossed each other at *Wilderspool*, near Warrington; and as a Roman station designated *CONDATE* occurs on both these *Itinera*, it follows that it must have been situated precisely at *Wilderspool*, where, within a limited space of ground, Roman remains are discovered amply sufficient to show that at this early period it was fairly populated, and occupied for a considerable period of time.

Leaving the Roman station of *Mamucium* (now Manchester), by a gate of exit on its southern side, the Roman road from thence to *CONDATE* and *DEVA* passed nearly due south through Stretford to Crossford on the Mersey, which it here crossed, as the name implies, by a ford. From thence, following the route marked "Watling Street," on the map of the Ordnance Survey, it proceeded by way of Cross Street, New Chester, and Altrincham to Street Head, near Dunham Massey. Thence we trace Watling Street southwards by the route of Street House, Bucklow Hill, Tabley Street, and White Lodge, to Holford Street, and then by the well-known King Street, it ran direct to *Mediolanum* (Middlewich). But at Street Head aforesaid, near Dunham, it had sent off a road westwardly to *CONDATE* and *DEVA*, passing through Lymm by way of Warrington Lane, Pepper Street, and Stoney Street, to Wilderspool, where it joined the southern limit of the Roman station *CONDATE*.

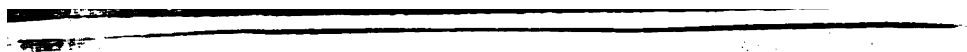
From Wilderspool (*Condate*), the road to Chester (*Deva*) is believed to have followed the course of the present highway, crossing the river at Frodsham, and proceeding thence to Bridge Trafford; from which point sufficient remains of it still exist to have led to its delineation as a Roman road, leading into Chester, on the map of the Ordnance Survey.*

The site of the discovery of these Roman remains at Wilderspool† forms a parallelogram of 36 statute acres extent, and the whole of it is in process of removal for the excellent building sand which is below its surface. So early as the beginning of the present century the existence of Roman remains here was discovered on carrying the Old Quay Canal through the site; but it is only since 1863 that the excavation of the whole property has been determined upon, as far as the demand for building sand will favour it.

The precise space occupied by the Roman station was until recently known as the "Town Field" (as was the case at the celebrated Roman villa at Bignor, in Sussex); but its surface presented no peculiarity, except that upon one occasion the centre was thought by myself and a party of friends to show a brighter verdure than the rest. When the excavation of the sand, however, reached this point, I did not recognise any peculiarity in the section exposed to account for this.

* On the larger Map of the Ordnance Survey (1 inch to the mile), an additional 2½ miles of "Roman Road" is shown, extending from Preston-on-the-Hill to Daresbury, 2½ miles only distant from Wilderspool. Its direction follows the route of the present highroad from Wilderspool to Chester.

† See the Plan of the Hamlet of Wilderspool.



EXCAVATIONS AT THE ROMAN SITE AT WILDERSPOOL,
TAKEN FROM THE CHESTER ROAD.



EXPLANATION, A.A. The Old Quay Canal. B B-North and South banks of the Canal. C - St Thomas's Church.
D. Section of the North bank. E - Section of the South bank. a a a Line of the Roman surface with b b
b b its ditches or drains, in which the Roman Pottery is chiefly found.

Very few of the Roman remains from Wilderspool which I possess were found at the original Roman surface, but chiefly in large ditches or drains which traversed the site of the station in various directions. (See the section annexed to the ground plan of the site.) When the Old Quay Canal was constructed in 1801-3, the surface soil and underlying sand were thrown on the north and south banks; but the section represented on the ground plan exhibits the Roman surface very distinctly marked by a line of carbonized vegetable earth, indicative of a devastating fire, and the few relics found at this level, mostly of iron, are blistered on the under surface, as if from the intensity of the heat. If, as is probable, the buildings of this Roman station were mostly of wood, the intensity of the conflagration is readily accounted for.

If we cannot boast of a harvest of more valuable remains, the varieties of Roman pottery found at Wilderspool are very many, and correspondingly curious. It is very probable that many of the *fectilia* were manufactured on the spot, and that the clay of which they are formed was obtained at the "Ackers,"* not a quarter of a mile from

* NOTE.—An intelligent farmer, the occupant of this land, told me that the term "Ackers" is applied in Cheshire to a large sheet of water, and in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, circa 1440, as edited by Mr. Albert Way for the Camden Society, we find:—"Akyr" of the see flowynge (*Aker*, Pynson's edit. 1499) *Impetus maris*. This word is still of local use to denote the commotion in some tidal rivers, at the flow of the tide. In the Ouse, near Downham Bridge, above Lynn, the name is *eager*, as also in the Nene, between Wisbeach and Peterborough, and the Ouse, near York, and other rivers. Camden calls the meeting of the Avon and Severn, *higre*. Compare Skinner under the word *eager*. In Craven Dial., *acker* is a ripple on the water. *Aker* seems, however, to have had a more extended meaning, as applied to some turbulent current, or commotion of the deep. The MS. Poem, entitled *Of Knyghthode and Batayle*, Cott. MS. Titus A. xxiii, f. 49, commending the skill of mariners in judging of the signs of weather, makes the following allusion to the *aker* :

' Wel know they the remue yf it a-ryse,
An *aker* is it clept, I vnderstonde,
Whose myght there may no shippe or wynd wyt stonde,
This remue in th' occian of propre kynde
Wyt oute wynde hathe his commotioun ;
The maryneer thereof may not be blynde,
But when and where in euery regioun
It regnethe, he moste haue inspectioun,
For in viage it may bothe haste and tary,
And vnauized thereof, al mys cary.'

Aker seems to be derived from A. S. *æ*, water, and *cer*, a turn; *æ-cir* signifies the ebb of the sea. CÆDM. See Nares, under *Higre*."

the station itself, and through which the Wilderspool still flows. Here and there, as the excavation of the sand proceeded at Wilderspool, the workmen came upon shallow pits or hollows filled with clay ready tempered for the potter, the upper portion of it partially baked or burned by the general conflagration above alluded to; but that which lay beneath was chemically identical with the clay of Ackers' Common, at the present day used for the manufacture of draining tiles, not a quarter of a mile from hence. By the kindness of my friend Dr Arthur E. Davies I have been furnished with an analysis of the clay from each locality:—

"Analyses of the Clays found on 'The Ackers', and at the Roman site at Wilderspool."

	No. I.	No. II.
	The Ackers.	Wilderspool.
Alumina	40.68	40.62
Silica	56.14	55.78
Peroxide of Iron	2.43	2.15
Lime	0.75	0.88
Magnesia	}	}
Soda		
Phosphoric Acid		
Carbonic Acid		
Sulphuric Acid		
Chlorine		
Loss in Analysis	0.60	0.57
	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00

The above analyses were made after the clays had been thoroughly dried, and the two samples are identical in composition.

ARTHUR E. DAVIES."

It is probable, and the present aspect of the locality favours the idea, that the present tidal brook, known as the Wilderspool, which skirts the eastern limit of the Roman station, was at that time navigable for the small boats of the period, and that the clay discovered on the station (where none exists naturally), was brought by this route from the "Ackers Pits." The confluence of this stream with the Mersey at this point probably led to the name of CONDATE, which being of frequent occurrence both in Britain and in Gaul, has been always considered as indicative of the confluence of two rivers.

I do not think that it has been elsewhere remarked that the mouths of brooks opening into the Mersey, so far as the tide flows, and no further, have been from very ancient time locally known as "pools." Thus, following the southern bank of the Mersey from its outlet into the sea, we have successively Wallasey Pool, Birket Pool, Tranmere Pool, Bromboro' Pool, Nether Pool, Over Pool, Stanlaw Pool, and lastly, WILDERS POOL, than which the tide flows no higher; and on the north bank we have Pool Mouth, Otters Pool, and lastly, Liver Pool. I hope to be pardoned for thus comparing "small things with great," but I know of no other instance elsewhere but Daw Pool, on the Dee.

From the short but consecutive series of Roman Coins which have been discovered at Wilderspool, I am led to assign the origin, existence, and destruction of CONDATE to the brief space of a single century, ranging only from A.D. 69 to A.D. 180. We have found of

A.D. 69--79	Vespasian	...	...	...	2	brass
" 69--81	Titus	...	...	...	1	"
" 69--26	Domitian	...	...	1 silver,	3	"
" 96--98	Nerva	...	...	2	" 0	"
" 98-117	Trajan	...	...	1	" 5	"
" 117-138	Hadrian	...	...	1	" 8	"
" 138-161	Antoninus Pius	...	...	1	" 1	"
" 161-180	Marcus Aurelius	...	...	6	" 3	"
	Illegible	...	...	3	" 6	"

"About the year 1780" (as I have stated in another place)* a large hoard of Roman Coins, extending from the Emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253-268), to the Emperor Aurelianus (A.D. 270-275), was found at Statham, about two miles from Wilderspool, on the route of the Roman road from thence to Manchester. As no coin has been found at Wilderspool of a later date than a century preceding the earliest of these, I think we may fairly conclude that the evacuation and destruction of CONDATE had taken place in the interval. Of late years the occurrence of Christian symbols has been frequently noticed on unquestionably Roman sites; and perhaps the total absence of these at Wilderspool may be admitted as an additional argument that the destruction of CONDATE took place very shortly after the introduction of Christianity into England. Mr. Hodgson Hinde in an account of

* A Guide Book to the collection of Roman Remains from Wilderspool, near Warrington, presented by Dr. Kendrick to the Free Museum. By James Kendrick, M.D., 12mo, Mackie, Warrington, 1872.

the history and topography of the kingdom of Northumbria (comprising the Roman province of Valentia and Maxima Cesariensis), during the Roman period, says "Two formidable invasions of the Roman province, which extends from the Forth and Clyde to the Humber and Mersey, by the Caledonians, are recorded between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Severus—one in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, repelled (with what fortune we know not) by Calpurnius Agricola, the other in the reign of Commodus, repelled by Ulpian Marcellus with eminent success."* The date of the irruption of the Scots is placed by chronologists in the year 183 after Christ, and their repulse in the year following; hence, if we assign the establishment of CONDATE to the latter part of the reign of Vespasian, as the coins found at Wilderspool would seem to indicate, a date, too, assumed by the late Ven. Archdeacon Wood † as the origin of the station at Middlewich (Mediolanum?), the existence of CONDATE must have extended to very little more, or very little less, than a century.

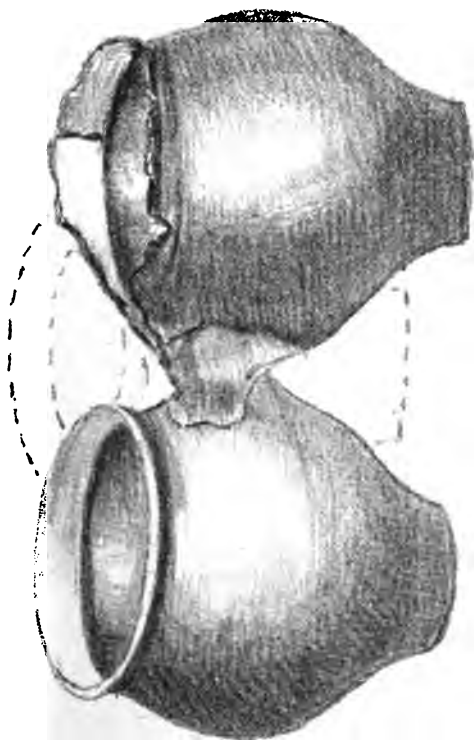
The *Itinerary* of Antoninus, referred to at the commencement of this paper, is by some assigned to the early part of the fourth century (*circa* A.D. 320); and if this be correct, or even approximate, my surmise that CONDATE had disappeared a century and a half previously is at once disproved, since, as we have seen, it is named on two distinct routes in this *Itinerary*, namely, the 2nd and 10th. But Dr. Robson is of opinion that the date of the *Itinerary* is not later than the time of the Antonine Emperors (A.D. 138-180), thus bringing its composition within the limits of the Imperial Coins found at Wilderspool. Mr. W. Thompson Watkin also, in a learned and elaborate communication to the xxviiiith volume of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, fixes the date of the *Itinerary* still more precisely at the commencement of the reign of the first Antonine (*Pius*), and probably between A.D. 138 and 144; and Mr. W. W. Pocock (*Surrey Archaeological Transactions*, vol. ii, part 1) assigns to it the still earlier date "*circa* 120."

As fragments of POTTERY form by far the greater bulk of the Roman remains discovered at WILDERSPOOL, I prefer to describe the most interesting of these before treating of the more rare metallic remains in *iron* and *bronze*.

For a Roman site, which at the best we merely suppose to have been a *mutatio* or post-station, the quantity of the fine Roman pottery.

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1856, p. 629.

† *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester*, vol. I., p. 45.



TRIPLE FLOWER VASE.
(HALF-SIZE) FROM WILDERSPOOL NEAR WARRINGTON

✓

known as *Samian Ware*, is surprisingly great. It is impossible to give any approximate estimate of the total number of vessels of Samian ware alone, of which fragments have been discovered at Wilderspool; but from the month of September, 1870, to May, 1871, fragments of 233 distinct vessels, comprising *bowls*, *patera*, *acetabula*, and *salina* were accurately noted down. After this date the excavation proceeded so rapidly, with a corresponding increase in the number of specimens, that it was found impossible to continue the record. As usual, the forms of the Samian vessels are subject to very little variation; but, in such a mass as we have accumulated, it is impossible to enumerate or describe the various patterns of the ornamentation, many of these different to any which I have yet seen delineated. That very constant form of ornament, the "festoon and tassel," which almost invariably encircles the Samian bowls, is occasionally found at Wilderspool, converted into a succession of miniature shields of complete oval form, or of sigmoid scrolls, stellated discs, or a bandeau of leaves of the laurel or olive. But in all these cases the vessel has been merely surface-coloured, and of that variety which is looked upon as of British make, and known as *imitation Samian ware*.

There are also some very illustrative examples of the leaden rivetting which was resorted to for the occasional repair of these more expensive vessels. But I shall close my remarks upon the Samian ware found at Wilderspool with a list of such of its "potters'-marks" as can be clearly made out, at the same time distinguishing such as have been met with elsewhere. Some, however, will be found new to the hitherto published lists.

ALBINI . M	London, Chester.	PAVLLI	London.
ANAILLI . M	France.	PRI	London.
ATTICI . M	London.	REGINI . M	London.
BITVEIX . F	Chester, France.	SEVERI . M	London.
COCILLI	London.	SACRAPO . F	[Germany.
CELSIOM	London.	O . SORINI . "SORILLVS" .	France.
CINNAM. (<i>ter</i>), . . .	London, Chester.	TITILLVS . FE	London.
CLA		TITVRI . M	London.
CREM	"OF. CREM." London.	O . EBB "TEBBIL"	London.
DEC	"DECAMANIVS" France.	VORAN O	
DONATI . M	London.	VETERI . M	
PELIC	London.	. . EVIRIL	
OF . FLAVI . GER . . .	France.	. . ELLINI . M	
FVSCI	Germany.	. . IONALI . F	
OF . L . C . VIRIL . .	London, Bartlow.	. . . . ITIVS	
NICANII . . . . .		. . . OCVRO . F . "CROCVRVS"	
			[London.

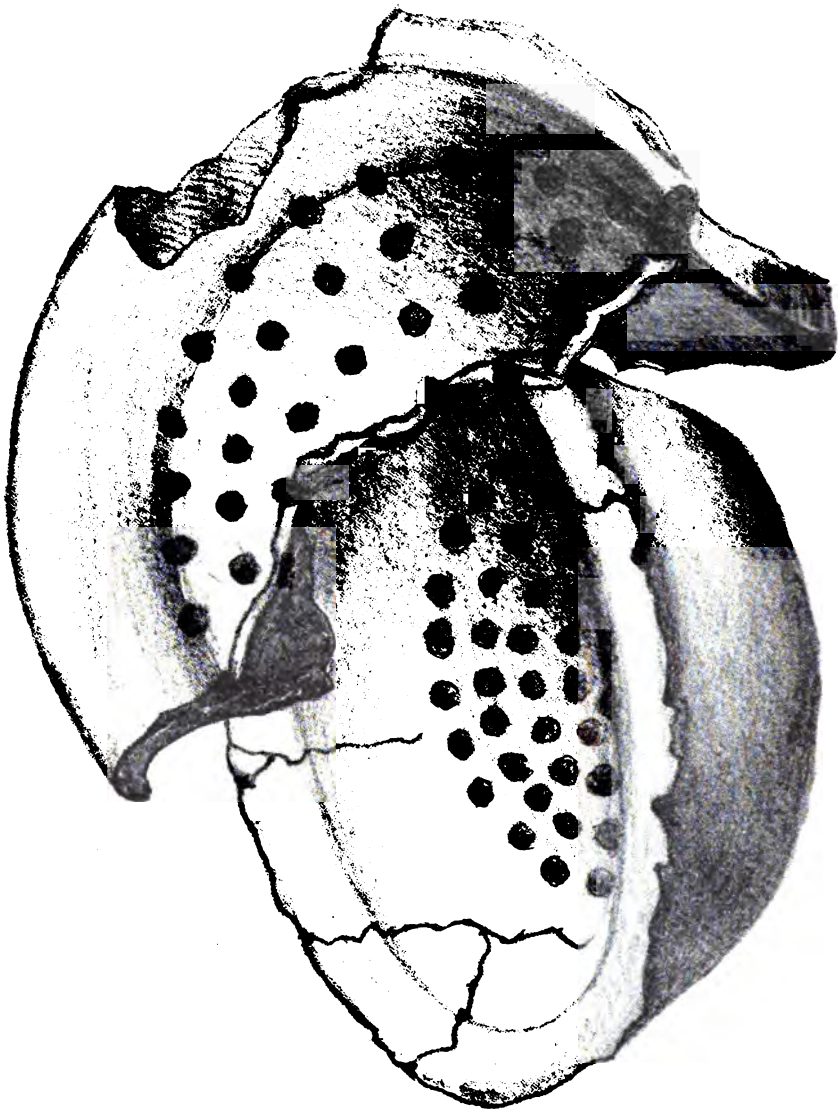
There are several other fragments of Samian potters' names, but too mutilated to be useful; and there are also examples of the usual marks on *amphoræ* and *mortaria*, with a solitary hand-lamp, showing apparently "F. FOCA."

Although they are made of other varieties of Roman earthenware than the choice Samian, I may here refer to the large number of *Discs* of this material which have been discovered at Wilderspool, varying in size from 1 inch to 4 inches in diameter, the smaller examples being formed from Samian ware, the larger from the coarser pottery. They are often nothing more than the bases of bowls or cups; but they are also met with formed from the sides of vessels by the process of carefully filing or rubbing into the desired shape. The exhibition of some of these earthenware *Discs* in London, at a meeting of the British Archaeological Association on March 23rd, 1870,* led to the knowledge that similar discs have been found on Roman sites at Stonham, in Suffolk, at Chesterford, in Essex, and probably elsewhere. Mr. H. Syer Cuming was of opinion that the smaller sized ones had been used at a game resembling "tables," and the larger ones at "hop-scotch," whilst Mr. Thomas Wright considered that they had been used as quoits. Some small ones of Samian ware, in the Museum at Shrewsbury, and brought there from Wroxeter, are in all probability "spindle-whorls," since they are perforated in the centre; but I am of the opinion of Professor Buckman, the historian of the Roman Cirencester,† who found large discs of earthenware actually *in situ*, as covers or stoppers to the mouths of large *amphoræ*. A further covering of moist clay would under this mode of closure be very effectual whilst the jar stood upright, but no longer.

Of the *black* Roman pottery, known as "*Upchurch*" ware, a large quantity is found at Wilderspool, but it possesses no distinctive peculiarity from that constantly found on other Roman sites. One circumstance is, however, worthy of note here, namely, that whilst this black pottery has been subjected to precisely the same conditions of age, and buried for centuries underground, it has preserved its hardness and tenacity to a far greater degree than the common Roman ware, or even than the finer kind known as Samian. This can only be owing to the quantity of carbon forced into its substance whilst baking in the "smother kiln," so fully described by the late Mr. Artis,

* *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxvi. p. 241.

† *Remains of Roman Art, Corinium*, by Professor Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, Esq.



COLANDERS OR STRAINERS.
(COLA)

in his costly work on *Durobrivæ*, and I think it also assigns a very probable reason for the almost invariable use of this black pottery for the manufacture of the Roman burial urns. This choice at least seems to have prevailed in the interments discovered at Wilderspool.

As I have already stated, every opportunity existed at Wilderspool for the manufacture of the common sort of Roman pottery, and this facility may explain the diversity of the *ficilia* discovered here. In addition to the usual vases, *patera*, *mortaria*, etc., the rare forms of *colanders*, *tetina*, *triple vases*, and an almost unique *tragic mask*, have been found here, and there is nothing in their construction or material to prevent their having been manufactured at Wilderspool. These latter *ficilia*, by the kindness of this Society, are delineated in the accompanying plates, and a few explanatory remarks are therefore called for.

Roman *Colanders* or Strainers (*cola*) of earthenware are of rare occurrence, being usually of bronze. Nevertheless, fragments of many, and those of the common red earthenware, have been found at Wilderspool. Of this inferior material the *colum* delineated on the annexed plate is formed; but fragments of two of a much finer and whiter clay have been found, the whole surface being also coated with an olive green pigment or varnish. These *cola* have more upright sides than the example delineated, and have not, like it, the flanged rim, intended no doubt to support it on the edge of the wine cup or some similar vessel; but they are each furnished interiorly, about an inch below the upper edge, with a flat perforated stage or diaphragm, sufficiently indicative of the purpose to which they were applied. Undoubtedly these were examples of the *colum vinale*, so named from the wine being poured through a layer of unmelted snow placed upon the diaphragm. The Romans were in the habit of drinking their wine largely diluted with water;* but in a warm climate its flavour would

* Professor Ramsay, in his excellent *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, tells us that Horace in one of his *Bacchanalian Odes*, (c. iii. xix. ii.) proposes to take the number of the Graces, or of the Muses, as the standard of dilution—*tribus aut novem*—*Miscetur Cyathis pocula commodis*—indicating, at the same time, that the former combination was the more prudent; and in another passage when calling upon Maecenas to drink deep in favour of his friend's escape, he hyperbolically exclaims—*Sume Maecenas, Cyathos amici*—*Sospitiis centum*. When it was proposed to drink the health of any one, it was not uncommon to take a *Cyathus* (or fluid-ounce,) for each letter in the name; thus Martial (1.72) says—*Naevia sex Cyathis, septem Justina bibatur, Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus*, i.e. the health of Naevia should be drank in 6 *Cyathi*, Justina in 7, Lycas in 5, Lyde in 4, and Ida in 3.

infallibly be enhanced by the delicious coldness thus imparted to it. The *colum* delineated on the opposite page is of a more simple kind; and was probably used for the straining of olive oil or milk, or perhaps of some liquid pulp, for the spouts of the Roman *mortaria* are occasionally found furnished with a grating or strainer *

Besides the *cola* just described, several other shallow vessels with perforations of larger size have been found, which Mr. Syer Cuming is disposed to look upon, with every ground of probability, as *Thuribula*, or domestic censers. In form and size they very greatly resemble the modern flower-pot stand or feeder, having similar upright sides; but the interior has a raised cone in the centre, and encircling this, midway between it and the upright side, is a level circular ridge or band. The flat part of the thurible is perforated here and there with holes, of larger size and less thickly distributed than in the *colum* described above. The perforations are sufficiently large to allow of a draught for the maintenance of combustion, and the raised portions of the base may have served to support the fuel. "These rare and curious vessels," says Mr. Syer Cuming, "may have been employed in perfuming rooms, or for burning incense before divinities or domestic altars—for that many a private dwelling had its *foculus* is a fact certified in many ways."†

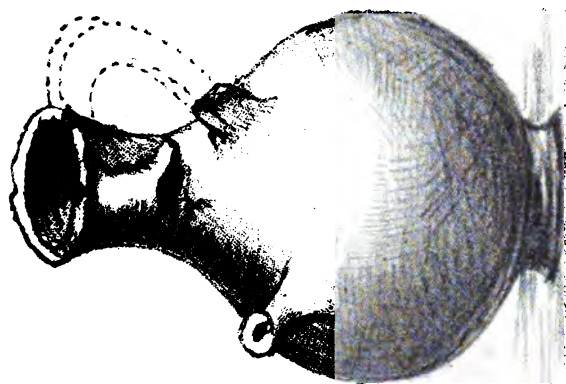
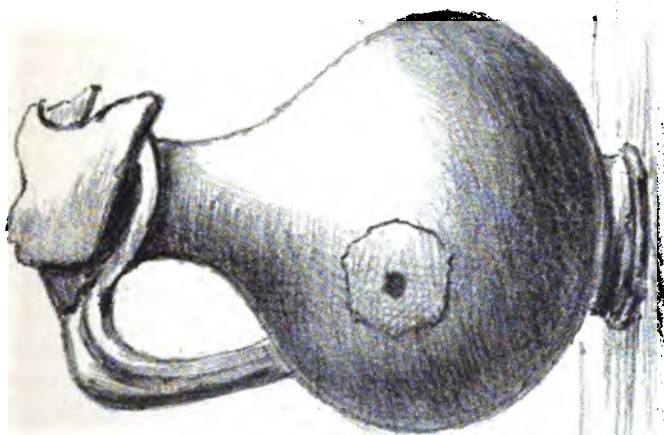
Tetinae, or feeding bottles for infants, of the Roman period, are exceedingly rare in Britain; and until the pair found at Wilderspool, and delineated in our next plate, were exhibited for me by Mr. Syer Cuming, at a meeting of the British Archaeological Association, on the evening of the 9th of March, 1871,‡ I had supposed mine the *only* British examples, except a solitary one in the York Museum. Mr. Syer Cuming's industry, however, brought together on that evening no fewer than four British examples, two being of the Roman period, and two mediæval. Similar feeding bottles for infants are more frequently found in Gaul than with us, and L'Abbé Cochet in his *Normandie Souterraine* gives the figures of several, as having been found by him in Roman Cemeteries, and always in connection with infantile remains.§ The Wilderspool *tetinae* were found together, one

* Consult the essays *On Ancient Sieves and Colanders*, by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxv. p. 244, and vol. xxvii. p. 430.

† *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxvii., p. 432.

‡ *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxvi., p. 109.

§ *La Normandie Souterraine ou Notices sur des Cimetières Romaines*, etc., Par. M. L'Abbé Cochet, Inspecteur des Monuments, etc., Paris, 1854.



INFANT'S FEEDING BOTTLES.
(TETINÆ)
(HALFSIZE) FROM WILDERSPOOL NEAR WARRINGTON.



a little raised above the other, in a shallow pit, the sides of which showed traces of fire, and were no doubt connected with the burial of an infant. Pliny tells us (vii., 16) that it was the custom of most nations not to burn the bodies of infants who died before cutting their teeth; but as feeding bottles like the present are used long after the appearance of the first teeth, and as the sand and ashes with which the Wilderspool *tetinae* were nearly filled, show traces of ossific matter under the microscope, it is very probable that these tiny vases formed the burial urns of some Roman infant whom they could no longer furnish with the sustenance of its opening life. It is very worthy of remark that the handle of each *tetina* was so affixed as to be held in the right or left hand only, no doubt to avoid the possible distortion which might befall the infant if fed in one position only for a lengthened period. For a further account of *tetinae* I would refer to a special essay on the subject, printed at length, with numerous illustrations, in the xxvith vol. of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association.

Such *triple* or *tri-une* vases as are represented in our next plate are not of uncommon occurrence on Roman sites. An entire one found at Colchester, is in the Museum of that town; and Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt informs me that he has one or two examples himself, and has seen others. As no representation of them elsewhere is known to me, the Wilderspool specimen has been selected as one of our illustrations. A tubular communication between the three vessels ensures an equal level of water in each; and it is probable that, like the triple flower vases of the present day, these Roman examples were restricted to the in-door preservation of cut flowers.

The subject of our next illustration, a Roman fictile *Mask*, is of so rare occurrence, being perhaps unique in Britain, that I shall not be rendering justice to its interest and value without copying the remarks made by Mr. Syer Cuming on the occasion of its exhibition under his kind auspices to the members of the British Archaeological Association, on the occasion already referred to. At the close of his Paper,* which was wholly devoted to the consideration of my Wilderspool *fictilia*, Mr. Cuming said, "we must press on to the crowning glory of the late discoveries, the very gem of the present assemblage of relics—in short, the rarest and most precious object which the excavations at Wilderspool have offered—a veritable antique *persona* or mask of terra-cotta, to all appearance the work of some CONDANE *figulus*, at least if colour and character of paste be accepted as guides to locality. Deeply must

* *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxvii., p. 436.

we regret that this visor comes to us in such a shattered and fragmentary state; but enough is preserved to shew that it is of ample size to cover the human face; the eyes, nostrils, and mouth being open to allow sight, respiration, and voice to proceed without interruption. There have been two perforations towards the lower part of each cheek, and probably the same number on each side of the forehead, through which cords passed to lace the mask to a cap, hood, or wig which crowned the head of the actor, for I presume there cannot be a doubt that it was fabricated for the *theatrum*.

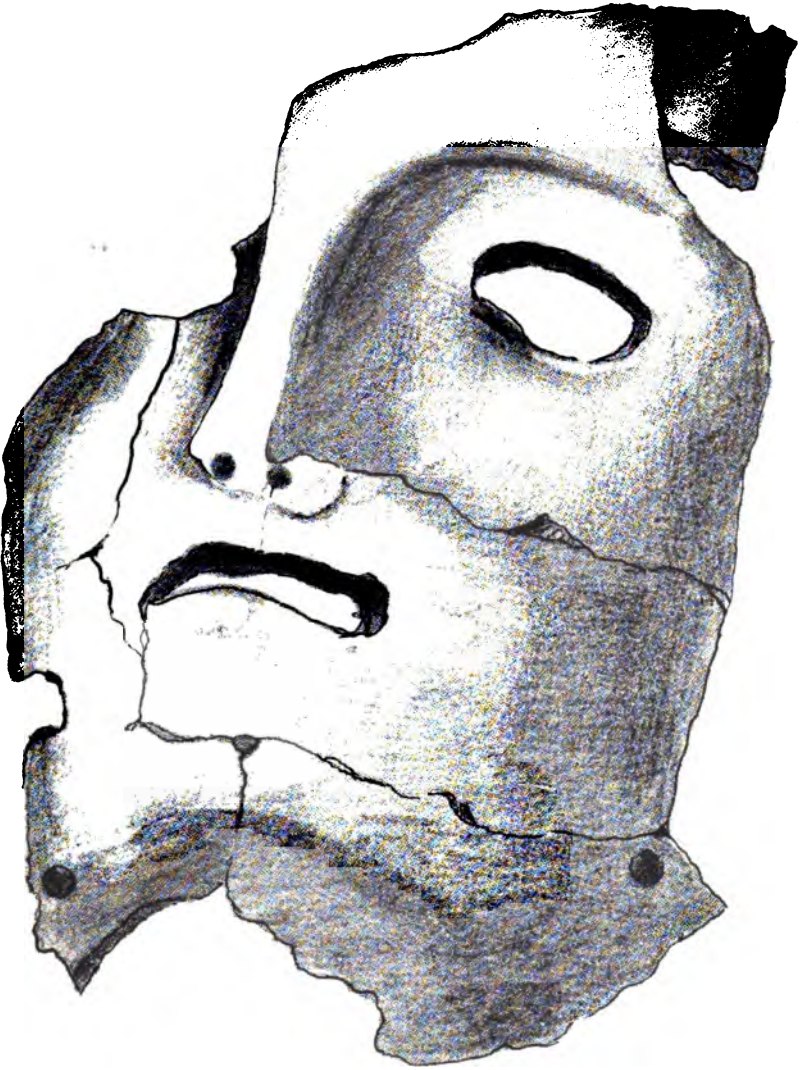
Among the Greek and Roman terra-cottas in the British Museum is a full-sized *persona comica* of fine workmanship, to all appearance intended for the stage; the eyes, nostrils, and mouth being left open, and a small round hole made in each ear for cords. There is also another mask in the British Museum, in which the eyes are perforated and the mouth closed; which may be a *persona muta* for a silent actor, such as would be needed in some of the comedies of Plautus, and Terence.

Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon*, iv., sect. 133 seq.) enumerates twenty-five masks for tragedy, exclusive of those required for the personation of certain heroes, etc., and forty-three for comedy; so that it seems perfectly hopeless to attempt to identify the Wilderspool visor with any special name that has descended to us; but I think we may safely pronounce it a *persona tragica*, from the grave and almost ghastly expression of countenance.

With regard to the antiquity of the theatrical *persona*, we may just observe that Horace, in his *Art of Poetry* (line 278), states that in the time of Thespis, who flourished B.C. 540, the performers' faces were disguised by being smeared with lees of wine, and that Æschylus was the first who introduced the mask upon the stage. But if reliance be placed on Suidas (s.v. *Χοιρίλλος*), the poet Choerilus, a contemporary of Thespis, was the inventor of such a device; and further (s.v. *Φρυνιχος*) that Phrynichus added the female *persona* to those hitherto employed, and Neophron of Sicily, that of the pedagogue (s.v. *Νεοφρων*.)

According to Virgil (*Georg.* ii., 387), some of the earliest masks were formed of the bark of trees. Pollux tells us that leather lined with linen was next employed; and we find by Hesychius they were afterwards wrought of wood.* All traces of antique visors of these

* "Masks of carved wood have been employed by some nations in modern times. I have an extraordinary one for an Indian snake charm, crested with the cobra or asp, painted of various hues, which was formerly in the Dawson collection; and another worn by dancers of the Naas tribe of North-Western America, coloured "after the life."



TRAGIC MASK.

(PERSONA TRAGICA)

FROM THE ROMAN SITE OF WILDERSPOOL.

materials have perished, and the three of terra-cotta here described must be regarded as among the few and most interesting mementoes of the classic stage which time has spared."

As the result of my own observation it may be allowed me to state, in addition, that the Mask found at Wilderspool has evidently been formed on the potter's wheel into the shape of a cylindrical or perhaps gourd shaped vessel, which, after being smoothed or polished on its exterior, has been divided into two segments longitudinally. This is shown by the bands which run transversely over its interior surface. Each half has then been moulded from the interior by the pressure of the fingers of the potter, so as to represent the prominences of human features, and the *persona* has been completed by the dexterous carving out of the eyes, nostrils, and mouth, by the aid of a very sharp knife.

Since attention has been drawn to the Wilderspool Roman Mask by Mr. Cuming, I have learned that a very similar object of the Roman period was discovered at Colchester, and presented by Mr. C. Roach Smith to Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool. In this case, however, the eyes were closed, and if intentionally left in this condition, it is difficult to imagine the purpose for which it was fabricated. That it was complete is more than probable, from the fact that it had been baked in the potter's oven, and still more so from its bearing traces of paint on its exterior.

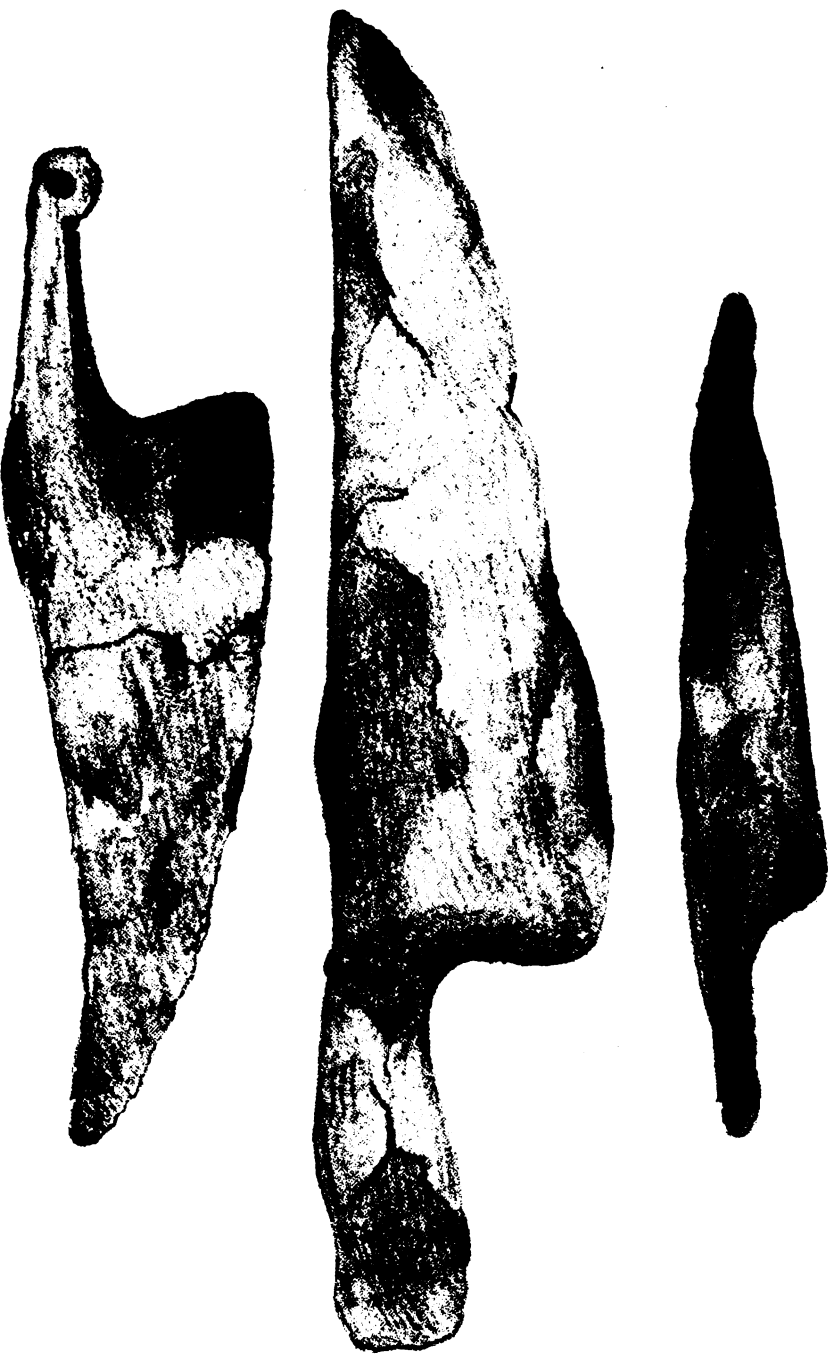
There is a variety of Roman pottery found at Wilderspool in so great abundance, whilst it is rarely met with elsewhere, that I have come to the conclusion that it is of local manufacture. Roman vessels, chiefly urns, or *pocula*, have been found elsewhere, having a roughened exterior surface; but I question whether they are identical with the very distinct variety found at Wilderspool, as the roughness of the latter is clearly caused by sprinkling the *moist* clay with clay in a very *dry* and coarsely powdered state. In rustic edifices the exterior is often "rough cast" by strewing gravel upon the still soft plaster, and a similar process has been employed in the manufacture of this particular sort of pottery at Wilderspool. I therefore propose to call it "rough cast" Roman pottery, though I question whether the appellation ought to include those other British and foreign varieties which have simply a *roughened* surface. Many of the foreign specimens which I have examined have evidently been roughened by dabbing the surface of the moist clay with a brush of hair or cane, and present a much more equally roughened surface. Furthermore, in no case do we find the really "rough cast" Roman ware coated with paint or varnish, whilst the foreign specimens I have seen were all coated externally with a black or brown varnish.

The paste or clay of which the Wilderspool "rough cast" ware has been formed is of fine quality, and has evidently been levigated or *blunged*; and the vessels are invariably in the form of urns, or perhaps more properly jars, since they resemble in shape the modern stone-ware preserving jar, though more stunted in height. Whilst in the softest state they have been hand-sprinkled with dried clay in the state of coarse powder, which has been at a later stage fastened by dipping the whole vessel in a *slip* or wash of clay. From the upper portion of the jar, extending from the shoulder upwards, the *rough casting* has then been removed and a very fine rim or lip formed, by replacing it on the potter's wheel. The vessel was then complete and ready for the potter's oven. It is singular that this polished surface on the upper portion of the jar, and the finely turned rim, prevail in all the varieties of the roughened Roman pottery,—whether of the finely stippled sort with the body of white clay, or of the coarser "rough cast" ware with the ordinary red clay body, and coarse rough casting which I attribute to the Wilderspool potters.

A few more words will complete my account of the examples of Roman pottery found at Wilderspool. On all Roman sites there is no object of the period more frequently or more abundantly found than the *mortarium*, either whole or fragmentary, and at Wilderspool they are more than usually abundant. *Mortaria* are generally supposed to have been chiefly employed in the Roman kitchen for the preparation of pultaceous or semi-liquid food. But although Dr. Doran, in one of his amusing books,* tells us, without quoting his authority, that "the Roman soldiery, for many years, had no better food than gruel made from oatmeal," and that "they marched to victory under the influence of no more exciting stimulant than gruel and vinegar," I doubt if the supply of the garrison of CONDARKE will account for the extraordinary number of fragmentary *mortaria* found at Wilderspool. That this was the use to which they were most generally applied is highly probable; but I believe they were often resorted to for other purposes, and at Wilderspool, where, as we have seen, there can be little doubt that a manufacture of pottery existed, I believe that the larger *mortaria* were used for "blunging," that is, softening the clay, and floating off its finer particles to be used in the manufacture of the finer earthenware. The interiors of four of the largest hitherto found at Wilderspool (the diameter of one of these being sixteen inches), have a thick coating of unbaked clay over their whole interior surface.

* *Table Traits, with something on them*, p. 42.





IRON KNIVES,
FROM THE ROMAN SITE AT WILDERSPOOL

OBJECTS IN METAL AND GLASS.—Of the objects in IRON usually found on Roman sites there are very few which have not their representatives at Wilderspool. Iron nails in very large numbers, of sizes varying from 1 to 10 inches, hooks, staples, hasps, bolts, holdfasts, wall-cramps, and several fragmentary hinges. Knives and keys are numerous, and there are also many implements which may have been used by a Roman potter, viz: two spades, two trowels, three mattocks, also an axe, two probable axe-heads, a fire-bar, a lock, two glaives or large knives, a leg-cuff (?), and a very good specimen of an iron fire-dog or brander, of which Roman examples have occasionally been found elsewhere. Besides these there is a large collection of other objects in iron, the broken and corroded condition of which has hitherto prevented their identification. From their lying on the ancient Roman surface, probably cast aside in the panic from the sudden inroad of a savage enemy, they have been subjected to the full influence of the conflagration which has swept over it, and the action of the atmosphere during the succeeding ages has coated them with a rust or oxide destructive to any resemblance to their original form. A few of the more perfect knives, keys, and the fire-dog, have been selected for illustration, and upon these I shall make a few remarks, which I deem imperatively called for.

KNIVES.—A many iron knives, or portions of knives, have been found at Wilderspool, but their forms may be resolved into three, of which illustrations are given in the adjoining plate. The first specimen, which is 7 inches in length, is curved both on the back of the blade and likewise on its cutting edge. It has probably originally possessed a handle of wood or bone, which has perished, but it shews the ring or loop at the end of the haft, by which it has been chained, or in other way attached to the girdle of the owner. One, and probably a second very similar example, are given by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith in his beautiful *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, pl. xxvi. ; * but he remarks that one of them "having been found with ancient *British* remains, is supposed to have been a sacrificial knife." This, however, could hardly be the purpose of our Wilderspool specimens, as the sacrificial knife of the Romans was of bronze, and not of iron, with the cutting edge straight, and the back curved, of which form it is invariably delineated on Roman altars and monuments.

Our second specimen very closely approaches to the form of the modern carving-knife for the dinner table, and to this purpose we may

* *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, by Henry Ecroyd Smith. Folio, illustrated with xxxvi. plates, 1852.

fairly assign the Wilderspool specimen, and call it, as did the Romans, a *cutter coquinarius*. The cutting edge alone in this instance is, as will be seen, curved, the back of the blade being straight. It is possible that portions of a handle of wood or bone * may still remain, but if so they are concealed by the mass of rust and gravel with which they are enveloped.

Our third specimen may be the *cutter tonsorius*, or razor, since it has a straight cutting edge, but with a rounded or curved back and sharp point. It is also of much smaller size than the two former: probably it may be the diminutive *cultellus*, and its sharp point and keen edge were well fitted, as Horace and Valerius Maximus tell us, to paring the nails, and likewise to keeping them clean. No doubt the Roman *caliga* or sandal was guiltless of ever causing a painful corn, else there is no knowing whether these classic authors might not still lower have defined its uses.

KEYS.—The Romans, as with us, had two forms of locks, the pensile or padlock, and the fixed or box lock. I am not certain that an example of the former has yet been found at Wilderspool, although I myself discovered at the level of the Roman surface there an iron padlock, very different in form from those in use in modern times, and yet varying still more from any hitherto discovered and looked upon as Roman. In fact, as pointed out to me by Mr. Syer Cuming, it approaches so nearly to those appended to the railing round the altar tomb of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster, that I prefer to omit any further allusion to it here, though I shall carefully preserve it as a curious relic from Wilderspool.

But of the ordinary Roman key, adapted to the raising of a door-latch, we have found many examples at Wilderspool, and, if I mistake not, several examples of the latch which it was their purpose to raise. The square form of the stem or handle of these keys shews that they were never intended to turn in the lock, but simply to be lifted upwards; their security lying in the different forms of the wards in the interior of the lock, through which they had to pass before reaching the under surface of the latch. The largest example, it will be seen, is furnished with five upright pins, all of which I presume would have to pass through a correspondingly perforated horizontal plate, upon which the latch rested.

It will be observed that the stem of the largest key here delineated is furnished with a step or shoulder, which in the original is four inches

* Juvenal (*Satire* xi., l., 181), tells us that at his villa he can boast of no carved ivories, but that the very handles of his dinner knives are of bone.



IRON FIRE-DOG OR BRANDIRON.

ACTUAL LENGTH 2FT. 3 1/2"

FOUND AT WILDERSPOOL NEAR WARRINGTON.

from the extreme point: this may therefore be taken as the approximate thickness of the woodwork of the door itself.

The *latches* we have found are strongly made, for their size and length; and beyond the point which has caught on the staple, they are bent downwards, and expanded on one side, as if for the purpose of being raised in the interior of the house by the finger, without the aid of the key.

FIRE-DOG.—Our next illustration is that of an *And-iron* or *Fire-dog*, two-feet four-inches in length, of which there must originally have been a pair, since their use was to support the logs of a wood fire from close contact with the hearth or floor. This specimen was found at Wilderspool so far back as the year 1862, and all hope of the discovery of its fellow has now passed away. The arch which forms its fore-foot was formerly capable of being turned on a swivel, so as to lie flat and parallel with the bar; probably for convenience of carriage from place to place, and the circular ring on the upper part was probably used to secure it in position. If this was so, it would show that the Romans were acquainted with the invention of the screw, though I know of no allusion to this by any writer; but this opinion is further strengthened by the discovery of the iron studs of a Roman sandal at Wilderspool, which have clearly been affixed to the leather sole by the screw, since the threads are distinctly perceptible.

The Wilderspool FIRE-DOG will scarcely bear comparison with those figured in the second vol. of Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua* (p. 29), as found near Colchester, and at Stanford Bury; in both which cases the fore extremity, which was prolonged upwards, bore the ornamental head of a horned animal, between the horns of which a spit for roasting meat would rotate, or a bar for the suspension of cauldrons over the fire could rest. Still an almost equally rude or simple form of *and-iron* is figured by Rich* as found at Pæstum, and the legitimate purpose of our Wilderspool specimen cannot be doubted.

BRONZE FIBULÆ, HAIR-PINS, ETC.—There is not much diversity in the objects formed of *Bronze* found at Wilderspool, and with the exception of Coins (to be spoken of hereafter), I am only called upon here to describe the fibulæ and hair-pins, which are rarely absent from Roman sites. Of *Fibulæ* we have 15 examples, one being annular, eight pen-annular, and the rest bow-shaped. The annular fibula is not here figured, being in a less perfect state for illustration than usual, but two of the pen-annular, or almost circular fibulæ are shown,

* *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities (sub voce "Vara.")*

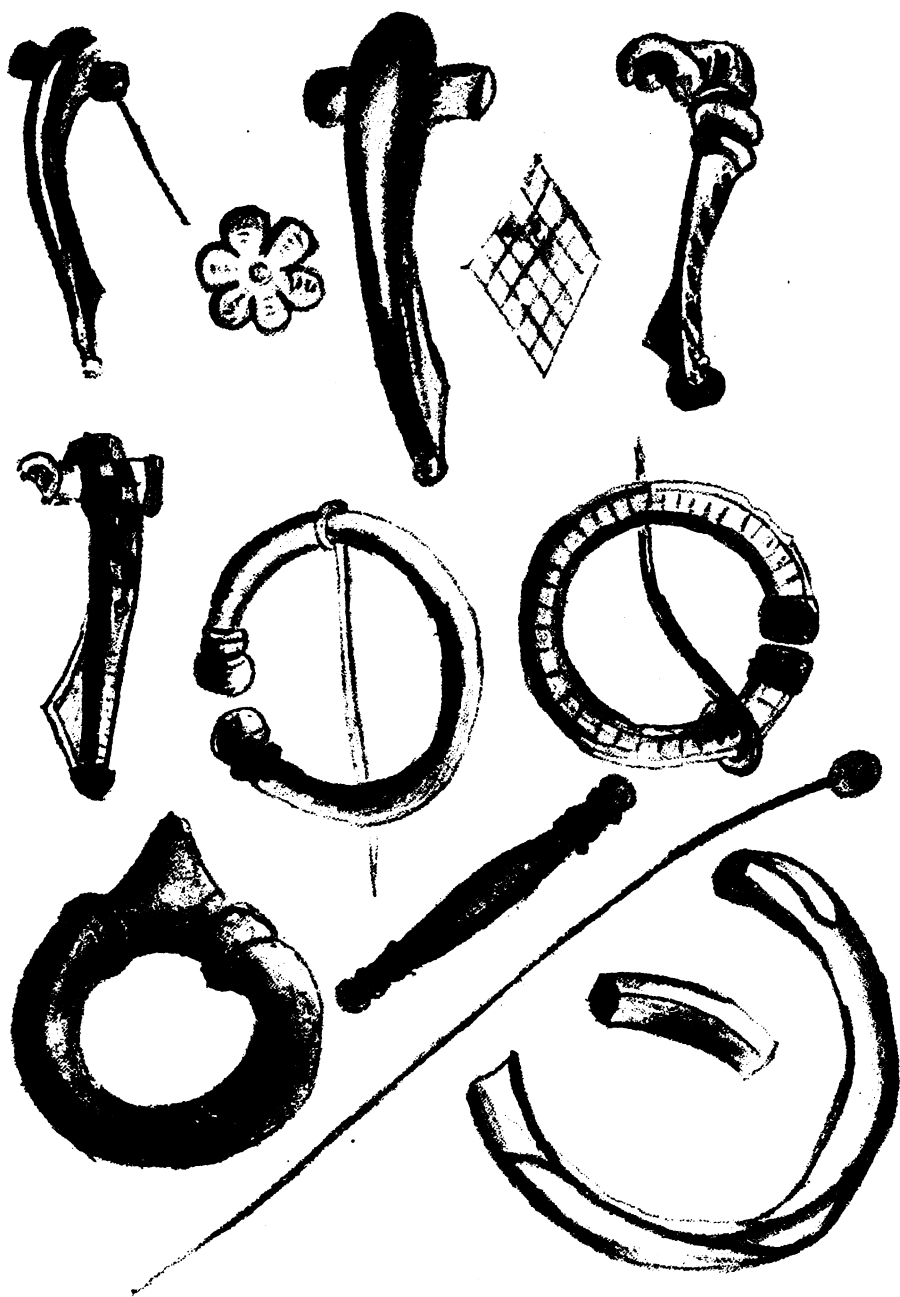
(figs. 7 and 8), on the adjoining plate. The surface of the latter is flat, with a hatched pattern in small square compartments; the former is plain, but round and strong; both are in good preservation. Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 are good types of the bow-shaped fibula, and No. 4 has still remaining part of the chequered ornament in red and white enamel, which originally covered its front surface. The pins which fastened the last of these useful ornaments were affixed by a hinge at one side, whilst their pointed ends rested in a small catch, such as is now in use with the modern brooch. Occasionally the pin was rendered still more secure by substituting a coiled spring instead of the hinge, after the manner of the common safety or gipsy-pin; and a piece of coiled wire of bronze found at Wilderspool may perhaps, but not certainly, have been an early specimen of this contrivance.

The under-dress of the Romans consisted of a tunic, which in the males, descended to a little above the knee, and in females to the feet. Over this another tunic (*stola*) was worn by ladies, but the men wore a loose robe (*toga*), and perhaps a mantle (*pallium*) over it. Both these outer garments required to be fastened by a buckle or *fibula*, as did also the *stola* of the lady at the shoulder. Indeed, Mr. Fairholt* says that the Roman ladies had a row of *fibulae* to secure the cloak down the right arm. Hence it need occasion no surprise that so many *fibulae* are found on most Roman sites. The circular *fibula* was usually worn on the throat or on the shoulder, and the bow-shaped † to secure the looser parts of the dress. The splendid shawl of Ulysses is described by Homer as fitted with golden tubes for the pins of the *fibulae*, to preserve the material from being torn.

The Rev. Edward Trollope, F.S.A., in his "Illustrations of Ancient Art from Pompeii and Herculaneum," says, at p. 50, "Clasps, brooches, and buckles, all of which were comprehended under the term *fibulae*, must have been in great requisition amongst the Romans, as their dress generally required one or more fastenings of this description. The *toga* perhaps might retain the position into which it was thrown by the weight of its own folds; but the *sagum*, or coarse cloak of the citizen, the *paludamentum* of the officer, and the *abolla* of the soldier, all required the aid of a brooch, which was generally worn on the left shoulder. The *palla* was fixed in its proper position by means of two such fastenings, and the sleeves of the tunic were often ornamented by several of these."

* Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 24.

† *Ibid*, p. 25.



ORNAMENTS IN BRONZE AND GLASS.
(ACTUAL SIZE)
FROM WILDERSPOOL, CHESHIRE.



No. 6 in our plate of illustrations is a lozenge-shaped object of *bronze*, with the remains of a hinged pin at the back, probably another variety of the *fibula*. Its form at least appears complete, the small compartments in its front still retain the blue and yellow enamel with which they were all no doubt originally filled.

No. 9 is probably the loop or hasp of a leather belt or strap, and No. 10 I conjecture to have formed part of the ornamentation of a box or casket. Both these relics are of bronze, beautifully patinated.

No. 5 I believe to be the head of a bronze hair-pin or *acus*. This was used by the Roman lady to fasten and support her back hair when plaited and arranged, and the head of the pin was often decorated with a jewelled ornament, tassel, or ribbon. The *acus* was often of bone or ivory, but we have found none of this description at Wilderspool.

From the sculptured female heads it would appear that a loop was formed of the plaited back hair, round which the remainder was wound; a single pin dexterously inserted would then secure the whole.

If No. 11 be not also an *acus*, it is no doubt a *stylus*, or implement for writing on the wax tablets used by the Romans, since it very closely resembles a *stylus* of iron shewn by the Rev. Edw. Trollope (pl. ix., p. 19) in the work just quoted. He describes it as "pointed at one end, and flattened at the other, in order to erase any errors; hence the term *vertere stylum*."

OBJECTS IN LEAD.—A good deal of *Lead* has been found on the Roman site at Wilderspool, but not much which is recognizable as any form of useful implement. A leaden weight, a spindle-whorl, a small piece of piping, and two discs of this metal can alone be discriminated, the remainder consisting of shapeless and irregular masses, which may have cemented iron bars into stone dowel-holes, or may have melted and run abroad in the supposed conflagration of CONDATE.

The manufacture of *Lead* from the native ore was largely carried on by the Romans in Britain, and, as it would appear, chiefly in the midland district. Of the oblong blocks, with an inscribed date, into which it was usually cast, one of twelve discovered and recorded, bore the name of the *Brigantes*, and five of the *Cangi*, the British tribes north and south of the Mersey. One of these oblong blocks was discovered at Norton, and is now in the British Museum, the other was dug up at Tarvin Bridge, and is now in the Museum of the Water Tower at Chester.

OBJECTS IN GLASS.—In the lower right-hand corner of the accompanying illustration are represented fragments of two bracelets of white

and green glass or enamel, which are selected chiefly for their rarity. Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua* (vol. i., pl. xxviii.) figures a fragment of a glass ring found amongst a many other Romano-British remains in one of the caves near Settle, in Yorkshire, which appears very similar to ours, though apparently of unornamented glass.

The other objects in *glass* are fragments of glass bottles, square, cylindrical, oval, or globular, but these are of very frequent occurrence on most Roman sites. The same may be said of the pieces of flat transparent *glass*, which pretty certainly have been used as windows. Some fragments of *ampullæ* (bottles) of a rich amber coloured *glass* have been met with, and a few coloured glass beads, some variegated, others plain, have also been recovered.

ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE REMAINS.—The bones and teeth of *Oxen*, and perhaps of *Sheep* or *Goats*, are found at Wilderspool, mixed with the Roman remains; and the shells of *Oysters* occur in such abundance as to excite the wonder of the labourers employed. They abound on most of our Roman sites, for the *oysters* of Britain, especially those of Richborough * (*Rutupiæ*) in Kent, were famous throughout the Continent, and must have been largely consumed here also. A few shells of the *Limpet*, which was also eaten by the Romans, have been found here.

The remains of no other animal; except those of human beings, as already noticed, have been met with.

Of the organized material known as *Kimmeridge Coal*, fragments of two armlets, or large bracelets, have been found at Wilderspool. This is a well-known species of jet or cannel coal, found on the coast of Dorsetshire. †

COINS.—In the scientific exploration of a former Roman site there is no class of relics so useful to the antiquary, and therefore so valuable, as the *Coins* of that remote period, more especially if they are distributed through the locality, rather than collected in a hoard. Not only does their presence testify to the former Roman occupation, but they often afford the best evidence of the duration of that occupation, and the *Coins* found at Wilderspool are the only historical record, scanty but unbroken, which has descended to us from the period of the existence of CONDAGE.

* See *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne, in Kent*, by Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., 4to., 1850. Juvenal (*Sat.* iv.) says "*Rutupinove edita fundo Ostrea.*"

† See *The Deverel Barrow*, opened A.D. 1825. Also a *Minute Account of Kimmeridge Coal Money*, by William Augustus Miles, Esq., London, 1826.

We are told that when the Old Quay Canal was dug in 1801 many Roman coins were found; but they are lost, and no list remains to us. During the excavations of the past few years, 5 silver and 20 bronze or brass coins have been found; and if to these we add 3 of silver and 5 of brass, named by Mr. Beamont as found here, in a paper which he read before the British Archaeological Association, at its meeting in Manchester in 1850, entitled "*Traces of the Romans on the Banks of the Mersey*," we shall find the following a complete list up to the present time:—

A D. 69- 79	Vespasian	0	silver 2 brass.
69- 82	Titus	0	" 1 "
69- 96	Domitian	1	" 3 "
96- 98	Nerva	2	" 0 "
98-117	Trajan	1	" 5 "
117-138	Hadrian	1	" 3 "
138-161	Antoninus Pius	1	" 1 "
161-180	Marcus Aurelius.....	0	" 3 "
	Illegible	3	" 6 "

About the year 1780 a large hoard of Roman coins, extending from the Emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253-260) to the Emperor Aurelianus (A.D. 270-275) was found at Statham, about two miles from Wilderspool, on the route of the Roman road thence to *Mamucium* (Manchester). As no coin has been found at Wilderspool of a later date than a century preceding the earliest of these, I think we may fairly conclude that the evacuation and destruction of CONDATE had taken place in the interval. And if we assign the establishment of CONDATE to the latter part of the reign of Vespasian, as the coins found at Wilderspool would seem to indicate,—a date, too, assumed by the late Archdeacon Wood as the origin of the station at Middlewich (*Mediolanum* ?)—then the existence of CONDATE must have extended very little more, or very little less than a century.

No Christian symbols have been met with on the site of CONDATE; nor if we assign so early a date to its destruction, is their occurrence to be looked for or expected, though their discovery has lent a deeper interest to many Roman sites recently explored.

Mr. Hodgson Hinde * tells us that "Two formidable invasions of the Roman province, extending from the Forth and Clyde to the Humber and Mersey, by the Caledonians, are recorded between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Severus,—one in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, repulsed (with what fortune we know not) by Calpurnius Agricola,—the other in the reign of Commodus (180-192),

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1856.

repulsed by Ulpius Marcellus with eminent success. To one of these devastating incursions I would attribute the destruction of CONDATE.

The *Itinerary* of Antoninus, referred to so often at the commencement of this paper, is by some assigned to the early part of the 4th century (*circa* A.D. 320): and if this be correct, or even approximate, my surmise that CONDATE had disappeared a century and a half previously is at once disproved, since, as we have seen, it is named on two distinct routes of this *Itinerary*, namely the 2nd and 10th. But Dr. Robson is of opinion that the date of the *Itinerary* is not later than the time of the Antonine Emperors (A.D. 138-180) thus bringing its composition within the limits of the imperial coins found at Wilderspool. Mr. W. Thompson Watkin also, in a learned and elaborate communication to the xxviiiith volume of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, fixes the date of the *Itinerary* still more precisely at the commencement of the reign of the first Antonine (*Pius*), and probably between A.D. 138 and 144. Lastly, a writer (Mr. Pocock) in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1861, assigns a still earlier date for its composition, viz.: *circa* A.D. 130.

What was the condition of the site of CONDATE after the destruction of the Roman station itself, it is vain and profitless to conjecture; but although it probably lay waste, the discovery of the Roman coins at Statham, just alluded to, ranging from A.D. 258 to 275, would seem to indicate that the Roman road from *Deva* (Chester) to *Mamucium* (Manchester) still traversed the site. In later and mediæval times it is not unlikely that its stone foundations formed a quarry for neighbouring priories and churches; for during the recent alterations at Daresbury Church, two miles from the spot, some Roman concrete mortar was found amongst the *debris* of the ancient edifice.

Future explorations at Wilderspool may perhaps reward us by the discovery of some legionary tablet or votive altar: but whether this be so or not, we already possess sufficient Roman relics from thence to show that Roman art was learned and practised there nearly eighteen hundred years ago; and that for a time at least,—a time, alas, too brief,—it was accompanied by the blessings of Roman comfort and Roman civilization.

HENRY IV.

PART I.

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO CONNECT SOME CHESHIRE PERSONS,
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PLACES WITH SHAKESPERE'S
DRAMA OF THIS NAME.

BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT.

I have chosen this drama for my subject, not merely because of its power to charm both hearers and readers, but because, as genius gives new interest to what it touches, so the many allusions in it to Cheshire men and local events may give them

“a touching grace

Of more distinct humanity.”

Of all the poet's dramas, too, this, and the one which we formerly considered, contain the most frequent allusions to Cheshire and the neighbourhood. Before he became king, its monarch subject, and principal actor, among his other titles, was Baron of Halton, in this county, an honour in which he is now illustriously represented by Her Majesty. It was one of Bolingbroke's alledged reasons for rising against his sovereign, that he was debarred from suing livery of his lands, and, of those lands, the castle and honour of Halton were no unimportant portion. His son, Falstaff's Prince Hal, the gallant Prince of Wales, was Earl of Chester, and at one time lived much in the county; and it was a Cheshire man and his opponent, too, into whose mouth the poet has put this vivid and beautiful picture of him:

I saw young Harry with his beaver on,
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat
As if an angel dropped down from the clouds
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

E

When the monarch's usurped throne was in jeopardy, the families of Venables, Vernon, Mascy, and Warburton, some of the best blood of the county, followed Hotspur to Shrewsbury, and after that fatal day Cheshire felt the full weight of his resentment. This story, too, follows naturally upon that to which you gave me your attention some time ago, and which I then promised to continue on some future occasion, if I had time and you had desired it. As then, so now, I shall endeavour to keep close to the poet's story and to his language, whenever I have occasion to quote the drama.

Henry IV. of France, who was subject to kleptomania, or the habit of taking things not his own, though he always restored them afterwards, used to say that if he had not been born a king he should have been hanged.* And his namesake, Henry IV, of England, who used to say that of all the men born on the same day as himself, he was the only one who wore a crown, was perhaps incited by that thought to the ambition of obtaining one. Well had it been for him, if, like his French namesake, his desire to possess had been followed by a like desire to restore; for then he had not felt the weight of his usurped crown so heavy, or found its lining formed of thorns instead of ermine. Scarcely was he seated on the throne, we are told, before a blazing star was seen in the heavens, which was thought to portend insurrection and bloodshed in Wales and Northumberland; † and, as if to justify the prognostic, the monarch's whole reign was one long series of plots and dangers, in which Wales and Northumberland bore the greatest share. He had bade Harry Percy look for his reward "when his infant fortune came to age;" and accordingly, he was scarcely seated on the throne when he made this young soldier Chief Justice of Chester, in the place of Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, whom he had beheaded. In 1401, when the new Chief Justice set out to make a circuit in North Wales, he received "C marks to defray the expenses of himself and his retinue." ‡ It would seem that, in early times, any special education for a profession was not required. St. Eloi, from a

* Il estoit larron naturellement; il ne pouvait s'empescher de prendre ce qu'il trouvoit, mais il le renvoyoit. Il disoit que s'il n'eust été roy, il eust esté pendu. Tallemant les Beaux Sketch of Henry IV. *Notes and Queries*, 1st March, 1862, p. 169.

† "A.D. 1401. In the monneth of March appeared a blazing starre, first betwixt the east and the north, and last of all putting fierce beames toward the north, forshewing peradventure the effusion of blood about the parts of Wales and Northumberland." *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 14th, 1848, p. 470.

‡ *Cheshire Records*.

smith, was made a bishop; and a little after Hotspur's time, Salisbury, a great warrior, passed at once from the camp to the woolsack. The *Cheshire Records* afford abundant evidence that the county was in a disturbed state, and needed a vigorous administration when Hotspur was made its Chief Justice. Glendower, claiming to be the rightful Prince of Wales, made inroads on the garrisons of Ruthin, Oswestry, and even nearer places. * One Robert del Fere and his company wandered over the country robbing, mutilating and committing even worse enormities on the the people by wholesale; whereupon resort was had to a sort of martial law, and John Domville, of Lymm, a great soldier of that time, Sir Hugh Browe, of Cheshire, and others, were commissioned to put an end to these enormities. Proclamation was also made throughout the county that none should quit or leave it with arms for any report of war outside; and that all persons, who, through fear of having their houses prostrated, had adhered to the enemy, should be pardoned on repairing to their own homes, and there abiding in peace. At the same time, a commission was issued to William ap Meredith ap Gruff and others to ordain watches in Hope-dale against Glendower and his forces; and the Prince, having made John Honor, Esquire, Constable of Harlech, commanded Dycon Masey, of Sale, its then governor, to surrender to him the Castle and its stores † Attention was paid at the same time to the artillery and ordnance; and Hugh le Fletcher, being appointed the keeper for Cheshire and Flintshire, was ordered to provide a sufficient supply of shafts and goose feathers for arrows. This last had probably some connection with the advance of the king and the prince into North Wales; when twenty Chester archers were ordered to guard the Commissariat to Denbigh, and orders were given for all knights, esquires, and other armed men of the county to obey the orders of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, and John, Bishop of St. Asaph, the king's lieutenants, while the prince was absent in North Wales; and for all constables, and keepers of fortresses in Cheshire, Flintshire, and Wales to repair to their several charges and remain there. But other troubles not so near home threatened the king, and Sir John Masey, the High Sheriff of Cheshire, was ordered by the king's warrant, dated at Pontefract to repair with his men-at-arms and 500 archers to Newcastle, to resist the Scots; and the hundred of Edisbury was commanded to supply fifteen archers towards this contingent. There were troubles also at

* Williams' *Chronicle Richard II.*, p. 283.

† *Cheshire Records*.

sea as well as by land, and a Cheshire warrant was sent out for carpenters to repair a barge at Liverpool, and to press sailors to serve in it under the Earl of Northumberland; and John de Molynton and Thomas de Capenhurst, two Cheshire men, were appointed to command the king's ship, "the Trinity," which a short time after was reported to be lying off the Reed Bank, not laden with munitions of war, but with wine from Rochelle.*

The early scenes of the drama of "Henry IV." are laid in London; and in the first act we are introduced to the king, Sir Walter Blunt, and the king's brother-in-law, Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, that stalwart knight whose effigy in his collar of SS. and his suit of plate armour may be seen in Staindrop Church. Related either by his wife, his mother, or his sisters, to every earl in the kingdom, the king used to call them all his cousins; and in this originated the custom which the sovereign still uses in addressing every earl as his "right, trusty, and well-beloved cousin," a style which the first Napoleon imitated in addressing his marshals.

Describing himself as "shaken and wan with care," the king at his first appearance professes an intention to go upon a new crusade, to be commenced "in stronds afar remote."

"Therefore friends

As far as to the sepulchre of Christ
(Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engaged to fight),
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,
To chase these Pagans in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross."

To give more quaintness to his language the king is made to say the crusade shall be commenced in stronds afar remote, and here, as in other places, the poet designedly uses an antiquated word: thus we have "paraquite" and "popinjay" for parrot, "dial" for clock face, "estrages" for ostriches, and "corrivals" for rivals. These quaint words, however, must not be obsolete as well as antiquated, or we shall miss their meaning, as we do when he uses "feres" for vassals, and "mure" for wall, both of which have fallen out of use.

The king and Westmorland discuss the victory which had been just gained in the battle fought at Holmedon, near Wooler, in Northumberland, on the 14th September, 1402; the news of which the king says had reached him by

* *Cheshire Records.*

"A dear and true industrious friend,
Sir Walter Blunt, new lighted from his horse,
Stained with the variation of each soil
Betwixt that Holmedon and this seat of ours."

The report which had reached the king, that 10,000 Scots and three knights had fallen in the battle, exceeded the truth; but the official account, the *Gazette* as we should now call it, makes the Scottish loss to be four earls, many bannerets, and a number of knights and esquires made prisoners, and a great number of others either slain or drowned in the Tweed, for which, as it is very ambiguously added, "we give God thanks." *

But I must stop here, to strip Sir Walter Blunt of the honour of being the first bringer of the news of this victory, the credit of which really belongs, not to him, but to Nicholas Marbury, probably a Cheshire man, and then an esquire of the Earl of Northumberland, who, in 1403, received from the king in reward for bringing such news, the grant of £40 a year for his life. Marbury was afterwards knighted, and made "master of the king's guns and works," and was reported after Agincourt, as entitled to two prisoners' ransoms; and the next year he was again retained to serve the king in France, with a retinue of four archers. †

The particulars of the victory at Holmedon having excited Westmorland's admiration, he exclaims, that it was indeed a subject for a prince to boast of, whereupon the king breaks out into a disparaging comparison between his son, the Prince of Wales, and young Harry Percy, and exclaims, "would it could be proved that the two had been exchanged in the cradle!" Hotspur, one of the heroes of the famous ballad of *Cherry Chase*, at the mention of whose name Glendower said the king always turned pale, obtained his pictorial name from the French and Scots, who used to say that while they were either sleeping or carousing he was always watching and heating his spurs. He made his first campaign at the siege of Berwick, in 1378, where he was so closely shut up, that it was said neither a wren nor a tomtit could come in or go out of the place without leave (*si pres qu'un oiselet n'en put partir sans congé*). But a warrior, however watchful, does not always escape, and Hotspur was taken prisoner and put to ransom at Otterburne, the battle in which the dying Douglas cheered his friends by

* Rymer's *Fædera*, and a M.S. in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, which gives the names of those who were made prisoners, p. 170, No. 1.

† *Fædera*, ix., 215. Sir P. Leycester's *Antiquities*, book C, 285. Sir Harris Nicolas' *Agincourt*, p. 61.

telling them that in him they should see fulfilled the prophecy, that a dead Douglas should win a field.*

The king, foreseeing that Hotspur's refusal to give up his prisoners would lose him their ransoms, which in old times was looked upon as one means of supporting the expenses of a war, complains to Westmorland that the victor withholds all his prisoners except the Earl of Fife. But Hotspur, whose very dreams were of "prisoners' ransoms and of soldiers slain," would have been right if he had refused to give up his prisoners; for in the north of England prisoners and their ransoms were always held to belong to their captors, and it was only the king's impatience that could have made him forget this. †

In the next scene, we are still in the king's palace, but with very different actors. These are the Prince of Wales and his roystering companions, Falstaff and Poins, who engage in a conversation, the wit of which sparkles like fire flies on a dark night. Falstaff, who was certainly not as a censorious critic, would have it a London landlord, might be some humorous acquaintance, who habitually made his fat sides a subject of merriment. Hear what he says of himself after his escape from drowning. "I had been drowned, but that the shore was shelvy and shallow; a death that I abhor, for water swells a man; and what a thing I should have been when I had been swelled! I should have been a mountain of mummy!" "Wit and width grow together" the fat knight might have adopted as his appropriate motto. Falstaff having asked the prince whether "mine hostess of the tavern was not a most sweet wench"? the prince retaliates by enquiring whether "a buff jerkin is not a sweet robe of durance?," a question which he dislikes, since it reminds him of "an ill-favoured serjeant or catchpole, in a buff or hide jerkin, greasy and beer stained, muffled in a cloak, that hides all but his red nose, with a clumsy dagger, like a bung knife, at his side, who is as ready to seize a debtor as a dog to seize a bear;" and the fat knight, who had so often administered to him "the potion of imprisonment in respect of poverty," disliked being reminded of the man in the buff jerkin, in whose custody we find him a little later in the drama.

Winter, one of the gunpowder conspirators, writing to his brother, tells him that "the jerkin man is come, but your robe of durance," meaning, I suppose, a defensive coat, "is not yet finished." ‡

* Knighton, 2696, 2728, *Lives of the Lindsays*, I. pp. 70, 78, 89. White's *Otterburn*, *passim*.

† White's *Otterburne*, 70.

‡ *Notes and Queries*, 3 May, 1862-3-4-5.

After remarking that they who take purses go by the moon and seven stars, and not by "Phœbus, he, that wandering knight so fair," Falstaff archly enquires of the prince whether, when he is king, "there shall be gallows standing in England, and resolution thus robbed as it is with the rusty curb of Old Father Antic the law?" Finally the whole party plan a robbery at Gadshill, and the prince, comparing Falstaff's mellow age with autumn, which ceases when the year is gently subsiding into winter, calls him, "All Hallo'wn summer," varied at other times by Martlemas and Martinmas summer; all names of a kindly period of the year, which, says a modern writer, "is the rekindling of summer without its heat, an autumn in its glories without its gloom."

Falstaff and Poins having retired, the prince, who remains behind, breaks into this soliloquy:—

P. Hen. I know you all, and will yet awhile uphold
The unyok'd humour of your idleness;
Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world,
That when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wondered at,
For breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours that did seem to strangle him.
If all the year were playing holidays,
To sport would be as tedious as to work;
But when they seldom come they wished-for come,
And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents.

In the third scene, in which we have the king, the Earl of Northumberland, his brother, Worcester, his son, Hotspur, and Sir Walter Blunt, we learn the secret of the king's jealousy of the Percies. In winning the crown by indirect means he had used the Percies as his ladder, and he now found the crown too great a debt to be owing from a king to a subject. The weight stifled gratitude, and so the Percies found it. Worcester complained that the king had begun to make them "strangers to his looks of love," and in order to cancel his obligations, the king seemed anxious to drive them into rebellion, a step for which the ambitious, irascible, and self-willed, but high-minded, Hotspur was but too ready.

In the course of this scene, where Hotspur denies that he had ever refused to surrender his prisoners, he gives this memorable description of the fop who demanded them:—

Hot. My liege, I did deny no prisoners ;
 But, I remember, when the fight was done,
 When I was dry with rage and extreme toil,
 Breathless and faint, leaning upon my sword,
 Came there a certain lord, neat, trimly dress'd
 Fresh as a bridegroom ; and his chin, new reap'd,
 Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home ;
 He was perfum'd like a milliner ;
 And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held
 A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
 He gave his nose, and took 't away again ;
 Who, therewith angry, when it next came there,
 Took it in snuff : and still he smiled and talked ;
 And, as the soldiers bore dead bodies by,
 He called them untaught knaves, unmannerly,
 To bring a slovenly unhandsome corse
 Betwixt the wind and his nobility.
 With many holiday and lady terms
 He questioned me ; among the rest, demanded
 My prisoners, in your majesty's behalf.
 I then, all smiling, with my wounds being cold,
 To be so pester'd with a popinjay,
 Out of my grief and my impatience
 Answer'd neglectingly, I know not what ;
 He should or should not ;—for he made me mad,
 To see him shine so brisk, and smell so sweet,
 And talk so like a waiting-gentlewoman
 Of guns, and drums, and wounds (God save the mark !)
 And telling me the sovereign'st thing on earth
 Was parmaceti for an inward bruise ;
 And that it was great pity, so it was,
 That villainous saltpetre should be digg'd
 Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
 Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
 So cowardly ; and that but for these vile guns
 He would himself have been a soldier.
 This bald unjointed chat of his, my lord,
 I answer'd indirectly, as I said ;
 And, I beseech you, let not this report
 Come current for an accusation,
 Betwixt my love and your high majesty.

In this speech there are a few words that call for a remark. One of these, the word *milliner*, calls up her who is now the arbitress of the female head-dress, and who, like the sturdy smith, who once forged casques and helmets, head-dresses of a different sort and for a different sex, had her name from Milan. In using holiday in opposition to lady,

the poet intended his two favourites—a pun and an antithesis, and meant both holy days, or days sacred, and lay days, or days secular, to be understood by it. The poet delighted in these antitheses. Many of his works abound in them, and we have several even in this drama: oneyers and moneyers, mobility and tranquillity, word and sword, raisin and reason, beauty and booty. Parmaceti, the fop's sovereign remedy for wounds was white wax, of which no one in the poet's day knew either what it was or whence it came, and the fop's pouncet-box, which he so mechanically applied to his nose, was a box pierced with holes or poinçoné, so as to allow some sharp scent to escape from it and make him sneeze. But there is one expression in the speech, which, I think, should be read not as the fop's, but as Hotspur's own. It is this: when the former had expressed his abhorrence of villainous saltpetre, "which many a good tall fellow had destroyed so cowardly," Hotspur finds himself in complete accordance with him, and fires with indignation at the thought of anything superseding that personal prowess which he loved so well, and he exclaims with an emphasis, "so indeed it was!"

This defence, as we might expect, failed to satisfy the king, and he retires, commanding Hotspur to send him his prisoners, and to forbear to speak of Mortimer, or he would hear from him in another sort, a threat which almost drives Hotspur beside himself, until his uncle returns and tries to pacify him

Wor. Peace, cousin, say no more;
And now I will unclasp a secret book,
And to your quick-conceiving discontents
I'll read you matter deep and dangerous,
As full of peril and adventurous spirit,
As to o'er-walk a current, roaring loud,
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear.

Catching his last words, Hotspur, as if rapt in spirit, exclaims:—

If he fall in good night, or sink, or swim!

But what mean these mysterious words which the commentators have not attempted to explain? Was it matter of indifference to Hotspur whether the king, if he fell in, ever got out again? Did he wish to see him buffeting the raving torrent? No, the king's escape, if he fell in, was no matter of indifference to him; but his excited imagination in an instant seized the idea of that wild species of mediæval justice which, under the form of the water ordeal, was administered to witches, who, on being accused, were thrown into a pool, where, if they swam they were adjudged guilty and put to death; while, on the

other hand, if they sank, they were held innocent, but left to drown.* Such was the fate that Hotspur meant to accord to the king.

But the poet too implicitly followed the chroniclers, when he made Hotspur call Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and heir to the crown, his brother-in-law; for both those titles belonged to another Edmund Mortimer, who was nephew of Hotspur's brother-in-law, and then a prisoner of the king. In calling the Prince of Wales a sword and buckler Prince, Hotspur meant to disparage him as a roysterer, who oftener brandished his weapons in a tavern brawl than in a nobler field. He described him more justly, however, when he called him "the nimble footed mad-cap Harry, Prince of Wales,"—for so renowned was he for his fleetness of foot, that with no more assistance than two of his nobles, and without hounds, he could run down and take any deer in the largest park. But if we are to trust a modern poet he was exceeded even in this fleetness by a transatlantic hero.

Swift of foot was Hiawatha,
He could shoot an arrow from him,
And run forward with such fleetness
That the arrow fell behind him.

LONGFELLOW.

In the next act we are transported into the court yard of an ancient hotel at Rochester, four sided and galleried, with a central area and gates to shut out all entrance by night—such a hostel was Chaucer's "Tabard," in Southwark, where those pilgrims assembled which have made it and him and them immortal. Here at an early hour before cock crow, while Charles' (or the Churl's) wain is over the great chimney, some carriers are assembling. One of them speaks of having a gammon of bacon and two races of ginger to deliver as far as Charing (for *Chère reine*) Cross, which would seem then to have been accounted a remote suburb of London; another of them commits the anachronism of having turkeys in his pannier, at a time when the new world was unknown, and those aldermanic birds had consequently not been seen at Guildhall. But, as some speakers indulge in startling contradictions, the poet was, perhaps, intentionally guilty of these anachronisms. I have heard a paradoxical speaker confess that he was not satisfied until he had more than once contradicted himself, or until he had been polygonal in his contradictions. Meanwhile, as the carriers were preparing to start, a thief's spy and his accomplice, the inn chamberlain, are astir, and counting their prey. The

* Hume's *History of England*, I, 224.

chamberlain having expressed some fears as to the danger of the business in hand, his companion bids him assure himself as he has the receipt of fernseed ; which, not because of its smallness, or because of its being hidden almost out of sight, but for another reason, was then thought to render its possessor invisible. Notwithstanding Pliny's statement that the fern bore neither flower nor seed, our ancestors in mediæval times were aware that the plant had a seed ; but to them, the spiritual world seemed nearer than to us ; and they had a superstition that this seed, if gathered on St. John's Day, at the very instant of the saint's birth, had the property of rendering the bearer invisible. If Falstaff's description of Justice Shallow were true, he would have made a good thief's accomplice : for, according to him, the justice was like a man made after diuner out of a cheese-paring, and his dimensions to any thick sight were invisible ; while he and all his apparel might be trussed into an eel-skin, and the case of a treble hautboy would be a mansion and a court for him.

In the next scene, Falstaff, Peto, Bardolph, and their setter, having, in pursuance of a preconcerted plan, attacked and robbed the travellers, are set upon by the Prince and Poins, disguised in visors and cased in buckram—a kind of coarse material made of linen stiffened with glue—who rob the robbers and carry off the booty, leaving them behind to find their way back to London as best they can. Taking purses on the highway seems to have been at one time looked upon, like poaching, as almost a venial offence, even when practised by a class above that of the poacher. Like poaching, it had about it a touch of danger and adventure. At the beginning of the 18th century it was not obsolete, as we see from the plot of Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem*. Falstaff told the chamberlain at Gadshill that there were Trojans he dreamed not of, who, for sport' sake were content to do the profession some grace. Lord Campbell tells us that the great Lord Holt in early life had been on the road, a strange course, which was far more likely to lead to the bar than the bench. Afterwards when he was once sitting as chief justice, he recognised an old associate in a prisoner he was trying. The man being found guilty and sentenced to death, the judge took an opportunity of visiting him in his cell, where, when he enquired after some of their old associates, the prisoner said to him, with a sigh, " Oh, my Lord, they are all hanged but me and your Lordship !" *

* *Lives of the Chief Justices*, II., 110.

The next scene, after carrying us very far northwards, lands us near to Warkworth.

That worm-eaten hold of ragged stone
Of Hotspur's father, old Northumberland.

A fine old place, which is even now so little of a ruin, that its late owner had a design to restore it and make it his occasional residence. The family arms with their motto "*Esperance ma comforte*," remain deeply carved over the great gateway, and the curious stranger may, as Hotspur once did, still wander through its old halls, or look from its lofty towers over the broad expanse of the earl's domains towards the west, and the still broader expanse of blue ocean towards the east. Its orchard, where Lord Bardolph knocked so long and called so loud to find its master, is no longer there; for the place in its time has had bad neighbours, and one of its noble owners once wrote in haste to inform the king that the Scots were at hand, and had threatened to give him light to put on his clothes at midnight. In one of the rooms of this castle Hotspur is reading, with a running commentary, a characteristic letter from a craven noble, who, having at first promised to join the rising, now draws back and writes his excuse. Hotspur's anonymous correspondent, the writer of the letter, happily not a Cheshire man, was no other than George Dunbar, the Scottish earl of March, who afterwards joined the king, and fought on his side at Shrewsbury. It was he who gave Blunt the first intelligence of the rebel's movements; and it was his Scottish title of March that led Blunt into the curious mistake of saying that he had his information from Lord Mortimer, of Scotland. Now, although there was at that time an Edmund Mortimer, who was Earl of March in England, there never was a Lord Mortimer of Scotland; and the whole confusion arose out of George Dunbar being Earl of March in Scotland, while Edmund Mortimer bore the same title in England.

Hotspur's comments on the letter are interrupted by his wife, whose womanly instinct makes her fear that he is intending some secret enterprise, and this dialogue ensues between them:—

"How, Kate? I must leave you within these two hours.

Lady. O, my good lord, why are you thus alone?

For what offence have I, this fortnight, been

A banish'd woman from my Harry's bed?

Tell me, sweet lord, what is't that takes from thee

Thy stomach, pleasure, and thy golden sleep?

Why dost thou bend thine eyes upon the earth;

And start so often when thou sitt'st alone?

Why hast thou lost the fresh blood in thy cheeks;

And given my treasures, and my rights of thee,
 To thick-ey'd musing and curs'd melancholy ?
 In thy faint slumbers I by thee have watch'd,
 And heard thee murmur tales of iron wars :
 Speak terms of manage to thy bounding steed ;
 Cry, Courage !— to the field ! And thou hast talk'd
 Of sallies and retires ; of trenches, tents ;
 Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets ;
 Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin ;
 Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain,
 And all the current of a heady fight.
 Thy spirit within thee hath been so at war,
 And thus hath so bestirr'd thee in thy sleep,
 That beads of sweat have stood upon thy brow,
 Like bubbles in a late disturbed stream :
 And in thy face strange motions have appear'd,
 Such as we see when men restrain their breath
 On some great sudden haste. O, what portents are these ?
 Some heavy business hath my lord in hand,
 And I must know it, else he loves me not.

Hot. What, ho ! is Gilliams with the packet gone ?

Lady Hotspur exerts her powers to discover her husband's secret, but she exerts them all in vain. Of this noble woman, who afterwards married the Lord Camoys, there is, according to Mr. Boutell, a high authority on such a subject, a fine monumental brass, supposed to be a true portrait of her, in the Church of Trotton, in Sussex.*

In the next act we have an amusing scene, in which the prince and Poins effectually dissipate the small wits of the drawer at the Boar's Head, by continually calling for him in opposite directions, while he answers nothing but anon, anon—a word derived from the Latin *ad nunc*, as for the nonce is from *pro nunc*. The wits of that time seem to have always desired to be on good terms with the tavern drawers, and when Ben Jonson was suddenly called upon to say grace at the marriage feast of Elizabeth of Bohemia, this was his impromptu reply :—

The King and Queen the Lord God bless,
 The pfalsgrave, and the lady Bess ;
 God bless the council of estate,
 And Buckingham, the fortunate ;
 And God bless every living thing,
 That lives and moves and loves the King ;
 God bless them all, and keep them safe,
 And God bless me, and God bless Ralph !

* *Notes and Queries*, 4th Nov., 1865,

And when the king was displeased at the conclusion, in which his name was thus coupled with Ralph's, the poet pacified him by telling him that he and Ralph were his two best friends; for that while Ralph gave him the best wine at the Mermaid, there was nothing else for which he was not indebted to his majesty. If the prince were not speaking in hyperbole when he said the vintner's cellar contained three or four score hogsheads of wine, the vintner must have been a man of capital. What some of his wines were, we may infer from the catalogue given of them in a lease of the customs made by Queen Elizabeth to her favourite Leycester, who for twenty-three years was Chamberlain of Chester. This catalogue gives us the names:—Malmseys, Muscadels, Bastards, Cutts, Tents, Sack, Romneys, Hollocks, Canaries, and Madeiras. But in the times of which the poet wrote, it was an anachronism to speak of sack, for that wine was not sold in taverns until 33 Henry VIII. This wine, taken with sugar, which was then both scarce and dear, was esteemed a delicacy in the poet's time, but the taste for wines is altered since, and, dry wines being now alone preferred, it can no longer be said with Fletcher that

"Sugar lures the taste the brains to drown!"*

Having before dissipated nearly all the drawer's small wits, the prince puts the remainder to flight, and nearly takes away his hearer's breath, as he exhausts his own; while, addressing the drawer, he says to him:—

"Wilt thou rob, this leathern jerkin,
Crystal button, nott pated, agate ring,
Puke stocking, caddis garter, smooth-
Tongued Spanish pouch——"

Puke, the mauve of the poet's day, was then a fashionable colour and Don Quixote, we are told, spent a considerable sum to have his jerkin of that colour. Nott, or nott pated, was to have the hair cut shock fashion, thick and short, so as to cushion the head, and not impede its free action in the helmet. These are intelligible, but some of the prince's other terms would even now puzzle wiser heads than that of Francis the drawer.

Just as this dialogue is concluding, Falstaff, Peto, Bardolph, and Gadshill arrive from the scene of the recent robbery; when Falstaff, exclaiming loudly upon all cowards, protests that ere he'll lead this life long, he'll sew and mend nether stocks and foot them too, an occupation in which in our own day some persons might be seen engaged under the windows of a London shop, a space into which Falstaff could not have

* *Purple Island.*

thrust his portly dimensions. When Falstaff, having said it was so dark that he could not see his hand, was asked how then he could tell that the persons who had set upon him were dressed in Kendal green, he might have answered *more suo*, that it was invisible green.

Between him and the prince there now arises an amusing recrimination as to the recent double robbery, which ends in a mock play, where Falstaff and the prince alternately take the part of the prince and his father. In the course of it, the prince calls the fat knight a huge bombard of sack, a term which is more likely than *au bon père* (meaning the Pope), to have been the origin of our drinking toast, a bumper.

The plot of the intending rising is now thickening fast, and we have next a scene in the archdeacon's house at Bangor, where Mortimer, Hotspur, and Glendower are engaged in dividing the kingdom they mean to win. Glendower, "who gave Amaimon the bastinado, made Lucifer cuckold, and swore the devil his liegeman on the cross of a Welsh hook," was a great adept in magic, but the Amaimon who suffered such rude treatment at his hands, and who, although omniscient, might be bound at certain hours of the night, was anything but a handsome person, for he had a wolf's head, a serpent's tail, dogs' teeth, and a raven's body. It had been no wonder, therefore, if he instead of Lucifer had been beguiled of his wife, as the poet suggests. While engaged in distributing their future conquests, the triumvirate very nearly came to a division, very different from what they at first intended. Cavilling at first over the tortuous windings of the Trent, Hotspur threatens that, instead of allowing it to bend back upon itself and at length flow into the Humber, he'll have it dammed up and made to fall into the Wash at Lynn. And again, he shewed such impatience of Glendower's magic, that he almost chafed that chieftain into a quarrel. Trying to pacify him, Mortimer says to him, "Fie, cousin Percy, how you cross my father!" And he replies:—

Hot. I cannot choose : sometime he angers me,
With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,
Of the dreamer Merlin, and his prophecies ;
And of a dragon and a finless fish,
A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulted raven,
A couching lion, and a ramping cat,
And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
As puts me from my faith. I tell you what,—
He held me, last night, at least nine hours,
In reckoning up the several devils' names
That were his lackeys : I cried, hum,—and well,—go to,—

But mark'd him not a word. Oh, he's as tedious
 As is a tired horse, a railing wife ;
 Worse than a smoky house :—I had rather live
 With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,
 Than feed on cates, and have him talk to me,
 In any summer-house in Christendom.

In the end, Hotspur's and Mortimer's wives having joined them, the wife of the latter begins a Welsh song which, at Glendower's invocation, is followed by supernatural music in the air ; upon which Hotspur, who had doubted his power to call spirits from the deep, with sly irony observes that he perceives the devil understands Welsh. Lamenting his ignorance of his wife's language, Mortimer, in rapture with her singing, exclaims when she has finished,—

“Thy tongue
 Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
 Sung by a fair queen in a summer bower,
 With ravishing division to her lute !”

a passage in which the poet meant to compliment the Queen, who would at times, in her intercourse with him, relax from her usual stateliness. Once, as he was enacting before her the part of a monarch, she, it is said, intending to put him out, dropt her glove before him, when, instead of its disconcerting him, he merely stooped to pick it up and present it to her with this impromptu—

And though now bent on this high embassy,
 Yet stoop we to pick up our cousin's glove.

To this scene of raillery, there succeeds one of much serious earnestness between the king and the Prince of Wales, in which the king expostulates with him on his disorderly course of life.

I know not whether God will have it so,
 For some displeasing service I have done,
 That, in his secret doom, out of my blood
 He'll breed revengement and a scourge for me ;
 But thou dost, in thy passages of life,
 Make me believe, that thou art only mark'd
 For the hot vengeance and the rod of heaven,
 To punish my mistreadings. Tell me else
 Could such inordinate and low desires,
 Such poor, such bare, such lewd, such mean attempts,
 Such barren pleasures, rude society,
 As thou art match'd withal and grafted to,
 Accompany the greatness of thy blood,
 And hold their level with thy princely heart ?

P. Hen. So please your majesty, I would I could
 Quit all offences with as clear excuse,
 As well as, I am doubtless, I can purge

Myself of many I am charg'd withal:
 With such extenuation let me beg,
 As, in reproof of many tales devis'd,—
 Which oft the ear of greatness needs must hear,—
 By smiling pickthanks and base newsmongers,
 I may, for some things true, wherein my youth
 Hath faulty wander'd and irregular,
 Find pardon on my true submission.

K. Hen. God pardon thee!—yet let me wonder, Harry,
 At thy affections, which do hold a wing
 Quite from the flight of all thy ancestors.
 Thy place in council thou hast rudely lost,
 Which by thy younger brother is supplied;
 And art almost an alien to the hearts
 Of all the court and princes of my blood:
 The hope and expectation of thy time
 Is ruin'd; and the soul of every man
 Prophetically does forethink thy fall.

P. Hen. I shall hereafter, my thrice-gracious lord,
 Be more myself.

K. Hen. For all the world,
 As thou art to this hour, was Richard then
 When I from France set foot at Ravenspur;
 And even as I was then, is Percy now.
 Now by my sceptre, and my soul to boot,
 He hath more worthy interest to the state,
 Than thou, the shadow of succession:
 For, of no right, nor colour like to right,
 He doth fill fields with harness in the realm:
 Turns head against the lion's armed jaws;
 And, being no more in debt to years than thou,
 Leads ancient lords and reverend bishops on,
 To bloody battles, and to bruising arms.
 What never-dying honour hath he got
 Against renowned Douglas; whose high deeds,
 Whose hot incursions, and great name in arms,
 Holds from all soldiers chief majority,
 And military title capital,
 Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ;
 Thrice hath this Hotspur, Mars in swathing clothes,
 This infant warrior, in his enterprises
 Discomfited great Douglas; ta'en him once,
 Enlarged him, and made a friend of him,
 To fill the mouth of deep defiance up,
 And shake the peace and safety of our throne.
 And what say you to this? Percy, Northumberland,
 The archbishop's grace of York, Douglas, Mortimer,

Capitulate against us, and are up.
 But wherefore do I tell these news to thee?
 Why, Harry, do I tell thee of my foes,
 Which art my near'st and dearest enemy?

P. Hen. Do not think so, you shall not find it so,
 And God forgive them that so much have sway'd
 Your majesty's good thoughts away from me!
 I will redeem all this on Percy's head,
 And, in the closing of some glorious day,
 Be bold to tell you that I am your son;
 When I will wear a garment all of blood,
 And stain my favours in a bloody mask,
 Which, wash'd away, shall scour my shame with it.

Blunt, who now arrives, reports to the King that the rebels *met* at Shrewsbury on the 11th of the month (*i.e.*, on the 11th July, 1403), upon which the King, after telling him that this news is five days old, announces that his general forces will meet at Bridgenorth some twelve days afterwards. In those days, when roads were bad, and there were neither posts nor telegraphs, 12,000 men could have hardly have mustered and marched through the country, or taken up a position in which to fight, without the King having had more than five days intelligence that they had *met*. Besides which, if the King's forces were only to meet in twelve days at Bridgenorth, still a distance of two days' march from Shrewsbury, they must have arrived after the battle, which was fought at the latter place on the 21st July, a circumstance which, though it might have suited Falstaff, whose favourite motto was—

The latter end of a fray, and the beginning of a feast,
 Suite a dull fighter and a keen guest!

would by no means have suited the King, whose throne was at stake. The fact is that the reading is faulty; and Sir Walter Blunt did not really say the rebels *met*, but that they *meet*, that is, will meet,—which at once restores the sense, and makes his report consistent.

Hotspur's party proclaimed that the late King was still alive, and his partisans were invited to meet him at Sandiway, near Delamere Forest, on St. Kenelm's Day, 17th July, at six o'clock. From which it appears that they took Cheshire on their way to Shrewsbury.*

The King, who was at the head of an army which had assembled to put down the Welsh, was at Burton when he first heard of Hotspur's movements. From that place he moved towards Shrewsbury. On

* *Harl. MS.* 1989, fo. 381.

the 17th July, he was at Lichfield, and on the 19th he reached Shrewsbury. Hotspur and the Earl of Worcester joined their forces at Stafford; and marching from thence towards Shrewsbury approached it only a few hours after the king had occupied it. His Cheshire friends, marching by Prees and Whitchurch, probably effected a junction with him between there and Shrewsbury.*

Struggling to reconcile the dramatic unities so as not to violate history in his plot, the poet gives us great variety in his scenes. From royalty in the last scene, in the next he brings us into the company of Falstaff and his corporal Bardolph, where the two engage in a conversation with more freedom than would be admitted between such officers now. In the course of their dialogue, Falstaff having jested about Bardolph's fiery nose, the latter, as no one likes to hear remarks made on his personal peculiarities, resents it, and asks Falstaff if his nose had ever done him any harm? to which he replies:—"No, I'll be sworn I make as good use of it as a man doth of a death's head or a memento mori. If thou wert any way given to virtue, I would swear by thy face; my oath should be, By this fire! but thou art altogether given over; and wert indeed, but for the light in thy face, the son of utter darkness. When thou rann'st up Gadshill in the night to catch my horse, if I did not think thou hadst been an *ignis fatuus*, there's no purchase in money. O, thou art a perpetual triumph, an everlasting bonfire-light! Thou hast saved me a thousand marks in links and torches, walking with thee in the night betwixt tavern and tavern: but the sack that thou hast drunk me would have bought me lights as good cheap, at the dearest chandler's in Europe. I have maintained that salamander of yours with fire, any time this two-and-thirty years; Heaven reward me for it!"

The prince and Poins now coming in, Falstaff, using his truncheon as a flute, and affecting a military march, advances to meet them. The ordinary encounter of wit between them takes place, and the prince informs Falstaff that he has procured him a charge of foot, and adds—

"Meet me to-morrow in the Temple hall
At two o'clock in the afternoon,
There shalt thou know thy charge!"

The Temple, and its well known gardens, were frequented by many others besides lawyers in those days. There it was that, before the war of the roses, the rival courtiers plucked the red and the white

* Brooke's *Battle Fields*, pp. 4-5.

rose which afterwards became the badges of the contending houses. It was there that Warwick was heard to confess

In the sharp nice quillets of the law,
Good faith, I am not wiser than a daw !

In the fourth act, we find ourselves in the rebel camp near Shrewsbury, with a fair plain and Haghmond Abbey, nestling on a wooded hill, before us. To the right is the spot now called Battle Field, the Severn partly encircling it and having the royal camp on its banks ; while beyond it is the venerable Skelton oak from which Glendower, like a chained eagle, is said to have watched the battle, which a flood in the river hindered him from joining. The giant carcass of this tree, which still remains, is certainly old enough to call up memories of the battle. To the left, and somewhat in the rear, is the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, in whose tower was the clock by which Falstaff averred that he had fought a measured hour.

In the opening scene of this act, we have Hotspur, Douglas, and Worcester in conference, when Hotspur thus addresses Douglas :—

Hot. Well said, my noble Soot : If speaking truth,
In this fine age, were not thought flattery,
Such attribution should the Douglas have,
As not a soldier of this season's stamp
Should go so general current through the world.
By heaven, I cannot flatter ; I defy
The tongues of soothers ; but a braver place
In my heart's love hath no man than yourself.

A messenger entering shortly afterwards with letters, announcing that Northumberland is prevented by sickness from bringing up his powers, Hotspur, viewing this illness seriously, exclaims :—

" This sickness doth infect
The very life blood of our enterprise,
'Tis catching hither even to our camp, !"

Presently, however, his spirits rally, and he proceeds :—

" And yet it is not—this present want
Seems more than we shall find it.
Were it good to set the exact wealth of all our states
All at one cast ? "

But Worcester, who had offended the king too deeply to halt or go back, views the matter more seriously, and observes :—

Wor. But yet I would your father had been here.
The quality and air of our attempt
Brooks no division : It will be thought

By some, that know not why he is away,
 That wisdom, loyalty, and mere dislike
 Of our proceedings, kept the earl from hence ;
 And think, how such an apprehension
 May turn the tide of fearful faction,
 And breed a kind of question in our cause!

At this period our Cheshire man, Sir Richard Vernon, of whom we must say a few words, appears upon the scene. Sir Richard, who was baron of Shipbroke, and a lineal descendant of the first baron of that place, was one of those who were examined on the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy in 1389, at which time he was 34 years of age. On the 4th June, 22 Rich. II. 1399, he went on the late king's service into Ireland; and when Hotspur rose, unable to forget his old master, he joined his standard, and rose with him. Of this Sir Richard, Sir Walter Scott makes Diana Vernon say, "There hangs the sword of my ancestor, who is sorely slandered by a sad fellow called Will Shakspeare, whose Lancastrian partialities, and a certain knack of embodying them, has turned history upside down or, rather, inside out: and by that redoubted weapon hangs the mail of a still earlier Vernon, 'squire to the Black Prince, whose fate is the reverse of his descendant's, since he is indebted to the bard who undertook to celebrate him for good-will rather than for talents—

" Amidst the rout you might discern one
 Brave knight, with pipes on shield, yclept Vernon ;
 Like a born fiend along the plain he thundered,
 Prest to be carving throats while others plundered."

Few Cheshire names were formerly more celebrated than that of Vernon. Besides those already mentioned, there was another, Richard Vernon, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1426, though he was possibly a Dorbyshire man, and party to the celebrated colloquy in the Temple garden, when the roses were plucked as emblems of the rival houses.

We must not forget that, if Worcester had not prevented it, Sir Richard Vernon would have truly represented to Hotspur the result of their interview with the king, which would probably have spared the bloodshed at Shrewsbury.

Although Shakspeare has not drawn the character of Sir Richard Vernon, we may judge of the poet's estimate of him by his making him the friend of Hotspur, and by the beauty of the language he continually makes him use.

Sir Richard now brings news that Prince John of Lancaster and the Earl of Westmorland are marching towards them; upon which Mortimer very naturally inquires after the Prince of Wales, and receives this glowing description of him and his host from Vernon—

Ver. All furnish'd, all in arms :
 All plum'd, like estridges that wing the wind
 Bated,—like eagles having lately bath'd ;
 Glittering in golden coats, like images ;
 As full of spirit as the month of May,
 And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer ;
 Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.

The poet's exactness in this description is borne out by the chroniclers, who inform us that the prince, wearing his full armour, could vault into his saddle with ease, a feat to which few of his contemporaries were equal. Impatient of hearing his rival's praises, Hotspur, breaking in upon the speaker, exclaims—

"No more, no more; worse than the sun in March,
 This praise doth nourish agues!"

The scene now changes to a highway in Warwickshire, along which, under his own and Bardolph's leading, Falstaff's company are marching. Conscious how ill he has abused his powers in raising these men, the knight is loud in condemning their sorry appearance. They were, he says, never soldiers, but "discarded, unjust serving men; younger sons to younger brothers; revolted tapsters and ostlers, trade-fallen; the cankers of a calm world and a long peace; ten times more dishonourably ragged than an old faced ancient." (That is, than a tattered standard, which the common people, corrupting the word ensign, still call an "ancient.") "A mad fellow, who met me on the road, told me I had unloaded all the gibbets, and pressed the dead bodies. I'll not march through Coventry with them, that's flat! Nay, and the villains march wide betwixt the legs, as if they had the gyves on, for, indeed, I had most of them out of prison. There's but a shirt and a half in all my company, and the half shirt is two napkins tacked together, and thrown over the shoulders like a herald's coat without sleeves; and the shirt, stolen from mine host of St. Alban's, or the red nosed innkeeper of Daventry; but that's all one, they'll find linen enough on every hedge." Oliver Cromwell, the last person whom we should suspect to have been familiar with the drama, in describing Hampden's troop characterises them as "decayed serving men and tapsters," which forcibly recalls Falstaff's description of his men. But an old story relates how the Protector himself once trode the boards as

Tactus, or Touch, in Brewer's masque or morality of *Lingua*, in which the following lines, which he must have spoken, may have helped to fire his ambition—

“Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha ?
No, I am awake, I feel it now ;
Mercury, all's my own ! here's none
To cry half's mine.
Was ever man so fortunate as I ?”

Falstaff's soliloquy is interrupted by the arrival of the Prince of Wales and the Earl of Westmorland ; when, after mutual recognitions, the Prince commences this dialogue—

Tell me, Jack, whose fellows are these that come after ?

F. Mine, Hal, mine.

P. I did never see such pitiful rascals.

F. Tut, tut ; good enough to toss, food for gunpowder, and they'll fill a pit as well as a better ; tush, man ; mortal men, mortal men.

West. Ay but, Sir John, methinks they are exceeding poor and beggarly, too beggarly !

F. Well, for their poverty, I know not where they got that ; and for their bareness, I am sure they never learned that of me !

The next scene finds us in the rebel camp, near Shrewsbury, where Hotspur, Worcester, Douglas, and Sir Richard Vernon are engaged in hot debate whether to give the king instant battle. Hotspur and Douglas are for it ; while Worcester, looking for the arrival of Glendower and Mortimer, is against it ; while Sir Richard Vernon thus advises—

“Come, come, it may not be ;
I wonder much, being men of such great leading as you are,
That you perceive not what impediments
Drag back our expectation : certain horse*
Of my cousin Vernon's are not yet come up ;
Your uncle's horse came but to-day,
And now their pride and mettle is asleep,
Their courage with hard labour tame and dull,
That not a horse is half the half himself.”

But the trumpets now sound a parley, and Sir Walter Blunt brings this message from the king—

“The king hath sent to know
The nature of your griefs, and whereupon
You conjure from the breast of civil peace

* These laggard horse of his “cousin Vernon's” were those of Sir Richard Vernon of Hariaston, whose house, near Stockport, being at a greater distance from Shrewsbury than the rest, might account for his not arriving there so soon as the others.—*History of Cheshire.*

Such bold hostility, teaching his duteous land
 Audacious cruelty ; if that the king
 Have any way your good deserts forgot,
 Which he confesseth to be manifold,
 He bids you name your griefs, and, with all speed,
 You shall have your desires with interest,
 And pardon absolute for yourself and these
 Herein misled by your suggestion."

Hotspur, who had been once the king's dearest friend, but was now his bitterest enemy, aptly illustrated the poet's remark on that subject—

" Sweet love, I see, changing its property,
 Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate."

And when Blunt has delivered his message Hotspur thus answers him in irony—

Hot. The king is kind ; and, well we know, the king
 Knows at what time to promise, when to pay.
 My father, my uncle, and myself
 Did give him that same royalty he wears :
 And,—when he was not sixty-and-twenty strong,
 Sick in the world's regard, wretched and low,
 A poor unminded outlaw sneaking home,—
 My father gave him welcome to the shore :
 And,—when he heard him swear and vow to God
 He came but to be duke of Lancaster,
 To sue his livery and to beg his peace ;
 With tears of innocency and terms of zeal,—
 My father, in kind heart and pity mov'd,
 Swore him assistance, and perform'd it too.
 Now, when the lords and barons of the realm
 Perceiv'd Northumberland did lean to him,
 The more and less came in with cap and knee ;
 Met him in boroughs, cities, villages ;
 Attended him on bridges, stood in lanes,
 Laid gifts before him, proffer'd him their oaths,
 Gave him their heirs ; as pages follow'd him,
 Even at the heels, in golden multitudes.
 He presently,—as greatness knows itself,—
 Steps me a little higher than his vow
 Made to my father, while his blood was poor,
 Upon the naked shore at Ravenspur ;
 And now, forsooth, takes on him to reform
 Some certain edicts, and some strait decrees,
 Which lay too heavy on the commonwealth :
 Cries out upon abuses, seems to weep
 Over his country's wrongs ; and, by his face,

This seeming brow of justice, did he win
 The hearts of all that he did angle for.
 Proceeded further; cut me off the heads
 Of all the favourites that the absent king
 In deputation left behind him here
 When he was personal in the Irish war.

Upon Blunt's proposal, a conference ensues, and they at length dismiss him with a promise to send their answer in the morning.

In harmony with the momentous events which are at hand, and as if to prepare us for what is to come, the next scene opens in the archbishop's palace at York, where the archbishop is dispatching letters by a gentleman, whom he thus addresses —

"To-morrow, good Sir Michael, is a day
 Wherein the fortune of ten thousand men
 Must 'bide the touch."

In our day a trembling wire conveys a message over half the world in a few hours: news of the day at Shrewsbury would have taken one or two days to reach the archbishop; it was, therefore, only by the use of a poetical licence that the primate, so far away from Shrewsbury, was in possession of such exact intelligence of the coming strife. Fearing the worst, but trying to hope the best, to all his gentleman's attempts to reassure him he replies—

"I hope no less, yet needful 'tis to fear;
 And, to prevent the worst, Sir Michael, speed:
 For, if Lord Percy thrive not, ere the king
 Dismiss his power he means to visit us,
 For he hath heard of our confederacy,
 And 'tis but wisdom to make strong against him;
 Therefore make haste: I must go write again
 To other friends; and so farewell, Sir Michael."

The archbishop's apprehensions of a visit from the king proved but too true, for ere another month had passed, as we learn from the Cheshire records, the king was at York.

In a late scene we were in the rebel camp; but now we are in the presence of the king, his sons the Prince of Wales and Prince John, Sir Walter Blunt, and Sir John Falstaff, whose minds are sobered with the sense of the coming struggle. It is early morning, the day is breaking; and as he casts his eye towards the east, and sees the woods on Haghmond Hill, the king draws attention to the sun-rise—

"How bloodily the sun begins to peer
 Above yon busky hill! the day looks pale
 At his distemperature."

To which the Prince of Wales rejoins—

“The southern wind
Doth play the trumpet to his purposes,
And, by his hollow rustling in the leaves,
Foretells a tempest and a blustering day!”

Their further discourse is here interrupted by the entrance of Vernon and Worcester, who come to learn more particulars of the king's offer of pardon; when the king, with some impetuosity, falls to upbraiding Worcester—

“How now, my lord of Worcester? 't is not well
That you and I should meet upon such terms
As now we meet: You have deceiv'd our trust;
And made us doff our easy robes of peace,
To crush our old limbs in ungentle steel;
This is not well, my lord, this is not well.
What say you to it? will you again unknit
This churlish knot of all-abhorred war?
And move in that obedient orb again,
Where you did give a fair and natural light;
And be no more an exhal'd meteor,
A prodigy of fear, and a portent
Of broached mischief to the unborn times?”

Undismayed by these reproaches, and only too ready on all occasions to remind the king of his obligations, Worcester at once replies—

“It pleas'd your majesty to turn your looks
Of favour from myself, and all our house;
And yet I must remember you, my lord,
We were the first and dearest of your friends.
For you my staff of office did I break
In Richard's time; and posted day and night
To meet you on the way, and kiss your hand,
When yet you were, in place and in account,
Nothing so strong and fortunate as I.
It was myself, my brother, and his son,
That brought you home, and boldly did outdare
The danger of the time.”

And then, rather by inference than directly, he proceeds to show their grounds of complaint; when terms of accommodation are proposed, and Worcester at last returns, bearing this generous message from the Prince of Wales—

“Tell your nephew,
The Prince of Wales doth join with all the world
In praise of Harry Percy. By my hopes,
This present enterprise set off his head;

I do not think a braver gentleman,
 More active valiant, or more valiant young,
 More daring or more bold, is now alive
 To grace this latter age with noble deeds !"

When Worcester and Vernon first, and afterwards the king and his train, have retired, leaving only the Prince of Wales and Falstaff on the stage, the latter, unable even at such a time to restrain his taste for jesting, thus addresses the prince—

"Hal, if thou see me down in the battle, and bestride me, so ; 'tis a point of friendship."

On a former occasion, when the prince had desired him to lie down and listen whether he heard the thieves, Falstaff enquired whether he had "any levers to lift him up again, being down ;" but now it is the prince's turn, and he quickly retorts—

"Nothing but a colossus can do thee that friendship. Say thy prayers, and farewell."

And upon the fat knight saying "I would it were bed time, and all well," and then upon the prince saying, as he goes out, "Why thou owest heaven a death," the knight thus soliloquises—

"'Tis not due yet ; I would be loth to pay him before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me ? Well, 'tis no matter ; Honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on ? how then ? Can honour set to a leg ? No. Or an arm ? No. Or take away the grief of a wound ? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then ? No. What is honour ? A word. What is that word honour ? Air. A trim reckoning !—Who hath it ? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it ? No. Doth he hear it ? No. Is it insensible, then ? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living ? No. Why ? Detraction will not suffer it :—therefore, I'll none of it : Honour is a mere scutcheon, and so ends my catechism."

In the next scene Worcester, knowing how deeply he had offended the king, thus addresses his companion Vernon—

"Treason is but trusted as the fox,
 Who ne'er so tame, so cherished, and locked up,
 Will have a wild trick of his ancestors.
 Look how we can, or sad or merrily,
 Interpretation will misquote our looks,
 And we shall feed like oxen at a stall,
 The better cherished still the nearer death."

In the end, and against his better judgment, he brings Vernon over to his councils, and, instead of reporting the royal offers truly, he briefly tells Hotspur, "The king will bid you battle presently ;" upon which Hotspur, by Westmorland, who until now had remained a hostage in his tent, sends the king an instant defiance.

A battle is now imminent. Lady Hotspur's vision of "sallies and retires" is about to be realised, and 12,000 men on either side are to engage in deadly combat. We may see from Hotspur's language now how solemn are his thoughts—

"O gentlemen, the time of life is short;
To spend that shortness basely 'twere too long;
If life did ride upon the dial's point,
Still ending at the arrival of an hour."

In this figure his rapt imagination seems to see life riding on the long hand of the clock, and ending with each revolution of an hour.

From the preparation to the actual battle was but a moment; and now, amidst alarums, the bray of trumpets, and the sound of all the lofty instruments of war, we are on the field of Shrewsbury, near the rebel camp, amongst knights and gentlemen fighting hand to hand, the war cry on one side being "St. George!" and on the other "Esperance Percy!"

Sir Walter Blunt, honest and open as his name, having, in his too forward loyalty, assumed the king's coat, is singled out and slain by Douglas; and Falstaff, shortly afterwards finding his body, breaks out, as usual, in a soliloquy—

"Though I could 'scape shot-free at London, I fear the shot here: here's no scoring, but upon the pate.—Soft! who are you? Sir Walter Blunt;—there's honour for you: Here's no vanity! I am as hot as molten lead, and as heavy, too: Heaven keep lead out of me! I need no more weight than mine own bowels.—I have led my ragamuffins where they are pepper'd: there's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive; and they are for the town's end, to beg during life. But who comes here?"

In this soliloquy he is cut short by the prince, who asks—

"What, stand'st thou idle here? lend me thy sword:

Many a nobleman lies stark and stiff
Under the hoofs of vaunting enemies,
Whose deaths are unreveng'd: Prithee, lend me thy sword.

Fal. O Hal, I prithee, give me leave to breathe awhile.—Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day. I have paid Percy, I have made him sure.

P. Hen. He is, indeed: and living to kill thee. I prithee, lend me thy sword.

Fal. Nay, Hal, if Percy be alive thou gett'st not my sword; but take my pistol, if thou wilt.

P. Hen. Give it me: What, is it in the case?

Fal. Ay, Hal; 'tis hot, 'tis hot; there's that will sack a city. [*The PRINCE draws out a bottle of sack.*]

P. Hen. What, is it a time to jest and dally now? [*Throws it at him, and exit.*]

Fal. If Percy be alive I'll pierce him, if he do come in my way, so: if he do not, if I come in his willingly, let him make a carbonado of me. I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath: Give me life, which if I can save, so; if not, honour comes unlooked for, and there's an end." [Exit.

Falstaff, in comparing his deeds of arms with Turk Gregory's, pointed at Pope Hildebrand, who assumed the name of Gregory, and whose fierce and unscrupulous contest with the Emperor about the right of investitures had obtained him an ill name. He died in 1073, but his name remained still in bad odour; which made the poet unchristianise him, and call him, what he was in character, a Turk.

When the prince drew from the knight's holster a bottle of sack, instead of a pistol, the time was too hot for a jest, or the knight might have told him he had a charge in each holster,—in the one a pistol for his enemies, and in the other a bottle for his friends.

The king, who was in every part of the field, performed prodigies of valour, and not less than six and thirty of his enemies, it is said, bit the dust under his sword. The Prince of Wales, by whom he was nobly supported, received a wound in the face; upon which the king wished him to withdraw from the field for a time—

"I prithee,

Harry, withdraw thyself, thou bleed'st too much."

But, little heeding such a request, the prince replies—

"Heaven forbid a shallow scratch should drive
The Prince of Wales from such a field as this,
Where stained nobility lies trodden on,
And rebels' arms triumph in massacres!"

The battle being renewed in another part of the field, the Douglas, amidst fresh alarms, enters and attacks the king, when he is put to flight by the Prince of Wales, who rushes to his father's rescue.

While Hotspur, in another part of the field, engages the Prince of Wales, the Douglas re-enters and engages Falstaff, who, after making a show of resistance, falls down as if slain.

In the contest between the prince and Hotspur victory declares for the prince, and his rival falls, mortally wounded. Lying on the earth, he attempts to address his vanquisher, but, with the words upon his lips, death stops his breath, and the prince takes up and finishes the sentence—

Hot. O, Harry, thou hast robb'd me of my youth:

I better brook the loss of brittle life

Than the proud titles thou hast won of me;

They wound my thoughts worse than thy sword my flesh:—

But thought 's the slave of life, and life time's fool ;
 And time, that takes survey of all the world,
 Must have a stop. O, I could prophesy,
 But that the earthy and cold hand of death
 Lies on my tongue :—No, Percy, thou art dust,
 And food for—

[Dies.

P. Hen. For worms, brave Percy : Fare thee well, great heart !
 Ill-weav'd ambition, how much art thou shrunk !
 When that this body did contain a spirit
 A kingdom for it was too small a bound,
 But now two paces of the vilest earth
 Is room enough."

The prince, however, has no sooner retired than Falstaff, rising slowly, takes up the expression of the prince as to seeing him embowelled, and thus begins to moralise on it—

" Embowelled ! if thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to powder me and eat me to-morrow. 'Sblood, 't was time to counterfeit, or that hot termagant Scot had paid me scot and lot too. Counterfeit ? I lie, I am no counterfeit : To die is to be a counterfeit ; for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man : but to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed. The better part of valour is discretion ; in the which better part I have saved my life. 'Zounds, I am afraid of this gunpowder Percy, though he be dead : How if he should counterfeit toe, and rise ? I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit. Therefore I'll make him sure : yea, and I'll swear I killed him. Why may not he rise, as well as I ? Nothing confutes me but eyes, and nobody sees me. Therefore, sirrah [*stabbing him*], with a new wound in your thigh, come you along with me."

And then, lugging along Hotspur's body, he meets the Prince of Wales and Prince John, and this dialogue ensues—

P. Hen. Come, brother John, full bravely hast thou flesh'd thy maiden sword.

P. John. But soft ! who have we here ?
 Did you not tell me this fat man was dead ?

P. Hen. I did ; I saw him dead,
 Breathless and bleeding on the ground.
 Art thou alive ?

Or is it phantasy that plays upon our eyesight ?
 I prithee, speak ; we will not trust our eyes
 Without our ears : thou art not what thou seem'st.

Fal. No, that's certain ; I am not a double man : but if I be not Jack Falstaff then am I a Jack. There is Percy : [*throwing the body down*] if your father will do me any honour, so ; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself. I look to be either an earl or a duke, I can assure you."

Very shortly after the trumpets sound a victory, and the Prince of Wales exclaims—

"Come, brother, let us to the highest of the field,
To see what friends are living, who are dead."

When they have withdrawn, Falstaff characteristically rejoins—

"I'll follow, as they say, for reward. He that rewards me, Heaven reward him!"

In Falstaff's time rewards in the West occupied the same place that *backsheish* now does in the East; stipulated payments were not thought to be a sufficient remuneration for services, and each knight and man-at-arms who was engaged before Agincourt, over and above his wages, stipulated that he should have rewards. In Shakspeare's time this custom extended to the players, and, while their wages for a performance was £6 : 18 : 4, they received half as much more in reward: and it is but charity to an immortal name to believe that some such bad practice, prevailing in the courts of law, led to the fall of the poet's most illustrious contemporary, the great Chancellor Bacon.

The trumpets sound a second time; the field has been won, the victory is complete; and the king enters with the Prince of Wales, Prince John, the Earl of Westmorland, and others in his train; the Earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon following as prisoners, and we hear the king addressing this reproach to the Earl of Worcester—

"Thus ever did rebellion find rebuke,
Ill-spirited Worcester, did we not send grace,
Pardon, and terms of love to all of you?
And wouldst thou turn our offers contrary?
Misuse the terror of thy kinsman's trust?
Three knights upon our party slain to-day,
A noble earl, and many a creature also,
Had been alive this hour
If, like a Christian, thou hadst truly borne,
Betwixt our armies, true intelligence."

And order is then given to bear Worcester and Vernon to their death.

The Prince of Wales, having announced that Douglas has been taken, obtains from the king leave to dispose of him, and thereupon he gracefully releases him without ransom. The Douglasses, though a great race, were not successful soldiers. At Otterburne, the supposed Chevy Chase, one of them pointed to himself as fulfilling a prophecy that a dead man of his race should win a battle; and our Douglas, the Douglas of Hotspur, "the beaten Douglas," as Shakspeare calls him, the "Tine man or Lose man," as he is called by the Scots,—was a very unfortunate commander. It was truly said of him that he was either defeated, wounded, or made prisoner in every battle in which he

was engaged. He was wounded and made prisoner by Hotspur at Holmedon, and he had now again been made prisoner by the king.

The scene falls as the king, forgetting how lately he had been a successful rebel himself, utters these words—

“Rebellion in this land shall lose his sway,
Meeting the check of such another day.”

Having thus endeavoured to fulfil the purpose which I proposed to myself at the commencement, it only remains for me to say a few words by way of conclusion.

A learned writer who at the beginning of this century wrote an account of the rebellion of 1745, committed his work, which he called “*De Motu per Britanniam Civico*,” to the press in elegant Latin, thinking, perhaps, that a dead language would be the fittest medium for transmitting to posterity the account of what he hoped would be the last English rebellion. If such were his hope, we shall all of us accord to it a hearty and cordial “Amen.”

But the drama on which we have here been occupied is written in no dead language, but in one that will never die.

The story of Shrewsbury, which shews us what civil war is, may well make us thankful that we have so long escaped its horrors, and wish that such a blessing may long be ours! Meanwhile, it is not among our least blessings that Shakspeare's language is our mother tongue; and that in his pages we have events, characters, and incidents illustrated in such endless variety and with such delight as may make us adopt the words, which are almost Shakspeare's, and which a late poet has put in the mouth of a great but unfortunate queen—

“You poets hold a court,
Which whose visits not hath lost all title
To that nobility which endures for ages,
Where kings are proud to enter: there's no clime,
Nor age, not even the heav'n of heav'ns, but sends,
Summoned by your plumed herald Fantasy,
Its embassy of noblest images
To do you service, and ye entertain them
Right royally, do make them move to music,
That they forget the sound of their own spheres!”





VOTIVE ALTAR.

discovered in Field's Nursery, Tarrin Road, Chrstch.

1849.

Height 11½ inches, Breadth 7 inches.

CHESTER IN ITS EARLY YOUTH:
OR THE COLONY OF
DEVA,
SEEN BY THE LIGHT OF THE ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED
THERE.

BY
THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.

THE study of Archaeological Remains, while interesting enough to the thoroughgoing antiquary, is not equally so to minds somewhat differently constituted. What interest, it may be asked (and such a question has often enough been put to *me* by *very* wise people), what interest can there possibly attach to those "old pots and pans"—those shreds of metal and of moulded clay—that are from time to time unearthed, at Chester and elsewhere, by the pickaxe of the common labourer? Why should these wretched potsherds, these scraps of glass, these crumbling, nondescript bones, be dragged prominently into daylight, and be so eagerly treasured up by those who ought to know better, rather than be left to perish where they have lain for so many long years, uncared for and forgotten?

These are questions often advanced by persons who are either ignorant of, or who affect to despise, the lessons that lie hidden in those ancient stones, and often yet older bones, that crowd the debris of every Chester excavation. We must endeavour to show them that while every drop of water, every pebble on the shore, and every flower of the field, have their lesson to teach, if we only study them aright,—even so the articles, mere fragments though they sometimes be, of sacred or domestic use left to us by ages long past and gone, have *their* value also. To these shattered but still imperishable remains we are indebted, more than to any written records, for a glance at the usages of society at a time when Britain was a mere infant among the nations,

and when the darkness of barbarism was only slowly passing away before the light and glory of civilised Rome. If there be any value whatever in history ; if it be worth our while as a nation to turn back to hoar antiquity, and to judge, by the evidences that time has left to us, what it is that has finally developed into the free and powerful England of to-day ; if the "almighty dollar" is not to be the one absorbing article of our faith and hope,—then, surely, every peep we can snatch at the habits and customs of social life, the handicraftsman's skill, the standard of popular taste, the religious life and aspirations of our Roman predecessors, will not be beneath our dignity as an educated and a thoughtful people !

Of purely primeval antiquities old Chester knows nothing ; no flint or stone weapons, no Celtic palstaves, no sun-baked vases, no early British coins, have we here. To my mind, looking at the question from a purely local point of view, those 300 years of Rome's occupation of this island are the true starting point of our career as an intellectual nation,—all before that time was semi-barbarism and chaos ; and the stories we read of the aboriginal people, the Britons, are, too many of them, pretty fables and nothing more. Giving full allowance for all that Welsh and other historians have told, and all that the poets have sung, to us of our ancient British forefathers, it will hardly be debated, at all events here in Chester (where no single relic of pre-Roman character has ever, so far as is known, been discovered), that with the Latin advent to our shores we locally first touch tangible historic ground. From this reliable stand point, then, let us turn our thoughts to the Roman occupation of that possibly barren rock, thereupon and for ever after to be dignified with the classic name of *DEVA*.

Julius Cæsar landed upon the Kentish coast, as every schoolboy knows, in the year 55 B.C., but he remained in the country only a very short time, having met, as might be expected, anything but a cordial welcome from the owners of the soil. He certainly never reached inland so far as the midland counties ; and albeit he the next year returned at the head of a large army, and carried fire and sword through the southern districts of England, he had no time to spare for a military tour northward. He had all his work to do to fight and hold his ground in the neighbourhood of the Thames ; where undisciplined hosts, in mere numbers sufficient to have devoured his force piecemeal, vainly spent their lives in the effort to stem the current of his victorious arms.

Still, the country as a whole, if awed, was not subdued ; and had Cæsar remained through the winter, he and his forces must probably have succumbed before the angry shoals of Britons, who upon three sides fiercely menaced his position, and thirsted for his very blood. He prudently withdrew, however, in time ; taking hostages and a few trophies back with him to Gaul : and thus, nominally, another province was added to the imperial diadem, but, practically, the islanders were every whit as free and independent as they were two years before. Tacitus, indeed, acknowledges the true state of affairs, when he says " Cæsar conquered not Britain ; he only showed it to his soldiers,"—a sort of tempting bait with which to lure them thither at a more convenient season.

Whether or not Augustus ever visited Britain, and thence claimed the dignity of an imperial triumph at Rome, is a question that depends on the true reading of Virgil, and is scarcely ripe for discussion here. A later emperor, Caligula the contemptible, *did* cast longing eyes towards our chalky cliffs, just as did the great Napoleon in the last generation ; but the designs of the twain, so similar in conception, were no less so in their result, for neither of them ventured beyond the heights of Boulogne.

* Claudius succeeds to the purple ; and aided by his general, Plautius, in the year 43 makes a descent upon Britain ; in a little more than a fortnight penetrating to Colchester, where in after times a temple was erected to his deified memory. Ostorius Scapula and Suetonius Paulinus are each in their turn governors of Britain ; and it is not unlikely that the latter, when, in 60 A.D., he resolved on the conquest of Anglesey, may have encamped here with his army, while on his way upon, or in returning from, that sanguinary expedition. If that were so, it would account for the selection of Chester as the camp of the 20th Legion ; for one of Suetonius' chief lieutenants in that Mona campaign, and one who had learned the art of war under his standard, was the great soldier and strategist, Julius Agricola, who in the year 69 commanded that celebrated Legion in this country.

It is almost impossible, in the absence of direct evidence, to fix upon an actual date for the first settlement of DEVA. Dr. Brushfield, our valued coadjutor, in his exhaustive article on " Roman Chester," in the last number of our Society's *Journal*, gives the years 78-80 as the date of its first colonization. This may indeed be so : but, were it not that I regard the doctor's judgment as far superior to my own, I should

be inclined to name a somewhat earlier year. And my reasons for doing so would be these. The 20th Legion, as we well know from history, was sent over to Britain by Claudius in 43 A.D. ; and when he himself came over, it took part in *his* battles, and shared *his* triumphs. It was pre-eminently a fighting Legion : its home was for a long time the open field, or the hastily entrenched camp ; and its leisure was small for aspirations of a settled or domestic character. If we give 25 years for this continued life of unrest, we shall be taxing to the last degree the enduring powers of even a Roman soldier ; though the wear and tear the legionary troops sustained would seem to us, in the present day, but little short of the miraculous.

This would bring us to the year 69, or just to the time when Julius Agricola was assuming the command of this valorous Legion. My idea would have been, that this was the era when their colony or head quarters at DEVA were first established, under the personal direction of the new commander : and there is at hand a sort of confirmation of this view, that at least deserves a moment's consideration. Coins are among the more lasting, as well as the most reliable, evidences of a nation's early history ; and thus in Chester, as excavations are made from time to time, we find the coins of nearly every Roman emperor after Galba, commencing with this identical year, 69 A.D.

Otho, the emperor of but eighty days, had just then succeeded Caligula, and having been ignominiously beaten at Brixellum, in Italy, he, like his black imitator Theodore, died by his own hand. Now, about seven years ago a Roman tiled grave, with the skeleton almost entire, was found about a foot below the surface on the escarpment of the rock just outside the City Walls, at the south-eastern end of the present Dee Stands. In this grave a silver denarius of Otho was also found. I was upon the spot within half an hour of the discovery,—I saw the unmistakeable red tiles so dear to the antiquary,—I saw, too, the skeleton, lying pretty much in its original position,—but the coin had found its way, meanwhile, into the hands of my brother collector, Mr. Frederick Potts ! Otho's included, the coins of every Roman emperor down to the middle of the fourth century have, at one time or other, been found at Chester. All this, however, simply for what it is worth ; for our present purpose, it will suffice if we place the first settlement of DEVA at the year 78, as set forth by Dr. Brushfield.

It behoves us now to enquire what sort of community it was that Agricola founded here, and in what respect, and why, it differed from

many other settlements of the Romans in Britain. I believe, with Dr. Brushfield, that while London, Bath, Lincoln, and other places that occur to us, gauged by the standard of that day, were the centres of high civilization and refinement,—as is proved by the statues, the friezes and bas-reliefs, the remains of temples, the beautiful works in terra-cotta, bronze, and the precious metals that have rendered those sites famous,—the colonists of DEVA, and the home they created, were of a sterner and far less effeminate mould. Soldiers from their early youth, cradled in camp and nurtured in the field, but little of real luxury, unless hard fighting and hard work be indeed luxuries, did those hardy veterans know. They came to found a camp, and they religiously fulfilled their mission. It is morally certain that they tasted, as a mass, not many of the sweets of domestic life; and they brought here with them few “camp followers,” in the shape of wives and families. The warning we drill into our household servants of the present day,—“No followers allowed!”—was applied with greater rigour by those in authority then, and was more implicitly obeyed, too, by those disciplined soldiers of DEVA.

Clearly their first duty on arrival would be to select a temporary camp, in which to entrench themselves against midnight surprise, or other sudden attack from the enemy all around them. I conceive, therefore, that the site of the present Castle, naturally defended by the river Dee on its western and southern sides, and strengthened by a ditch and earthworks hastily thrown up on its two other sides, would be the first refuge and home of the new comers. There they might rest in comparative safety, a few sentries amply sufficing to keep watch against the foe.

Gradually the workmen-soldiers—for a Roman Legion was a very hive of masons and other skilled artificers—would give form and substance to their nobler camp adjoining. It is not to be inferred from this that the Castle site was occupied only as a temporary measure. Its position was a far too commanding one to be lightly abandoned; and we may rely upon it that a garrison was always kept there. It is certain that a massive structure of stone ultimately took the place of the first camp; and indeed there are remains of it still existing in the arch under the Julian Tower.

The Walls—those Roman Walls that were the wonder and admiration of many an after age, and which still at certain points endure to the present day—would in process of time form a girdle

round the place, an impenetrable safeguard to all who dwelt within. I say "in process of time"—for with a sagacity which we of the 19th century often fail to display, they began to cast about for a quarry of more reliable stone than their new site afforded. They had solid rock under their very feet, and might readily have taken all that they required without any great expenditure of labour or carriage. But the geologists, if we may for once call them so, of that infant community saw at a glance that if the Walls of DEVA were to be a permanent record of the builders, they must go elsewhere for the materials wherewith to build them. The stone of the Roman Walls is of a hard, close, and non-porous character, streaked in most cases with thin veins of a flint-like paste—in short, very different from, and very superior to, any we now find hereabouts; but the quarry whence it was taken has never been traced in modern times. It is believed to have been somewhere in the district of Manley, by Frodsham, and not far perhaps from where the Cathedral stone is even now being taken for the work of restoration. There is scarcely a stone of the Edwardian Walls of Chester that retains its original chiseled surface; of the Roman Walls that remain, on the contrary, there is scarcely one that has suffered much in that regard, though a thousand years of wear and tear separate the two!

The massive ramparts once completed, with the deep fosse upon the north side, and broader moat upon the east and probably south sides—for the Castle was then outside the Walls, and then, as now, outside the city—the settlers would thus be free to erect within the Walls such public or other buildings as stern necessity on the one hand, growing taste, or religious feeling on the other, might dictate. The four principal streets, partly excavated at right angles from the gates, and the military road all round the camp within the Walls, which indeed still partially exists, would be the streets first constructed by the colonists.

After this would spring up the Prætorium—the residence of the governor—occupying the most central position at the junction of the four streets. Here, in all probability, did the consul Agricola himself reside, when not engaged in the wars; and here, if at all in Britain, his family dwelt as their home, down to the period of his recall, by the jealous Domitian, in the year 84. If this were so, then a new honour attaches, we may presume, to Chester. Tacitus, the greatest historian the empire ever knew, married the daughter of Julius Agricola, in the



ROMAN FOSSE [NOW THE CANAL] AND CITY WALLS.
NEAR THE NORTHGATE, CHESTER.

year 77, and, if my earlier date could be affirmed, may have wooed and won her in this very city. He was 25 years old—a favourite courting age, if my early recollections serve me—at the date of Agricola's recall; and, I suppose, most young men have by that time of life managed to make up their minds. If this be anything more than a mere idea, then may we almost indulge the boast that, within the "spick and span" Walls of DEVA, two men of especial mark in their generation—Agricola and Tacitus—two men who have made the world ring with their fame, have lived in close communion; nay, more, by making the place for a while their home, have bound themselves up with its history.

Whether the staff of the Governor were at this time large or small, it would certainly include that essential to all orthodox communities—a medical man. Following in that day the custom prevalent in England down to even the last century, this medical man would most likely be a foreigner. He may indeed have been that leech Hermogenes, to whose devotional feeling we are indebted for the fragment of a Greek Altar, which now adorns the Society's Museum. It was dug up at the Saracen's Head, behind the old Town Hall—a house that has acquired more celebrity, in many ways, of late than it ever did in the zenith of its prosperity. The fragment of inscription which commences with (σντ)ηρσιν.....(υη)ερμεγενσιν, and includes a pure hexameter,—

"ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΤΟΝΔ' ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ,"

we read "To the healing and immortal gods, Hermogenes, the physician, erects this altar."

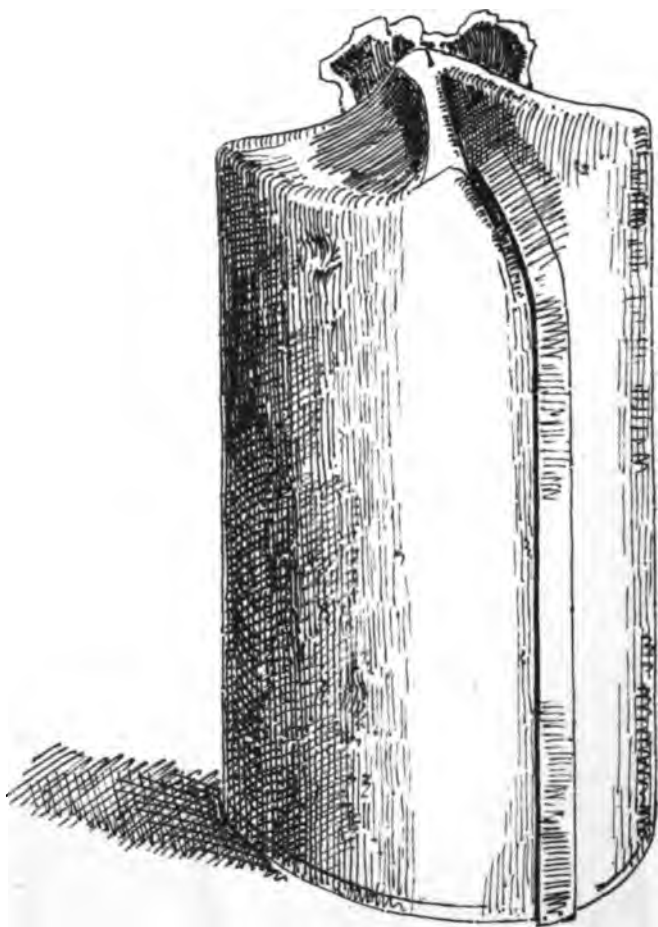
Contemporary with—perhaps, indeed, before—the erection of the Prætorium, the governor and his colleagues, true to the dictates of their national faith, would raise up a Temple in honour of that deity who happened at the time to be most in favour among the people. Which was the particular god most affected by the 20th Legion, we have now, perhaps, no means of deciding; but where history fails to supply a missing link, the voice of tradition is not to be despised. We have it upon record, in the way, that the Roman temple (as it is said) of Apollo stood upon the spot now occupied by the Cathedral of St. Werburgh—within a stone's throw, in point of fact, of the Prætorium and governor's residence.

The truth of this oral testimony it may scarcely be possible now to fathom, but it is at least probable that such was the case. Of almost every cathedral in England the like thing is said; and, in some of

them, remains have been uncovered that entirely favour the position thus-assumed. At Chester, if we have no testimony above ground in the shape of masonry, &c., at the Cathedral, it deserves to be recorded that foundations of concrete were met with in the summer of 1868 underneath the fabric of the venerable Lady Chapel. These remains were not shown to me personally; but the late Mr. Frater, the obliging and much-lamented clerk of the works, shortly afterwards informed me of the discovery, and declared that, in his opinion, the concrete was Roman.

In that same year, under the eastern wall of the Lady Chapel, and extending partly under the floor of the Chapel itself, a drain was met with; this also was, by the same practical authority, pronounced to be Roman. The roof of this drain was nine feet below the very lowest course of the plinth of the present Lady Chapel—an indication, by the way, of the depth we must go before we reach the original level of this interesting site. A stone was taken out by Mr. Frater from the side of this drain: it appears to have, somehow or other, been mislaid, but was inscribed with certain letters, which, if the relic were only available, would probably add another to the many inscriptions bequeathed to us by the Legion. A coin of Domitian was found in the drain; and another of the same emperor was picked up by a workman at a short distance from the spot. At the same level, what would certainly appear to have been a Roman Road, formed of large pebbles firmly set in a bed of cement, was also uncovered: this road ran in a diagonal direction across the south-eastern buttress of the Lady Chapel. Mr. Frater kindly favoured me with a plan of the spot, shewing the position and course of this Roman Road. It was traced through the whole length of the excavations at this point, and was continued at each end beneath the present soil.

Nor must we omit to mention, while dealing with this particular site, that we have other collateral testimony as to its Roman antecedents—testimony, too, that will mark the spot as sacred for nearly eighteen hundred years. The Romans were proverbial for their attention to sanitary arrangements; hence arose, perhaps, their custom of burning their dead, in preference to laying the remains where there was the slightest chance of their giving offence or doing injury to the living. Thus, in almost every walled town of Roman occupation, we find the cemeteries placed outside the walls. In Chester that rule prevailed,—not exclusively, as I shall show, but to a very great extent.



LEADEN CYLINDER,

CONTAINING HUMAN BURNT REMAINS.

Found in the Roman Cemetery, Handbridge, Chester, 1862.

Length 16 in Diameter 8 in .

Handbridge, just outside the modern suburb of that name, appears to have been selected by the colonists as their chief place of sepulture. There, in strict accordance with the Roman sentiment, and upon the margin of the great highway or street which they themselves constructed from Chester towards Bangor Iscoed and Uriconium—there they reverently burnt the bodies of their dead, and, gathering the ashes from the funeral pyre, lovingly consigned them to the pagan urn. There is scarcely a graveyard in England to-day that does not prominently recognise this ancient yet unchristian symbol of the urn. Few, perhaps, of those who select that form of memorial are aware that they are thus doing honour to a pagan emblem,—an emblem, be it remembered, discarded even by the Romans themselves, when, on throwing off the heathen yoke and the gods their forefathers worshipped, they entered the Christian fold.

Upon the site of the Handbridge cemetery, especially while the Eaton Road villas were being constructed, quantities of vases and urns have from time to time been found. It should be borne in mind that these fragile vessels and the ashes they contained had lain there in peace, unpillaged and undisturbed, nay, absolutely free from desecration on the one hand or vulgar curiosity on the other, for near eighteen hundred years!

In one instance a leaden cylinder had been used in substitution of an urn. This was an uncommon, if, indeed, it may not rank as an absolutely unique, arrangement: I, at all events, am unaware of any similar example from a Roman cemetery. Its adoption in this instance was probably due to their having no earthen vessel at hand to receive the ashes; and thus the cylinder, which I here exhibit, bears all the appearance of a hasty substitute, constructed upon the spot for the purpose. Mr. John Jones, of Westminster Buildings, on whose land in Eaton Road it was discovered, generously presented it at the time to the Society. Methinks those ignorant pagans, in their real regard for the dead, might put some of us, even in Chester, to the blush for our lack of reverence for those we consign to the tomb.*

Well, as I have said, Handbridge was in Roman times, even as it has once more come to be in our day, the chief cemetery of DEVA. But all the Roman dead were certainly not there interred. Five other sites have occurred within living memory, where burials of the legionary

* *Vide annexed illustration.*

period have also been met with : three of these sites, and possibly a fourth were, contrary to established custom, *within the compass of the mural camp*.

One has been already referred to—the tiled grave, with its skeleton tenant, lying quite by itself on the south-west escarpment of the rock, just outside the City Walls, overlooking the Distance Chair. *That* was, I conceive, judging from the coin of Otho which accompanied the bones in their ceramic tomb, one of the very earliest bodies committed to the ground during the Roman occupation ; and, if so, it appeals to us with an interest that cannot be over-rated. I lean, indeed, to the opinion that that body was interred at a time when the City Walls themselves had as yet no being. I further think that the centurion who planned, and the soldiers who built up, those massive ramparts not only were aware of its existence, but studiously avoided interference with its repose.*

It was, as we have already shown, the custom of the Romans from the very earliest ages (and the same may be said of most other pagan nations,) to consume the bodies of their dead with fire, and to lay up only the ashes of the pile within the sacred urn. But a new era had now arrived. Another and a purer faith had sprung up in Judea, and had struck mighty root far and wide among the nations ; and Rome herself, the mistress of the world, was impotent to withstand, though by persecution, torture, and even death, she laboured hard to destroy it. The first converts were all, or most of them, Jews. Adhering to the burial rites of God's people, the early Christians, everywhere, as a principle, abolished among themselves the then popular custom of burning their dead. As the tree fell, so they let it lie : they consigned the bodies intact to the grave, and reverently placed over them, as we do still, some loving memorial in unison with the faith in which the converts died. It will be by this time gathered to what conclusion my ideas tend. *Whose* was that solitary grave on the western heights of our Devan camp, none of us can ever know ; but that a soldier of distinction slept there, all the circumstances—the character of the grave, its prominent position in view of the setting sun, and the silver coin enclosed within it—all seem to indicate. I believe, moreover, that its isolated position, and the presence of the skeleton entire in a well-formed coffin-shaped tomb, show that cremation or burning had not, as was usual, taken place : and that possibly it had been refused admission

* Later investigations confirm this opinion.



CITY WALLS, CASTLE, AND RACECOURSE, CHESTER,

Shewing position of Roman Grave. found in 1865.

to the public cemetery, or had studiously been kept apart from all fellowship with pagandom. This, together with the date of the coin, and other circumstances, all point to the interesting fact that this was the grave of one of the earliest Christian residents of DEVA—perhaps even of one who had himself in early youth seen and heard the voice of the SON OF MAN! Reverently, and in all humility, I put forward this latter conjecture. There is nothing improbable in it that I can see: at all events I may plead it as my apology for so considerable a digression upon what some perhaps may deem to be a very small matter. Having turned aside from the track in pursuit of a phantom I had myself conjured up, let us now resume our course.

We were speaking of the so-called Temple of Apollo, which tradition has placed on the site of our Cathedral; and I was endeavouring to show that the spot was certainly a sacred one in those very remote days. My object was, moreover, to prove that while Handbridge was indisputably the great cemetery of Deva, there were spots also *within* the camp where burials, in considerable numbers, had taken place during the legionary period. One such site, beyond doubt or cavil, was the honoured precinct of that pagan temple, which, when the Romans finally retired from the island, constantly, almost to the present day, served as a burial ground to the old Church of St. Oswald. This graveyard was at one time of far greater extent than it is now: St. Werburgh-street, Abbey-square, and, indeed, nearly all the land bounded on the west and south by Northgate and Eastgate-streets, and on the north and east by the City Walls, were, in early times, included in this great central burial place. Abbey-street, it may be added, was entirely the creation of the 18th century.

Close to the eastern corner of the new Corn Exchange, where the steps now go down from the Walls towards St. Werburgh-street, a portion of the churchyard which had been disused for centuries was slightly entrenched upon in 1860, to secure uniformity of line upon that side of the Exchange. It was then that the Roman soldier's tombstone was found by the workmen, and presented by the late Mr. Chivas to the Public Grounds, near the Water Tower; where, strange to say, uninjured alike by mischievous hands and inclement weather, it still remains available to the inspection of the curious. The late Mr. Pullan, to whose unobtrusive labours, as an antiquary, the city owes much, saturated the stone at the time with a preparation of oil, which filled up the pores so completely that it has escaped the fate which

from its exposed position, was otherwise inevitable. If all things were in their right places in this world, that interesting relic would be safe under cover, "pointing a moral and adorning a tale" historic in our Society's Museum. The inscription upon it, as is too commonly the case, has been partially, and no doubt purposely, obliterated; we can, however, still make out the two first lines—

D . M.

FESONII MATER

"To the divine shades of Fesonius, his Mother" (perhaps "erects this monument in memory of her son"). Our Museum also contains the upper fragment of another similar gravestone from the Handbridge or Eaton-road Cemetery, dug up in 1852; it has, however, been very much battered and ill-used. Both these memorials have been similar in design, and closely follow that of which a drawing will be found in the 4th Part of our Society's *Journal*.*

Very near to the spot where this tombstone was discovered—while indeed, the steps from the Walls already referred to were in course of construction—another memorial of pagandom was discovered in the year 1862. This was an altar, dedicated "DEAE MATRI." or, in other words, "To the Goddess Mother"—the particular deity supposed to preside over the destinies of Deva. Up to the present time no inscription has been found that will even indicate the name of this "goddess mother;" but I have a notion upon the subject, which I may amplify hereafter. This altar was found, like the soldier's gravestone, on the property of the late Mr. Chivas; and he, with that public spirit which through a long and useful life always distinguished him, sent for me the moment it was discovered, and generously presented it to the Museum of this Society.

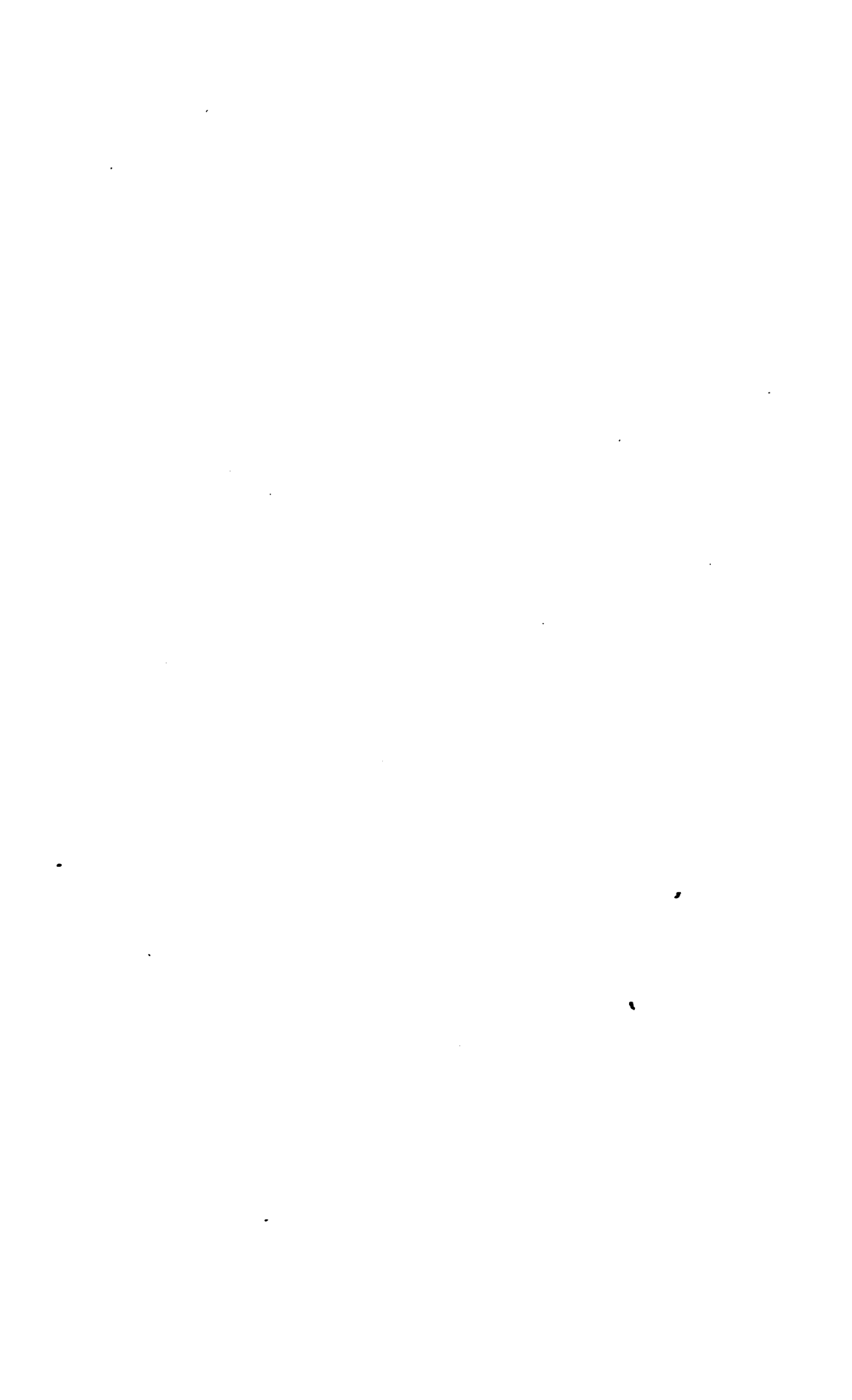
I have spoken of the "goddess mother" presiding over the city. Let us now turn to another example of the altar class, found within the ancient limits of this same St. Oswald's cemetery. Fifty yards to the westward of the Corn Exchange runs a passage from, and parallel with, St. Werburgh-street into Eastgate-street, of late times known as Pepper Alley, or London Baker's Entry. This narrow passage was originally at least four or five times its present width, extending in fact some yards westward and eastward beyond the line of Mr. Dutton's

* Chester Archaeological Society's *Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 460, plate.



ROMAN GRAVESTONE,

*discovered at the S.E. corner of
 St Oswald's Churchyard, Chester. 1861.
 Height 4.6 Breadth 1.5.*



premises in Eastgate-street. Compared with this ancient street or passage, I conceive St. Werburgh-street proper to be quite an infant of days, a mere modern diversion of the ancient church-path.

Pepper Alley was a public road even in Saxon times, as the name it bore in mediæval records—viz., Goddestall Lane—amply testifies. *God's acre* and *God's stall* are synonymous terms, meaning in each case the graveyard of a Saxon church, and this very lane was the road that led up to the church and cemetery of St. Oswald. Nay, more, its ancient site still continues to be part of St. Oswald's parish, although the rest of the houses in Eastgate-street, upon that side, are in the parish of St. Peter—indisputable evidence, as it seems to me, of its very early origin as a street, and of its having been the primæval highway to the Saxon church—and, if so, doubtless to its predecessor, the Roman Temple (as some authorities say) of Apollo.

Well, as many of us will remember, the premises of Mr. George Dutton came to be rebuilt in 1861, and the necessities of the case demanded a large extension of warehouse room to the northward of the former shop. On clearing away for this purpose the large accumulation of earth, even to below the level of the old Goddestall Lane, the labourers came upon a grand old altar, the finest, I think, though not the largest, that has occurred in our time, and which the same day passed into the acquisitive hands of our good friend and brother antiquary, Mr. Frederick Potts. By his courtesy it now stands in our Museum, a speaking evidence of his goodwill to our Society, and of the genuineness of the claim old Chester sets up as the proud City of the Legion.

This altar is one that deserves, and will quite repay, a critical examination; the inscription upon it is beautifully fresh and sharp—not a letter indeed has been mutilated. It is as plainly to be read by us to-day as it was by the original owners; and yet, far back as seems to us the Norman Conquest of England, *double* that length of time has elapsed since pagan priests sacrificed to their gods upon this self-same sculptured stone! It is inscribed "GENIO SANCTO CENTVRIE AELIVS CLAVDIAN OPT (for Optio) V. S. (votum solvit)." This, reduced to our modern English, may be construed thus: "To the holy Genius presiding over his Century, Ælius Claudian the Optio (or sub-centurion) here redeems his vow." To these two altars, but especially to the one associated with "the Goddess Mother," we shall return hereafter.*

* Chester Archaeological Society's *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 406, plate.

Let us proceed now to notice one other strong evidence that the precincts of the Cathedral formed once a Roman cemetery; and that this central "sleeping place," as it was called, which at one time received the dead of the entire city, was of far greater extent than some of us may perhaps suppose.

The northern confines of the Abbey are, in an archaeological sense, an unexplored region. We all of us know that wide expanse of land stretching away to the left as we pass along the Walls from the Kaleyards to the Northgate. A sight pleasant to the eye is that verdant mead, of old time known as the "Green of the Walls," but in these latter days usually called "The Dean's Field." We are familiar, I say, with that rich green sward; but of the secrets that lie beneath it, we can none of us form any adequate idea. That it teems with remains of the great Latin race,—whose impress time itself seems powerless to efface,—few I think will doubt who have studied the characteristics of underground Chester. Speaking for myself alone, I should quite expect to find, just a little below the surface, a very network of graves—graves, certainly of Roman, and mayhap of later times: it is possible, moreover, that memorial sculptures, and inscriptions of historic value, are in like manner treasured there. The privilege of exploring that field of rich promise is one which an antiquary might fairly enough covet; but alas! 'tis a spell-bound region, and the archæologist, is probably as yet unborn whose destiny it will be to dispel the enchantment.

Just upon the borders, however, of this said Dean's Field, we find something to record in illustration of our theory. In the year 1848, a drain was being sunk at the back of the premises in Northgate-street, then occupied by the late Mr. Parkinson, glazier, but now by Mr. Timothy Dodd, immediately opposite to the Blue Bell tavern,—midway nearly between Abbey Square and Abbey Green. At some eight feet below the surface, the solid rock was reached; and there a vase of gray clay, and after a good classic model was discovered in a rocky bason, which had been purposely hewn out to receive it. The vase was shattered by the spade, but was neatly put together again by Mr. Parkinson and deposited in the Water Tower. It has since been withdrawn, and is now in the collection of Mr. Frederick Potts. The coin (Charon's toll) which usually accompanies such deposits, was not noticed here,—it was carted away perhaps with the rubbish;—we are thus unable to fix a date for the interment. But, judging solely from

the graceful form of the urn, which is of an early and pure classic type, it may be fairly referred to about the reign of Domitian, that jealous emperor who could not endure the popularity of Agricola, our city's founder, and who thereupon recalled him from Britain. The coins of Domitian are not of unfrequent occurrence in Chester excavations.

So much for the lost Temple of Apollo, said once to have stood within the verge of our present Cathedral. As, however, we have been drawn into the subject of Roman Burials, we will complete that branch of this Paper and bring it down to the close of 1873 by just two more references.

I have shown that at DEVA, the usual rule of extra-mural interments was departed from in the instance of the Temple precincts. We will turn now for a few moments to another equally curious evidence of burials within the Walls. In 1858, the Royal Agricultural Society held its Annual Congress upon Chester Roodeye; and a railway siding was made from the Holyhead Line, near the Water Tower, into the adjacent Infirmary Field. This field had for centuries been known as Lady Barrow's Hey, otherwise the Barrow Field, but whether from its original character as a "sleeping-place" being then known, we cannot now determine. Be that as it may, when the deep cutting was in progress for this temporary siding, numerous graves, admirably formed out of large Roman tiles, were discovered,—some of them containing urns, and others the perfect skeleton, proving that cremation and inhumation had, as burial customs, here existed side by side. Only a mere trench, as it were, was cut on this occasion; yet the number of graves met with should satisfy the most incredulous that there, as elsewhere, there is more in old Chester than meets the eye.

In one of the graves, which was formed wholly of red tiles imbedded in the solid clay, portions of, it was thought, the skeleton of a young female were found, and along with them a small terra cotta lamp, two other clay vessels, and a second brass coin of Domitian. This marks the grave as that of a very early denizen of Chester, and in all probability of a young Roman Christian. From this grave, or from one immediately adjoining it of the same character, another little lamp (the emblem of immortality) was taken, which still retained traces of gilding upon its surface, showing that it had originally been a rather handsome specimen. A smaller lamp, in bronze, and almost unique in form, is in the possession of Dr. Davies-Colley, near whose residence in White Friars it was discovered. It will be serviceable for com-

parison with the one just noticed, though I reserve any remarks upon it to a later period. But a more interesting discovery still was made in this grave, and one that has as yet never been publicly chronicled. The skull remained in its normal position in the tomb; and on each side of it was found what proved to be a very chaste pair of gold earrings, each set with a very pretty little emerald—such an ornament, in fact, as no lady of the present day would disdain to wear.* These had evidently been left in the ears of the deceased at the time of burial, and had dropped from their position when decay set in, and earth returned to its earth. The merit of these discoveries was mainly due to two local antiquaries, Mr. Frederick Potts and the late Mr. John Peacock, gentlemen to whom this Society and the cause of archæological science owe a debt it would, I think, be not easy to repay.

One other place of sepulture remains to be noticed, ere we pass on. The principal Roman road associated with Chester branches away through Boughton direct to the eastward: and a hundred yards after the Spital Burial Ground has been passed, the outer limits of the mediæval city are reached. Upon the margin of the highway at this point, and in the garden land known as "The Daniel" in former days, but more familiar to us by its modern name—The Cherry Orchard,—a number of antiquities have from time to time been found, within living memory. I was conversing a week or two ago with a Boughton patriarch, who was present in person, in the year 1821, at the discovery in this Cherry Orchard of a fine Roman Altar. This event was one which made a considerable sensation at the time, and drew a large number of citizens and strangers to the spot, anxious to see for themselves this long-buried treasure. The land in question was, at that time, being worked as a sand-hole. Judged by the character of the ground at its northern edge, where the turnpike road forms a solid and impassable barrier, the surface strata in 1820, and doubtless for untold ages previously, was pretty as much as follows:—First a coating of ordinary garden soil about two feet deep, and then a layer of coarse red sand of one foot more. Beneath this was a deposit of sandy marl, averaging about five feet in depth, and lower still a compact bed, 15 feet thick at least, of fine and very light red sand. Thousands of loads of sand have been raised from this land to satisfy the building requirements of the city and neighbourhood during the last half century; so that the level of the site is now some twenty feet below the Tarvin

* *Vide* accompanying plate.

road, which forms indeed its boundary line on the north, a new street, Cecil-street, doing the like duty on the west.

While digging in the year 1821 at the eastern side of this sand hole (that portion of it now known as Cherry Grove), the workmen had penetrated through the layers of earth and rough sand, and were busy with their spades on the substratum of clay, when a massive block of stone was brought suddenly to view. On raising it from its hiding place, it turned out to be an Altar, four feet high, dedicated, as its inscription shewed,—

NYMPHIS
ET
FONTIBVS
LEG. XX.
V. V.

"To the Nymphs and Fountains [this altar is erected by] the 20th Legion, called the Valerian and Victorious." This dedication, which is repeated exactly upon the opposite face of the stone, is one, as Mr. Charles Roach Smith very aptly observes, far from inappropriate to this locality, seeing that the best wells of water the city can boast are all upon this eastern suburb of the Roman camp. Numerous inscriptions, it may be mentioned, are extant in this country, and on the continent, to the nymphs and river-gods presiding over the principal fountains and streams. This Altar was, in 1821, either purchased by, or presented to, the grandfather of the present Duke of Westminster; and now, after an absence of fifty years, thanks to the courtesy of our noble neighbour, it has returned to the old city for a space, and is exhibited here side by side with so many of its former companions.*

Other antiquities were found in this land, at or about the same date; but a wicked spirit of that day perpetrated a hoax upon the local historian, Hanshall, who had made the most of this discovery in the newspaper he conducted—the *Chester Chronicle*. A rusty, worn-out, and somewhat ancient-looking lock was picked up in the neighbourhood, and our wag had it roughly stamped with the magic letters LEG. XX., and buried overnight at the spot the sand-getters were to plunge into on the morrow. In due time out came the wonderful relic, and Hanshall was, in something less than an hour, its proud and intelligent possessor. So completely, indeed, was he taken in by the *pseudo*

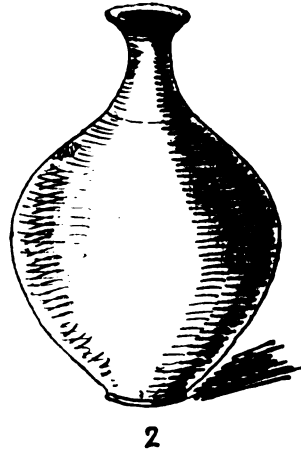
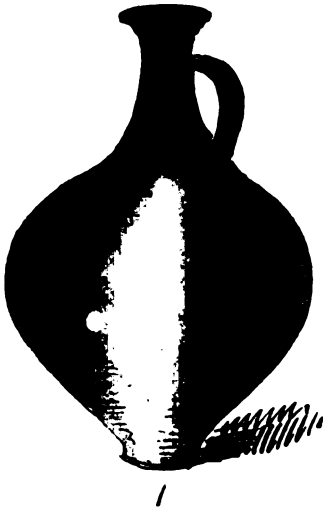
* The Altar is now preserved, under an elegant temple-like structure, within the Duke of Westminster's private grounds at Eaton Hall. *Vide* *Chester Society's Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 362, plate.

antique, that he had a woodcut specially prepared under his own eye, and impressions sent from it to many of the leading antiquaries of that day, only to learn from them, one and all, that he had been egregiously deceived. The culprit was never discovered ; but the joke went merrily round, and certainly it was the last wood-block friend Hanshall ever meddled with to his dying day !

Towards the autumn of 1870, only a few days before the Cherry Orchard sand-hole, as such, was finally abandoned, one Edmund Millet, a man employed there, dug up in safety four earthenware vessels, which I was myself fortunate enough shortly afterwards to acquire. They are of the ordinary types common to most Roman burial grounds in England, the Continent, aye, and even Africa. One is of the light red clay of this district, and was probably lathe or wheel-turned, and burnt on the spot by the soldiers of DEVA : another is somewhat lighter in colour, probably from the Staffordshire clay fields. Two of them are vases of certainly graceful but not uncommon form ; one having still, as had the other originally, the usual handle for pouring out the contents. The other two vessels are urns, of the black pottery usually known as Upchurch, and contained, as their finder naively assured me, nothing but earth and burnt bones, which were at once thrown away by him as useless. It is evident that here were the carefully-stored ashes of two Roman citizens ; but, as no coin seems to have been noticed by the workman, we can say nothing more of them or their isolated grave, save that seldom has it happened that four vessels of this fragile and ancient character have been taken out of the earth so very free from injury. I exhibit them on the accompanying plate, as among the very latest discovered trophies of Rome's sway over our city.

Crossing Tarvin-road from the north-west corner of the Cherry Orchard, we reach the garden of Messrs. Field, nurserymen. An ancient paved road has been traced along the eastern margin of this plot, communicating with the narrow passage on the opposite side, which runs direct towards Sandy-lane and the Fords across the Dee.

Here, in the July of 1849, close to the side of this extinct Roman cross-way, Thomas Wood, the same old man who witnessed the discovery, by a fellow-workman, of the "Nymphs and Fountains" Altar, was himself the happy finder of another, to which I must now direct your attention. If the last named, from its bulk, might fairly be de-



ROMAN EARTHENWARE VASES,

FOUND IN THE CHERRY ORCHARD, BOUGHTON, CHESTER, 1870

1 Red Clay. 3 Neutral Tint Clay.
 2 Yellow " . 4 " " " "

signated the giant, the little one here exhibited, being less than a foot high, is as certainly the dwarf of our series of Chester Altars. Thomas Wood, its discoverer, was working at the time for the late Mr. Field and so little was thought of the relic by him or his friends, that it lay for six months neglected and exposed to the weather on his out-house wall. Here it was accidentally seen by Mr. R. L. Jones, then of the Boughton Chemistry, and through him, the same day, by the late Mr. Ayrton. To the last-named gentleman Mr. Field presented it; and then again, at a somewhat later period, and by a like generous act, it passed to the Society's Museum from Mr. Ayrton, in that day one of its Secretaries, and to the day of his death, I am proud to add, its steadfast friend. The inscription on this little Altar is as follows:—

G E N I O
A V E R N I
I V L Q V I N
T I L I A N V S.

"Julius Quintilianus (dedicates this) to the genius of Avernus,"—referring, Mr. Charles Roach Smith conceives, to the celebrated lake of that name in Campania.

Mr. William Field, who was present at the find, assures me that along with it was taken up a shallow vessel of bright red clay, the surface of which, he well remembered, was polished like a mirror, but that it was broken up at the time as of no value. Now it is manifest, from his description, that this vase, had it been preserved, would have had the utmost interest to us, as antiquaries; inasmuch as it was probably a perfect specimen of fine Samian ware, found not unfrequently on some Roman sites, but especially uncommon, except in the merest fragments, here at Chester. The form, too, much shallower and more graceful than the slop-bason of the modern tea table, bespeaks both the quality and parentage of the relic, and adds to our regret that it was not preserved.

Within a hundred yards from these nurseries, on the 29th of September, 1838, during the cutting of the Chester and Crewe Railway, a pig of lead, bearing a fine Roman inscription—"IMP. VESP. V. T. IMP. III. COS.,"—was fortunately met with. Some of the contractions are of doubtful meaning, but it is abundantly clear that the pig was cast in the 3rd Consulate of the Emperor Vespasian, equivalent to A.D. 74, only five years after the date, 69, at which I have ventured to place the first settlement of DEVA. This historic and

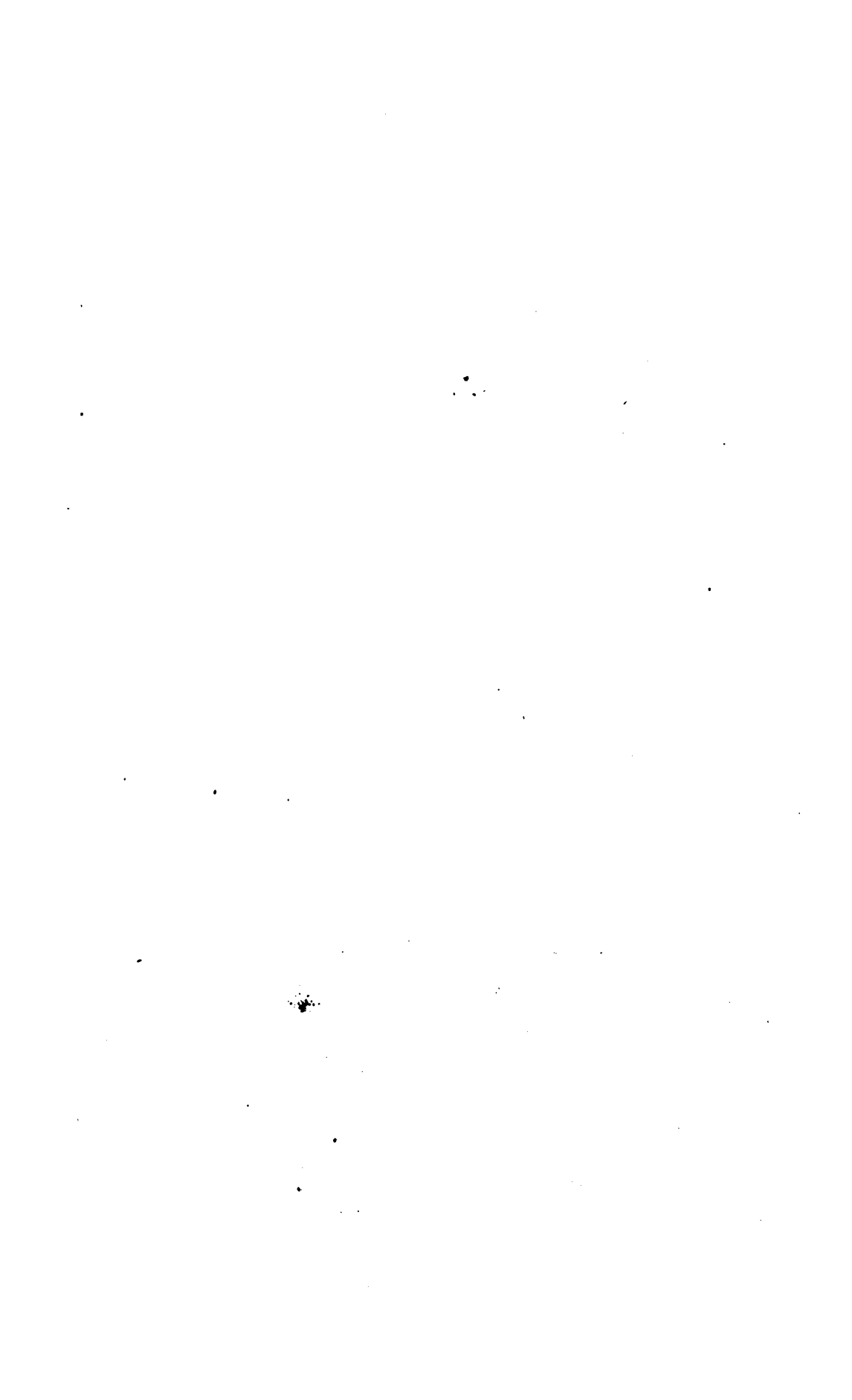
most interesting monument was purchased from the finders by our late and much lamented associate, Mr. Samuel Gardner, and was by him presented to Robert, first Marquis of Westminster, to whose noble grandson we are indebted for its welcome exhibition before our Society. For comparison, I will simply refer to another pig of lead which the fates have in like manner preserved: it was found in Commonhall-street in 1849, and was presented by the then Mayor of Chester to our Museum. The inscription is imperfect, but the word CAESAR stands out in bold relief, as if to certify its imperial origin.

Here, having exhausted my allotted space, and doubtless my reader's patience also, I might fitly close this somewhat rambling Paper. But I will just refer, in as few words as may be, to another Altar, discovered under Mr. Ewen's premises, in Bridge-street, in 1861. This relic, the sixth of the series discussed in this memoir, was purchased, on the morning of its discovery, by my deceased and much valued friend Peacock, and was presented by him to the late Lord Westminster, the actual owner of the premises. It bears the axe, knife, and other sacrificial implements sculptured on the two sides, and on its front the classic inscription—

DEAE M(I)
NERVA(E).
FVRI(VS).
FORTV
NATVS
MAG.
V. (S).

"To the Goddess Minerva, Furius Fortunatus the Magister pays his vow."* A theory hangs upon this Altar in connection with certain other relics not touched upon in this paper. I refrain, however, from enlarging upon it now. There is much yet that might be said, that, in fact, is *necessary* to be said, before deductions can be safely drawn from what I have already written. Sculpture, for instance, has as yet been untouched: architectural details (the Bridge-street remains notably), hypocausts, pavements, bronzes, coins, personal ornaments,—all remain in the background, but should all play their part in determining what old Chester was really like in its Early Youth.

* *Vide* a drawing of this Altar in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. 2., p. 406.





THE LATE
GEORGE ORMEROD, LL.D., FRS., & FSA.
HISTORIAN OF CHESHIRE.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

GEORGE ORMEROD.

ON the 9th of October, 1873, died at his seat, Sedbury Park, Gloucestershire, GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., and F.S.A., the venerable HISTORIAN OF CHESHIRE.

Mr. ORMEROD was the representative of a family that had been settled at Ormerod, in the adjoining county of Lancaster, from certainly the reign of King Edward III. Born in Manchester on the 20th of October, 1785, he had therefore very nearly completed his 88th year. He was posthumous son and only child of George Ormerod, Esq., of Bury, county Lancaster, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Thomas Johnson, Esq., of Tyldesley, in the same county.

He received his education partly at Bolton, but more particularly at Chester, under the Rev. Thomas Bancroft, then Head Master of the King's School, and he retained through life a warm regard for that ancient foundation. He was one of the earlier subscribers to the "Old Scholars' Scholarship," recently founded at the King's School, and evinced much interest in the success of the effort. His love for his old preceptor, whose biographer he indeed became, is feelingly expressed in a foot-note at page 289 of the *History of Cheshire*, vol. 1.

In his 18th year he was entered at Brasenose College, Oxford, under the then Principal, the Rev. William Cleaver, afterwards successively Bishop of Chester, Bangor, and St. Asaph. Created M.A. on February 5, 1807, he was elevated to the degree of D.C.L. on December 17, 1818, just on the eve of the publication of his great county work, the *History of Cheshire*, in three handsome folio volumes, brought out in 1819, and of which a second edition, edited by Mr. T. Helsby, is now in course of publication. When quite a young man his strong

and characteristic predilection for genealogical and topographical study led him to design and carry out the great work connected with his name, an enduring treasure of accurate, judicial, and exhaustive research, and adorned by many passages of artistic description and powerful sketches of character.

Soon after leaving the University, namely, on the 2nd of August, 1808, he married, at the old Parish Church of Sandbach, Sarah, eldest daughter of John Latham, Esq., of Bradwall Hall, in this county, and sometime President of the College of Physicians (and sister of P. Mere Latham, M.D., of Grosvenor-street, London): and it was probably about this time that he set actively in motion that splendid literary and antiquarian triumph which will for ever associate his name with our proud county palatine. A Cheshire man already, in some sense, in right of his wife, he, in 1811, allied himself still more strongly to the county by the purchase of an ancient estate at Chorlton-by-Backford, where he for many years resided, and where his third son and a daughter were in due time born to him.

Between 1809 and 1818 he was industriously labouring on his projected *HISTORY*, visiting personally and repeatedly every township and hamlet in the county; arranging, consulting, and making himself full master of the charters and other evidences preserved by the leading county families. Muniment chests were liberally opened to him on every hand: parochial registers, wardens' books, and family documents of the utmost value were submitted to his inspection; pedigrees were tested and amended in the only true way, by comparison with the original records; and years together were spent among the Cheshire MSS. at the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Palatine Records then preserved at Chester Castle.

In the illustration of his great work he called in the aid of artists of reputation, such as Paul de Wint, Jackson, George Pickering, &c., who have given to the work a pictorial character in consonance with its standing as an historic record. But he was likewise his own illustrator, for many of the best and most valuable plates are from drawings made by his own skilled hand. A fine portrait of himself, by Jackson, forms a very appropriate frontispiece to the first volume of the *HISTORY*, which contains altogether one hundred and ninety-four copper and other engravings, and three hundred and fifty-seven separate cuts of armorial shields connected with the elaborate series of pedigrees scattered through the work.

It were a needless task for a Cheshire biographer, writing mainly for Cheshire readers, and more especially for the Chester Archaeological Society, to comment at any length on the merits of those three magnificent tomes. Let it be enough to say that their market value to-day—fifty-four years after their now deceased author put them before the world, and despite the fact that a second edition under good editorship is in process of issue,—is double what it was on the day of publication! “Highly creditable,” as the *Gentleman's Magazine* reviewer of that day truly says, “to the abilities, good taste, and patient industry of the author,” we may record of it to-day that, written by a young man of 34, it has stood the test of criticism unharmed, and has left fewer mistakes to be corrected than perhaps any similar historic work in existence of its scope and importance.

With the completion of his great work, Mr. ORMEROD by no means felt his life's mission to be accomplished. Publicly, it is true, there has not been much to shew for those fifty-four years of retired ease that have now been closed in by death. Occasional papers in the volumes of the Chetham, the Chester Archaeological, and other Societies, were the only evidences to the outer world that the historian of a half-century ago was still living in its midst. But those who were privileged with his literary friendship and correspondence can point to numerous and highly-valued memoirs, and to eminently valuable local and genealogical essays, from his talented pen,—privately printed for distribution amongst an honoured few, who will now, more than ever, jealously guard those precious little gifts, and cease not to revere the memory of the giver.

Nor was this all. The library shelves of Sedbury Park, near Chepstow, that narrow neck of land between the Wye and the Severn, to which the veteran historian retired with his affectionate daughters now many years ago, contain ample evidence of his pertinacious labours in the Cheshire historic field. Our county has made great strides since 1819: thousands of historic facts have within that interval transpired or been laid bare by later research: these have all been most lovingly chronicled and tabulated by the hand now for ever at rest, and will doubtless, earlier or later, find their way to the light. The last few years of his life were passed in almost total blindness, “tended,” as he himself once expressed it to the writer of these remarks, “with the utmost solicitude” by the loving daughters already referred to.

Mr. ORMEROD, who was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Gloucestershire and an acting magistrate for that county and Monmouthshire, had ten children, of whom six (three sons and three daughters) still survive. The eldest son, and late representative of the family, was the Venerable Thomas Johnson Ormerod, formerly Archdeacon of Suffolk, and Rector of Radenhall-with-Harleston, Norfolk, lately deceased. He married, in 1838, Maria Susan, daughter of Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart., M.P., and left issue three sons and two daughters,—the eldest son, the Rev. George Thomas Bailey Ormerod, (grandson of the Historian of Cheshire) being now the owner of Sedbury Park.

The second son, George Wareing Ormerod, is in the medical profession, and resides at Chagford, Devon, where he industriously follows in his late father's steps as an author and an antiquary. A third son was the late Rev. John Arderne Ormerod, Bursar of Brasenose College, and the last Port Fellow upon that foundation: he died unmarried in 1864. Mr. Henry Mere Ormerod, of Manchester, solicitor; the late William Piers Ormerod, M.D., of London, who died in 1860; Edward Latham Ormerod, M.D.; the Rev. Arthur Stanley Ormerod, M.A., Vicar of Halvergate, Norfolk; with three unmarried daughters, make up the issue of the venerable deceased.

The death of Mr. Ormerod removes the one link that allied the local historians of our own with those of a long-past day and generation. He has gone, and, it is to be feared, has left no true successor behind him; we poor striplings who survive him may perchance follow in his track, but at a very respectful and well-defined distance. A great man and a scholar has in him passed away, in a ripe and honoured old age: henceforth let his name stand recorded on the very summit of our local pedestal, as, in a literary sense, "Cheshire's chief of men!"

T. H.



WILLIAM PRYNNE,

from a contemporary Portrait

ON
PURITANISM IN CHESTER, IN 1637:
AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION OF
WILLIAM PRYNNE,
BY CERTAIN INHABITANTS OF
THE CITY OF CHESTER,
WHEN ON HIS WAY TO BE IMPRISONED IN CARRMARVON CASTLE.

BY THE REV. CANON BLOMFIELD.

I SUPPOSE that a considerable latitude is given to the choice of subjects in these Archaeological lectures. We may range at large through the fields of knowledge in search of matter, and bring home anything that bears upon the history, or laws, or architecture, or art of past ages, so that we do not come too near our own time. We must not choose a modern theme, and call it an archaeological one.

I assume, then, that I may consider the time of Charles I. as within the range of our view as antiquaries. It is one of the most interesting and least understood periods of our national history, and one to which much of the known history of Chester itself refers, and to which many of its most interesting buildings belong. I propose, therefore, to bring before the SOCIETY, in a very brief and humble way, a little episode of our local history of that day, as tending to illustrate the manners and customs of the people, and as forming a small item of the remarkable and characteristic incidents of that turbulent period.

We may observe that the best way to get a clear and distinct idea of the real nature of historical facts is to study, as far as it is possible to do so, the private history of individuals of the time. The letters, the journals, the biographies of any period give life and reality to the broader scenes of general history, and enable us to see the people in

their everyday social and domestic life, to enter into their ways of thinking, to understand their ideas and the established customs and notions of the time, on which the right conception of historical facts so much depends.

What I have to bring before you is indeed a report, gathered from several documents, of a trifling incident in the social life of Chester at that date ; but, connected as it is with a person who exercised an important influence on the events of the latter part of the reign of Charles I., it seems worth looking into, and may help us to realise a little of the actual life of the day, and mark the difference of it, in all its details, from that of our own more enlightened and liberal age. The incident to which I intend to refer occurred in the private history of the celebrated WILLIAM PRYNNE, who may almost be considered as the author of the troubles which convulsed the kingdom, and culminated in the death of the King and the temporary subversion of the Monarchy and the Church.

Not that he deserves to be elevated to so conspicuous a position for any merit or ability of his own, but simply that, as the first victim of a harsh and unwise persecution which drew public attention to the tyrannical measures of the government of Charles I., he became a marked man. The sympathy of the people in general was awakened towards him under his sufferings. The angry zeal of the Puritan faction was aroused to act in his defence ; and he was made the central figure of a drama, around which were grouped the religious and political parties of the day ; an instance, by the way, of the common experience of such mighty contests—from how very small a source they take their rise ! An instance, also, of the common results of persecution, which elevates insignificant persons into heroes and martyrs, and gives strength and importance to disputed questions of little moment, which would have died away and been forgotten but for this unwise attempt to silence them by force.

I am not, however, going to deal with the character of Prynne, whom the court party termed “a pestilent fellow and a breeder of sedition,” and the Puritan party hailed as “a devout Protestant who asserted his testimony for the true Gospel.” Probably the truth lay somewhere between the two. But I must refer to that part of his history which led to his being brought to Chester, in order to show the state of things then existing here, and the feeling which seems to have prevailed about him.

It was the fashion in those days, when any man was convicted of publishing, or even uttering, libels against the authorities in Church or State, to set him in the pillory, and cut off one or both of his ears; a very singular and unpleasant remedy for libel, for which at the present day we substitute the less ignominious and painful one of pecuniary fine. The only pillory in these days is the public press, and instead of a man's ears we only take his money. I don't know whether there was intended to be anything symbolical in the punishment. If there were, it might signify that the libeller was exposed to public gaze and contempt, as he had exposed others in his writings, and that he was condemned to lose his ears, as being the organs through which he had either received the slander himself, or hoped to propagate it to others.

PRYNNE was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, a bencher and reader of that learned society, and a devoted adherent of the celebrated Puritan divine, Dr. John Preston, who was at that time preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Early in the reign of Charles I. he published a book called "*Histrio-Mastix, or a Whip for Stageplayers*," in which he inveighed with great acrimony against all kinds of theatrical exhibitions. These happened to be very popular at court, where they had been introduced by the young Queen Henrietta Maria, she herself having acted a part in a Pastoral performed at Somerset House.

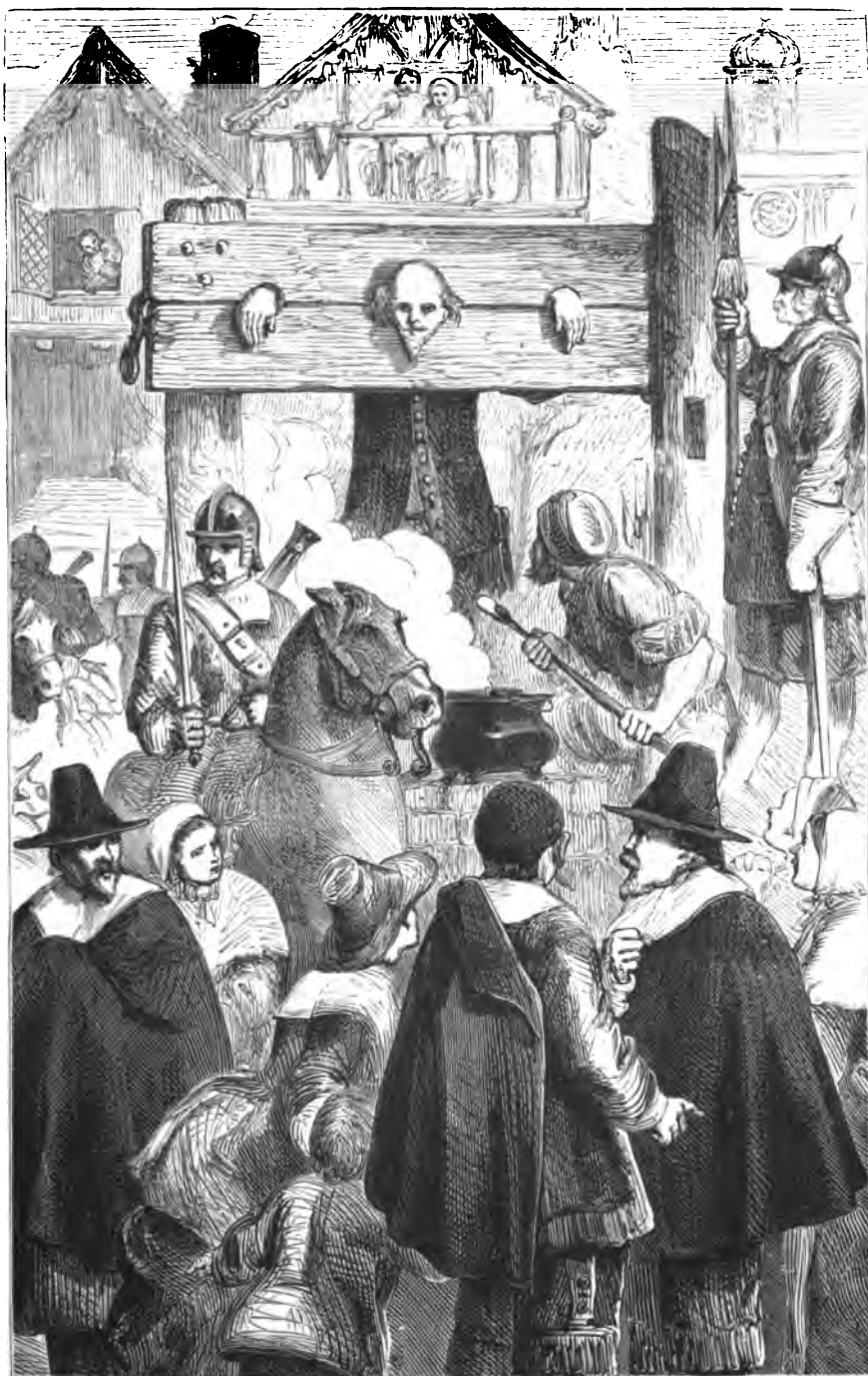
It was not unnaturally supposed that Prynne's "whip" was intended to be applied to the Queen. Fuller says, in his quaint manner, "That whip of stageplayers was so held and used by the hand of Prynne that some conceived the lashes thereof flew into the face of the queen herself, as much delighted in masques." The consequence was that the bold satirist was prosecuted in the Star Chamber; sentenced, amongst other severe penalties, to stand twice in the pillory, once in Palace-yard and three days after in Cheapside, and lose an ear each time, and to remain in prison for life, a somewhat savage punishment for a mere constructive libel. But it indicates the character of the times, and the fierce notions of those in authority. I may state, however, that Prynne did not lose the whole substance of his ears under his first sentence, as some small remainder was left to be sheared again on another occasion; for, in his report of his second trial in the Star Chamber, he says that Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, stood behind him at the bar, "and spake on this manner:—'Is this Mr Prynne! I had thought Mr. Prynne had had no ears, they being adjudged to be cut off by sentence of this Court; but methinks he hath ears, and it is



fit that the Court should take order that the decrees hereof should be better executed, and see whether Mr. Prynne hath ears or no ;' which caused the Lords to take stricter view of him, and the Usher of the Court was commanded to turn up his hair and shew his ears, upon the sight whereof some of the Lords seemed to be displeased that his ears had not formerly been cut closer off."

Though this sentence came from the Star Chamber, which was a Civil court, he seems to have thought that the authorities of the Church had something to do with it; and on being released from prison he commenced an attack on the bishops, in a book which he mildly entitles "An Historical Collection of the several execrable Treasons, Conspiracies, Rebellions, Seditions, State Schisms, Contumacies, anti-Monarchical practices and oppression of the English Prelates," &c. This was no doubt mainly directed against Archbishop Laud, who was a leading member of the High Commission Court, and a vigorous wielder of the sword against all schismatics and opposers of the Government. Of course the Star Chamber could not let Prynne's contumacy pass unnoticed, and he was accordingly brought before the court, together with two other offenders of a similar kind—Dr. John Bastwick, a physician, and Henry Burton, a clergyman of some London parish. The first of these two is termed by Clarendon "a half-witted crackbrained fellow;" the second a disappointed man, "more endued with malice and boldness than with learning or tolerable parts." These three persons were brought together before the court, where, says Clarendon (who was present), "they behaved themselves with marvellous insolence;" though, if one might believe their own report of the trial, they were "modest, forbearing, and deferential, and only demanded the opportunity of making a full defence." The issue was that they were all three condemned "as scandalous, seditious, and infamous persons, to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned in several remote castles during the remainder of their lives." The official report of this trial is given in Rushworth's *Collections*, ii., 380. Their own report of it is contained in a small quarto book published at the time, and certainly two more opposite accounts of the same transaction could scarcely be given.

I may here observe that, according to our present notions of things, not only was the whole composition of this court, and the mode of trial in it, and the kind of punishment which they inflicted, thoroughly unconstitutional, unjust, and cruel, but that the part taken in it by



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PRYNNE IN THE PILLORY.

the Archbishop savours of the same character. In his trial, not very long afterwards, he says that, though present on this occasion, "I gave no vote, because they had fallen so personally upon me, that I doubted many men might think spleen and not justice led me to it." And he neither proposed nor assisted in the sentence. It is clear, however, that he thought it no more than a right and just one, though it was only for errors in political and doctrinal opinion. For this he has always been much condemned by those who maintain the principle of free enquiry and the right of private judgment. And it must always be a matter of regret that a man so essentially good and upright, should have been mixed up with such proceedings.

But it is very unfair to judge him by the standard of modern opinion. He partook of the common failing of the age in which he lived, wherein erroneous opinions, either in politics or religion, were looked upon as moral diseases which it was the duty of those in authority to treat, as it was proposed to treat the cattle plague the other day, to "stamp them out" by strong and decisive measures, so as to stop the spread of infection by getting rid of those who propagated it. Laud only did what all others did in those days—what the Puritans themselves did with ten times more severity and unscrupulousness when they came into power. But his fate, and the events of the time, have left us a lesson of the folly of punishing people for their opinions; of the certainty that persecution of any kind only serves to give undue importance to the persecuted, and to defeat its own end by spreading the knowledge of errors which it seeks to put down. We have seen some conspicuous proofs of this in our own days.

But to return from this digression to the proceedings consequent upon the sentence passed upon Prynne and his two companions. The date of the trial and sentence was, June 14th, 1637. I may say here that there is some apparent discrepancy in the dates which are given in Prynne's account, but they may be partly rectified by referring to the dates of the several warrants and orders of the court. The sentence was as follows, pronounced by the Lord Keeper; "I condemn these three men to lose their ears in the Palace-yard at Westminster; to be fined £5000 a man to his Majesty, and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom, namely, the Castles of Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster." Sir J. Finch added, "Mr. Prynne to be stigmatised on the cheeks with two letters, S. L, for a seditious libeller." Prynne says this took place in the presence and at the

instigation of Archbishop Laud, though Laud himself declares that he neither proposed nor assisted at the sentence.

The sentence, as we have seen, was passed on the 14th of June. Fuller says that it was executed two days afterwards; but it was not until the 30th of June, or 16 days after, that the execution took place. On that day two pillories were erected in Palace Yard, it being within, and forming a part of the Royal Palace of, Westminster, but yet open to the public. In one of these Dr. Bastwick was placed, and in the other, which was a double one, Burton and Prynne. It is said that the number of spectators present was so large as to fill the vast open space of Palace Yard, and that the people had strewed all the way from the house out of which they were brought up to the pillories with sweet herbs, in token of their sympathy with them, and of disgust at the cruel sentence which had been passed on them.

Passing over the account of the barbarities which were inflicted on the two first (Bastwick and Burton), I will quote that which relates to Prynne, given in detail by an eyewitness; and though, no doubt, he makes the worst of it as a partizan, the best of it is bad enough, and revolting to all ordinary feelings of humanity. Prynne, as the greatest offender, was kept to the last, in order that he might have the additional pain of seeing the sufferings of his fellow-partizans. "Last of all," says the narrative, "the executioner came to Mr. Prynne to sear him and cut off his ears. The bloody executioner performed the execution with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron very hot, and burning one cheek twice"—*i. e.*, with the two letters "S. L."

Fuller says of Prynne that "he who felt the most yielded the least. When the spectators read the letters imprinted on his face (S. L.), some made them spell the guiltiness of the sufferer, but others the cruelty of the imposer. Of the latter sort many for the cause, more for the man, most for humanity's sake, bestowed pity upon him." Even Clarendon admits that the "sentences were executed with vigour and severity enough;" and Fuller says that two "high conformists counted it too little, and that it had been better if the pillory had been exchanged for the gallows;" yet "most moderate men thought the censure too sharp, too base and ignominious for gentlemen of their ingenuous vocation." And no doubt the sympathies of the general public of the kingdom were enlisted in behalf of these unhappy sufferers, and the feeling of disaffection to the authorities both in Church and State which had already sprung up in people's minds was immensely aggravated.

After this Prynne appears to have been kept in the Tower for a fortnight, in order that his wounds might be healed. But it is said that they were still causing him great pain, when on Monday, the 17th of July, under an order from the Star Chamber he was removed to the custody of the Wardens of the Fleet, by three of the Warden's servants. In order to avoid any popular demonstration he was taken there at seven a.m., and within one hour afterwards he was transferred to the charge of the Sub-Warden and his assistants for the purpose of his being conveyed to his distant place of confinement in Caernarvon Castle. So at eight p.m. the cavalcade started from the Fleet prison, and though the hour was so early they found the streets lined with people anxious to catch a glimpse of the now celebrated victim of Court tyranny; and all the way to Highgate, the highroad passing through the sequestered hamlet of Clerkenwell, and the pleasant village of Islington, was crowded with sympathizers, who ran along by the side of the prisoner with acclamations of pity and of praise, and some of them even accompanied him on horseback as far as St. Albans, 21 miles from London. At that town the first day's journey terminated, and they rested for the night.

It appears that this journey, even as far as Caernarvon, was wholly performed on horseback; and as they only travelled 21 miles the first day, it is evident that it was not performed very expeditiously; perhaps the physical condition of their dismembered prisoner not admitting of much fatigue. We find that they did not arrive at Caernarvon until Saturday, August 5, so that the whole journey occupied 25 days, which does not give an average of more than ten miles a day. But as they stayed three days at Coventry, and the same at Chester, and the same probably at other large towns on their way to rest their weary beasts as well as themselves, we may suppose them to have travelled at the same rate as they did on the first day—about 20 miles a day.

No doubt the popular demonstrations of sympathy with the criminal which had been made at the commencement of his journey, had been duly reported to the Star Chamber authorities; and instead of softening their feelings, or alarming their fears, the intelligence appears to have exasperated them, and produced further measures of severity against the prisoners. For on the 20th of July, i.e. on the third day after they left London, an order was issued to all mayors, sheriffs, justices, and other officers of His Majesty, and all loving sub-

jects whatever, to be aiding and assisting those who had the charge of Prynne, from place to place on his way to Caernarvon. And another order, dated July 30th, to which the name of Archbishop Laud is appended (the King himself having presided at the Council at which it was ordered,) forbids all access to him when in gaol, and prohibits the use of pen, ink, and paper, and of all books except the Bible and Common Prayer, and such other canonical books as are consonant to the doctrine of the Church of England.

These orders, however, were subsequent to his leaving London, and the first of them does not appear to have been known to, or at least not to have actuated, the officers who conveyed him on his way. For they seem to have made quite a pleasant journey, and to have enjoyed themselves wherever they could. They gave their prisoner considerable liberty, as, for instance, in Coventry of going twice to Church on Sunday, and at Chester of going to see sights; and not only of receiving the visits of friends at the inns where they were lodging, but dropping in for a glass of wine and a dish of chat with some of the leading inhabitants of the place. So that in all probability the spirit of disaffection had found its way into the hearts of these officers of the Fleet, or else the pleasant and moving discourse of Mr. Prynne as he rode along with them day by day, so touched their tender feelings that they viewed him rather in the light of a friend than a prisoner, and were disposed to treat him as a great man, subjected for the time to adverse circumstances, but who would rise from under them into celebrity and fame—as indeed he did.

Such seems to have been the opinion of a large number of the people, for wherever he stayed in the course of his long journey he found abundant tokens of approval and regard. As for instance at Coventry, which place they reached on Saturday, the 22nd. They rested there on Sunday, and Prynne went twice to church, for he was as yet a member of the Church of England, and professed himself a strenuous upholder of her doctrine and discipline. The rest of the day was occupied in receiving visits from some of his acquaintances who resided in Coventry, for it was said that he went no where but to church. The wife of the mayor was one of these visitors, and got her husband into a terrible scrape by her zeal. For when intelligence of her visit reached the council in London, an officer was forthwith sent down to Coventry to apprehend the mayor and six more of the sympathizers, and bring them up to London to be examined. They were



J. BRVEN,

*of Bruen Stapleford, co. Chester,
from the engraved portrait in
Clark's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.*

detained there above a fortnight by a series of examinations before the Attorney-General, and not allowed to escape from the severe gripe of the law without payment of two or three hundred pounds costs.

No other incidents of this journey are recorded until the party drew near to Chester, which would probably be about a fortnight after they left Coventry. They travelled along the ordinary London road, which leads through Tarporley to Chester, and in doing so they passed the domain, at that time of considerable extent, embracing a large deer park, of Mr. Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford, not far from Tarvin. This was the residence of a famous Puritan family of that day.

John Bruen, the father, who had died about ten years before, had been one of the most remarkable men of his time. Descended from one of the ancient Cheshire families, who had held the estate of Bruen Stapleford and other extensive property from the Conquest, he took his place among the leading gentry of the county, and in early life entered into all the sports and amusements of a young man of fortune. But upon the death of his father in 1587 he found the estate heavily encumbered, and at once set to work to bring things into better condition. He sold his deer, converted his park into farms, gave up every pursuit which involved unnecessary expense, and applied his whole mind to the establishment in his family of a system of rigid economy combined with strict religious discipline. He had originally been inclined to Popery, but had changed his views under the influence of a son of Alderman Brerewood, of Chester, afterwards a noted Puritan divine, and from that time became a zealous supporter of the Puritan party in the City and County.

He had an old servant named Robert Pasfield, who could neither read nor write, but to help his memory of what he heard, had an ingenious device. He wore a long leathern girdle, which he divided into as many parts as there are books in the Bible, and to each of these divisions he affixed as many short thongs of leather as there are chapters in each book, and by knots in these thongs marked off the verses or subjects of the several chapters. How he applied this curious *memoria technica* I don't quite understand, but so it was, that he was able to repeat to his master all the sermons he heard, and to quote the chapter and verse from which the texts were taken. This girdle was long kept in the family, and may be still in existence somewhere.

A full and interesting account of the boundless but somewhat eccentric benevolence of this good old Puritan will be found in Ormerod,

under the head of Bruen Stapleford ; and he is the subject of two special biographies by a Mr. Burghall and Mr. Hinde, both of Bunbury. He at one time lived in Chester, and his third son, Calvin Bruen (which Christian name bespeaks his father's doctrinal views,) settled in Chester and followed some trade, of what kind does not exactly appear, but probably that of a bookseller, as he is afterwards charged with having a Puritanical book in his shop, which the Bishop sent for and took away with him.

Well, to return to the travellers whom we left on the road from Tarporley. When they got to Tarvin they were met by Calvin Bruen and three other friends, and escorted by them to Chester. It became a question afterwards whether this meeting them there was to be regarded as a deliberate act of offence both to Church and King ; but they asserted that it took place by mere accident, and the proximity of his brother's place at Stapleford gave some colour to this defence. However, they did certainly meet or overtake the prisoner's party and rode with them into the city.

The other persons who accompanied them were Thomas Aldersey, one of the aldermen of the city ; Peter Ince, a stationer ; and his brother, Robert Ince, a hosier. Peter Ince had been an old friend of Prynne's, and had visited him when he was a prisoner in the Tower, and had already drawn down the wrath of the Council upon his head by so doing. An order had come to the mayor, some months before this, to search his house for seditious books, but none were then discovered.

It appears that these were not the only persons in Chester who sided with the Puritan faction. Bishop Bridgeman, who sent a report of these matters to the Archbishop of York, says that somehow the citizens of Chester appeared to get possession of all the Puritanical books as soon as they were published ; and as there was no other stationer in Chester but Peter Ince, he assumes that they must have obtained them from him, " though," he adds, " he be so cunning as it will hardly be discovered, unless by his own answer upon oath."

There was also a person named Bostock, " a lawyer of the first head," who was intimate with Prynne, and circulated in the city all the Puritan pamphlets which he could procure, and they were as numerous in that day as they are now, and far more scandalous and vituperative. He is described as " a great expounder of Scripture in private families and a follower of seditious ministers, at exercises, as they were termed ;" so that there was considerable leaven of these doctrines already at work

amongst the citizens of Chester, disposing them to view Prynne as a sufferer for the cause of the true Gospel, and deserving of their respect and regard.

It seems that the Mayor and Corporation had begun to waver in their orthodoxy, and to relax in their attendance on sound doctrine as delivered at the Cathedral; for Bishop Bridgeman complains that they now seldom came to the Sunday sermons in the Choir, although, that they might do so, he had ordered all the other preachers of the city to end their sermons before those in the Cathedral began. At that time sermons were preached at a different hour from the morning service, and people used to go to hear the sermon who did not attend this service. We have a vestige of this practice still existing in our University sermons.

It is interesting to connect with this complaint of the Bishop's, which was dated 1637, the erection of the great pulpit in the Choir, on which the same date is inscribed, and which it is said the Bishop placed there for the purpose of meeting the demand of the citizens for a more competent preaching place. That pulpit was a very large size, and would have admitted all the canons to preach at once; at any rate it gave ample room for the energetic, not to say dramatic, delivery of sermons which then began to be in fashion. But it does not appear that the Bishop, who provided the pulpit, provided at the same time for the popular and effective use of it; for he complains that the Mayor and Corporation did not come to the sermons in the Cathedral, "as in other cities they used to do, and therefore," he says, "he could not have his eye upon their behaviour," *i.e.*, to observe whether they were well affected to sound doctrine or not.

I suppose that the Deans and Canons of that day were somewhat dry and stiff in their orthodoxy; and, considering that their sermons ran to the length of an hour or more, and that the congregation had to stand to listen to them (for there were no pews or seats in the Cathedral at that time, except the stalls), no wonder that there was some slackness of attendance. And the people preferred to go, as they do still, to a more exciting style of preaching, in which controversial questions were vigorously handled and the doctrine was more in accordance with their own feelings.

We have seen that Calvin Bruen and his friends escorted Prynne and his guardians into Chester, and also accompanied him to the inn—at least they were charged with doing so, though in their answer they

in part deny it, and say that they did not speak to him except to tell him which was the best inn to go to. They admit, however, that they visited him at the inn and bestowed a pint of wine on his conductors—(what inn it was that was recommended to him we cannot tell, perhaps the “Feathers” in Bridge-street Row, which was the chief inn of the city at that date). On the next morning Calvin Bruen came to visit him again, and invited him to come to his house. But Prynne declined, “finding him,” says the Bishop, “(as who will not if he hear him speak) a poor silly fellow.” Certainly he seems to have had no great courage or stability, for the Bishop, who afterwards sent for him and rated him well for his schismatic tendencies, frightened him out of his wits, and made him confess a good deal which he afterwards denied.

After Bruen left the inn, the two brothers Ince came to call, and invited Prynne to take a walk in the city. No impediment seems to have been offered to this by his conductors, and he went with them to see St. John’s Church—not so much, it seems, for the sake of the church, but as being the place to which, he was told, King Edgar was rowed over the Dee by eight captive kings. They also paid a visit to several shops in the city, and Prynne took the opportunity of purchasing several articles of furniture for his future prison room at Caernarvon, which he did not expect to find very well furnished.

In the course of their walk they brought Prynne to the house of Alderman Aldersey, who seems to have been a leading man in the city, and was mayor two years afterwards. There they found not, as it appears, the alderman himself; or, if he were there, he was quite second in consideration to his wife, whom they found in her parlour sitting with a small *coterie* of female gossips, and enjoying a bottle of wine. She vows, in her defence before the Bishop, that it was only a pint, but it was probably, like her politics, of liberal measure; and they were, she admits too, only a party of females making themselves jolly. Of course she invited the visitors, who dropped in quite accidentally, as she affirms (but, as the Bishop thinks, by express invitation), to take a glass, and Mr. Prynne and his two friends sat down and were jolly like the rest; interlarding their merry gossip, no doubt, with occasional abuse of the bishops and the church, and adding some spiritual salt to give it a becoming character.

The watchful Bishop was not in Chester at that time, or he might have pounced upon them in the midst of their festivity, and routed the whole party at once. So the Puritan friends of Prynne had their ~~way~~

unchecked, and appear to have made the best use of their time ; for they procured the services of a native artist—a painter, or limner, as he is termed in the warrant,—whose name was Thomas Pulford, to take five portraits of Prynne, which were probably distributed amongst his friends in the city, as precious memorials of the persecuted saint. But they did not long survive, as we shall presently see.

The length of Prynne's stay in the city is not mentioned, but the time necessarily occupied in the painting of his portrait, supposing that four of them were copies afterwards made from the first, must have been two days at least, even if portrait painters were far more expeditious than they are now, and probably the work was not in a first rate style of art. However, when he proceeded on his journey, his friends rode with him over the Dee bridge across the marshes to Hawarden, where they left him to pursue his way to Caernarvon.

Now, it could not be supposed that such an audacious encouragement of false doctrine and schism and sedition could be allowed to pass unnoticed. Bishop Bridgeman returned to Chester about a fortnight afterwards, and was informed of what had taken place. Burning with indignation at the idea that "this twice censured lawyer, this stigmatised monster" should have been entertained in the cathedral town "by a set of sour factious citizens," he forthwith despatched a missive to York, to inform the Archbishop, who was a member of the High Commission Court, and to desire instructions as to his further proceeding in the matter.

In the meantime he sent for the wives of two of the suspected citizens, Mrs. Aldersey and Mrs. Ince, and examined them "punctually," as he calls it, to every clause of the articles charged against their husbands and themselves. These ladies seem to have stood the fire of episcopal wrath with sufficient courage, Mrs. Ince asserting that her husband was an old friend of Prynne's, and therefore had a right to call upon him. Mrs. Aldersey maintained that she neither expected nor invited Prynne to her party, neither did she send out for any wine for him, nor bestowed on him the worth of a penny, but merely asked him to taste a drop of the pint of wine which she and her gossips were drinking. The bishop was overcome by these two spirited ladies, and persecuted them no more.

But he forthwith issued an episcopal mandate, dated August 28, 1637, which he directed to be read in every church in the city on the following Sunday, and in which he says that "heretofore this city (God

be praised!) hath been free from any inconformity and schismatical practices, but is now much defamed by having entertained notorious and factious schismatics, whereby the government thereof as well by the temporal as ecclesiastical magistrate may in time receive some blemish ;" from which expressions we may gather that the bishop considered himself the ecclesiastical magistrate of the city, bound to administer the law, and inflict its pains and penalties upon all opposers of church doctrine and discipline, just as the Mayor was bound to do upon all civil offenders. This is not quite in accordance with our modern views of a bishop's duties, but it was the commonly received notion of those times, and Bishop Bridgeman is not to be blamed for the discharge of what he believed to be his duty to the State as well as the Church. He suffered the full consequences of it a few years afterwards, when he was deposed, and despoiled by the Parliament of all his worldly substance, and driven to take shelter for the remainder of his days in the house of his son in Shropshire.

But to return to the order, in which he says "he has some reason to suspect some of the clergy of the city of approving and encouraging the Puritan faction." He then enjoins that every lecturer "in every church in the city shall, before his lecture, read prayers, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and shall always preach in his surplice (the black gown then for the first time coming into fashion, introduced by the Puritans from Geneva, and being the mark of the sect), and that his order should be read on the following Sunday in every church in the city, and that the ministers shall in their sermons express their hearty detestation of the offences for which Prynne and his companions were censured." On which the narrative observes, "This episcopal, pious, and charitable order was immediately published in all the churches in Chester the next Lord's Day, and thereupon some of the ministers openly and by name railed sundry times in their sermons against Mr. Prynne and his visitors, calling them schismatics, rebels, traitors, factious and seditious persons, worse than any priests or Jesuits, rogues, rascals, witches" (the latter words, I suppose, applying to Mrs. Aldersey and her gossips) "stretching out their wits upon tenter-hooks to outvie one another in railing against them, to endear themselves in the Prelate's favour, and to make their libellous pasquils a stirrup to mount up to preferment, as some of them were not ashamed to confess."

But the Bishop took more stringent measures than these against

the offenders. He sent their names to the High Commissioners' Court, and forthwith pursuivants were sent to Chester with warrants to apprehend them. They arrived just at the opening of the annual fair on the 10th of October, at that day a most important event to the trade and citizens of Chester—the great annual occasion of commercial intercourse between the manufacturer and the retail trade. It was considered that the warrants were executed at this time on purpose to damage them in their trade. I observe this is called "Chester Chair" in some of the documents, a name which, as I suspect, is merely a misprint for "Fair."

So poor Calvin Bruen* and his friends, Peter and Robert Ince, and Peter Leigh and Richard Golborne, and William Trafford, all citizens and tradesmen of Chester, were hurried off to York, having first to pay four pounds each for fees to the pursuivant; and there they were examined and re-examined, and had articles exhibited against them time after time, after the manner of ecclesiastical courts, charging them with certain great and enormous offences in visiting and entertaining Mr. Prynne. Upon their humble confession of the offence they were fined £500, ordered to be imprisoned for a time, and, on their return to Chester, to make a full acknowledgment of this great crime both in the Cathedral and in the Common Hall of the city. Some of them refused to make this acknowledgment, and were fined another £300 each.

But Bruen and Peter Ince were so thoroughly subdued by the terrors of the court that they submitted to the judgment, and consented to make the required acknowledgment. And accordingly on Sunday, Dec. 16th, Peter Ince appeared in the Cathedral, the Bishop being present, with the Mayor and civil authorities, and there, standing on a stool before the pulpit, he repeated after the preacher the form of recantation which the commissioners prescribed. This was done just before the sermon, and he had to stand there and hear the sermon which followed, and was preached by the Bishop's chaplain, Mr. Cardwell; the sermon being a sharp and bitter invective against Prynne and his Chester friends. On the following Sunday a similar scene was enacted by Calvin Bruen, the preacher then being Dr. Snell, Archdeacon of Chester and Rector of Waverton, "who used the like invectives, but with more moderation." The same form of penance was also gone through on the Tuesday following, before the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, in the Common Hall.

* Calvin Bruen was an ironmonger, not a bookseller, as suggested at page 280.

It is said, but probably with a good deal of exaggeration, that the conduct of the officials who came to apprehend these unfortunate tradesmen, was so rough and violent as seriously to alarm their wives, who never recovered the shock ; that others were obliged to leave Chester, their relatives and friends not daring to associate with them. Peter Leigh and Richard Golborne state in their petition that they were damnified to the amount of £1000, and their estates thereby wholly ruined. Peter Leigh says that his trade, which went to the extent of above £4000 a year, was entirely stopped, and his shop shut up for above three months, so that his wife and children were reduced to great distress.

One curious incident is mentioned in these petitions. Leigh, Golborne, and Trafford had secured the services of one of the Advocates of the High Court of Canterbury, Dr. Merrick, and paid him large sums of money in order to have an interview with Archbishop Laud. They also presented the Archbishop with two butts of the best sack, which he graciously accepted ; and they gave his house steward £12, and to other servants £20 more, all under the advice of Dr. Merrick. They never got access to the Archbishop, but, in consideration of these presents, he was content to take £200 as a moderate fine, and £40 more were paid as fees, and they then were set at liberty. The probability is that the Archbishop knew nothing personally of these proceedings. They were the acts of his officers and servants, to feather their own nests. But, of course, he had to bear the blame of them in the subsequent proceedings against him ; and they formed important items in the accumulation of charges by which the popular voice was turned against him, and he was marked out by the Parliament as the arch enemy of all Christian truth and godliness.

But the angry measures of the High Commissioners' Court did not stop here. Intelligence was sent them of the existence of the five portraits of Prynne, which had been taken when he was in Chester. Whereupon they first sent for the poor painter, Thomas Pulford, and subjected him to severe examination on oath, but getting nothing important out of him, they sent him back to Chester with an order to the Chancellor of the diocese to seize the pictures and deface them in the presence of the Bishop and a public notary. The Chancellor, Dr. Mainwaring, not only executed his orders, but exceeded them ; for he took all the portraits out of their frames and burnt them publicly. Whereupon the Court further ordered that he should seize the frames also, which had

been given back to Pulford, and cause them to be publicly burned in the streets of Chester; as if even the wooden frames which had once surrounded the portraits of this dangerous heretic might convey the infection of false doctrine, and corrupt the inhabitants of the city. They were accordingly publicly burnt at the High Cross in Chester, on Tuesday, the 12th of December, in the presence of the mayor, aldermen, and other citizens to the number of a thousand. And it is said that the populace enjoyed the bonfire, and cried out "burn them! burn them!" "thereby," says the Chancellor, "attesting their hatred of Prynne's person and his proceedings," but, as others thought, applying these words to Prynne's persecutors, and suggesting that they should be treated in the same way as they were treating these picture frames.

I will only add one more brief anecdote in connection with the proceedings of Bishop Bridgeman, which seems to have left a special irritation on the minds of the friends and supporters of Prynne. A Mrs. Hoghton, a Roman Catholic lady living in Lancashire, had three cats. To express her contempt for the Puritan martyrs she cut off their ears and burnt one of them on the side of its face, and then gave them the names of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne. This created a good deal of talk at the time, and was brought under the notice of the Bishop by some of the Puritan party, who were quite as eager to persecute the Papists as the High Church party were to persecute them. The Bishop, however, declined to take any notice of the information, perhaps in his heart thinking it a fair satire on the three Puritans.

This was bad enough, but he went further, for he and his servants ventured to christen an old cropped-eared horse of his with the name of Prynne, on which the writer of the narrative remarks—"I fear this horse had more charity than his lord and master the Bishop, and that his very name of Prynne will suffice to rebuke the malice and madness of this Balaam, covetous and false prophet as he is; who durst, by way of scorn, christen an irrational beast with the name of a better Christian than himself, and curse those saints whom God hath blessed (yea honoured in despite of all the prelate's tyranny, calumnies, oppositions, and aspersions), which Balaam himself refused to do."

Thus I have done with the special episode of Chester history which is connected with that of Prynne, and need not trouble you further with the incidents of his later life. It may, however, be interesting to recollect that he became afterwards the chief accuser of

Archbishop Laud and the manager of his impeachment; and under the Commonwealth he was one of the visitors of the University of Oxford, and displayed great zeal in the establishment of the Presbyterian system there. He was one of those whom Cromwell ejected from the House of Commons; and then he turned his wrath against him, and wrote with so much asperity and freedom that he again found himself under the charge of sedition, and passed some time in prison. He ended by becoming a staunch loyalist under Charles II, and, it is said, in his later days owned the folly of his former political writings, and the justice of the sentence against him, saying that "if the King had cut off his head, when he only cropt off his ears, he would have done no more than justice, and done God and the nation good service." He was so rapid and voluminous a writer that it is calculated that he must have written a sheet a day for every day of his life after he came to man's estate. His works amount to 40 vols. folio and quarto. He died in 1669.

CHESTER RACES IN 1754.

The SOCIETY is indebted for the communication of the following letter to Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., who recently found the original amongst a mass of correspondence hoarded up at Oulton :—

"28 feby 1754

Chester.

"Dear Sr.

You have the trouble of this to acquaint you that our Obstinate Mayor* will have ye Races "old stile" because he's in hopes the Weather will then be warmer and that the Lady's, from a Desire of pleasing the Men, and the sunshine Weather, will be tempted to buy his Lutestring Gowns. I hope Bennett will be able to attend you. I wish you success at the Cocking and at the Races next to.

fr. yrs most sincerely

Tho. Slaughter.

to Philip Egerton, Esq
Oulton."

* Edmund Bolland, mercer, sworn Free of Chester City in 1731.

WARRINGTON LOCAL SKETCHES :
BEING
*NOTES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF SOME ANCIENT HOUSES,
ETC., ON THAT SIDE OF*
CHESHIRE,
BY
JAMES KENDRICK, M.D.

FROM early youth my chief recreative pleasure and pursuit has been the acquisition of the rarer pictorial illustrations of English History, and more especially have I taken pleasure in the preservation of those referring to the local history of Warrington (my native town,) and its immediate neighbourhood. As I have had few competitors in the pursuit, I have been enabled to accumulate an extensive and yet not very costly collection of LOCAL VIEWS, a selection from which, in the form of small vignettes, I now deem worthy of the acceptance of the Chester Archaeological Society. Appended to each an explanatory or descriptive notice was necessary for members not acquainted with the localities, but I have striven to render them as brief as would serve this little purpose, though I flatter myself that some of the subjects were deserving of a more lengthened notice. In every instance it is right that I should state that the sketch has been copied from a trustworthy original, and for the first time.*

* The Illustrations accompanying this article are a gift from Dr. Kendrick to his brethren of the Chester Society, and are from the friendly pencil of another of its members, Mr. Wm. Henry Eylands, of Warrington.—[Ed. C.A.S.]

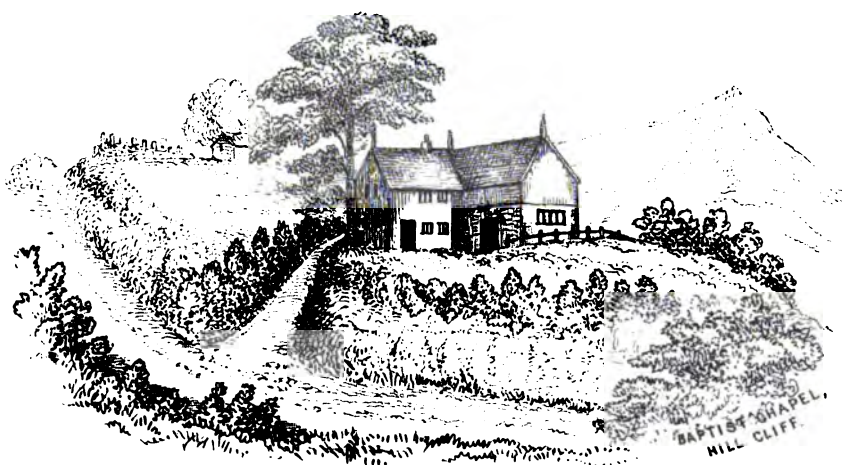
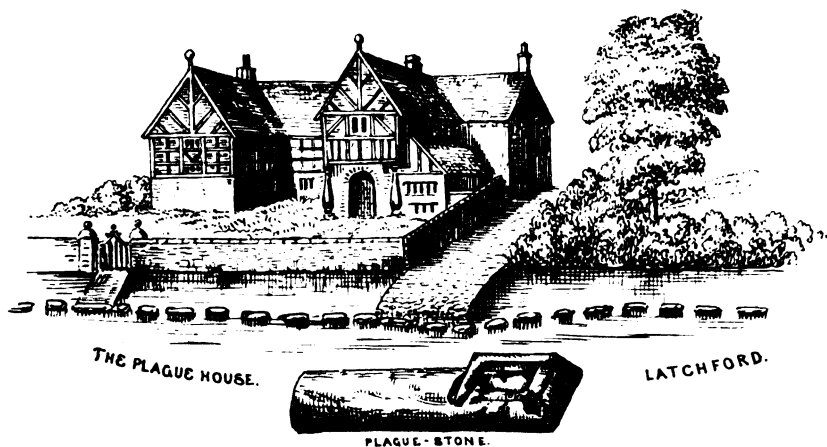
1.—THE PLAGUE-HOUSE, WASH LANE, LATCHFORD.

As this is one of the best-established of our Warrington traditions, and as it lies within the confines of that elastic and irregular limit known as the "municipal borough," I have chosen to give it precedence in my page of Local Sketches. The PLAGUE-HOUSE stands about one mile from the centre of the borough, in its Latchford division, and upon the line of road which is said to have been the highroad from north to south prior to the erection of the bridge over the Mersey at Warrington, in 1495. As its name of Wash Lane imports, this road was liable to occasional inundation, rendering it impassable to passengers on foot except by the stepping-stones (tripping-stones) shown in the vignette. The stream of water is now contracted into the limits of the brook which runs on its western side, and empties itself into the Mersey about 200 yards from hence, at a point where tradition says the Mersey was alone fordable.

The date of 1650 is carved upon one of the timbers of the front of this house, so that the cases of Plague which occurred here must have been at or near the last appearance of the disease in England, viz., 1664-5.

The coping-stone at the north-west corner of the garden or courtyard is now in the Warrington Museum, and is faithfully represented below our present sketch. At one extremity of this coping-stone a square cavity has been formed, 5 inches square and 2 inches in depth, in which the tradition runs that the money paid for provisions and other necessities, during the time of their dire suffering, was steeped in vinegar by the plague-stricken inmates prior to its being touched by the townspeople.

The tradition had long existed that those who died of the Plague here were not interred in the consecrated ground of their parish of Grappenhall, but were rapidly buried in the field known as the Broom Field, which is immediately behind the PLAGUE-HOUSE. This field is glebe land, and some labourers digging there in 1843 are said to have come upon three human skeletons, covered with a flat ashlar stone, without inscription or mark of any kind. On the 10th of July, 1852, in company with a medical friend, I made an investigation on this precise spot, and by means of an iron probe ascertained the existence of a large stone about two feet below the surface. On laying it bare, it proved to be a thick slab of red sandstone, rough from the quarry, 5 feet 1 inch in length and 2 feet 3 inches broad, with one extremity rounded, and



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broken across the middle. Beneath it we found the bones of the *pelvis* and lower extremities of a male human being, and near the *pelvis* the skull and lower jaw. It was clear that in the investigation made by the farm labourers, in 1843, the slab had been broken, and the bones beneath, with the exception of the head and lower extremities, removed and lost.

In the parish register of Budworth, under the date of April, 1647, the names of several are recorded as having died in this part of the county of Chester from the Plague, but who were buried at the village or hamlet of Barnton, two miles distant from Budworth, although no consecrated ground existed there. Unfortunately, however, the parish registers of Grappenhall afford us no similar information.

2.—BELLE-FIELDS, APPLETON.

This house, situated $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Warrington, is believed to have been the original from which Smollett's "garrison" residence of "Commodore Trunnion" took its rise. "Lord have mercy upon us!" says the innkeeper, in the second chapter of *Peregrine Pickle*; "he has been a great warrior in his time, and lost an eye and a heel in the service. Then he does not live like any other Christian landman; but keeps garrison in his house, as if he were in the midst of his enemies, and makes his servants turn out in the night, 'watch and watch,' as he calls it, all the year round. His habitation is defended by a ditch, over which he has laid a drawbridge, and planted his courtyard with pataroes continually loaded with shot."

Although BELLE-FIELDS is now but an ordinary farm-house, it was originally built by Admiral Hoare for his own residence. The Rev. Edward Hinchliffe, in his amusing work entitled *Barthomley*, gives us some further interesting particulars of the subject of our sketch and its original owner. Speaking of Captain Peter Bover, his maternal uncle, Mr. Hinchliffe says "Captain Bover was afterwards attached to the flagship of Admiral Hoare, when a friendship of more than ordinary intimacy sprang up between the Admiral and himself. Of this tar of the old school, I must not omit to say a few words. He was a *character*; and the original from whom Smollett drew his humorous and immortal picture of Hawser Trunnion. He was a rough, daring, every-inch-a-sailor; and at sea or on land, in conversation or occupation, or in the arrangement of his house, never lost sight of the deepest *nauticism*: in fact he was a perfect contrast to his Anglo-Franco captain, whose mind

and manners bore the refined polish of his father-land. The Admiral, for a reason which I am ignorant of, settled for a time in Cheshire. He obtained the lease of some land in Appleton, near Warrington, from Sir Peter Warburton, Bart., of Arley, with whom he was on the most friendly terms, and choosing a site which commands a fine view of a richly-wooded vale, backed by Halton Castle and the Helsby Hills, and of the river Mersey, winding and widening its course to the sea,—he then set to work to build a house, not after the fashion of an architect, but after *the model of a ship*. In it he had his cabins, and places called by names which I, who am not a sailor, cannot venture to pronounce; and before it was a grass-plot, surrounded by a ha-ha, whereon he trudged for exercise, honouring it with the name of ‘quarter-deck!’ All who approached him there were required to do so with their hats off, and with every other mark of respect and duty which belong to the reality. Bells sounded the time of the day; and, as an Admiral on board his flag-ship, he breakfasted, dined, and supped, and went to bed. His movements were regulated by the weather-vane; in a kind of log-book the points of the wind and the occurrences of the day were regularly noted down. His conversation about terrestrial things was always interlarded with nautical phraseology; on land he was at sea. In fact he was amphibious—a *terrestro-nautico* animal; but, with all his professional foibles, not a warmer-hearted, kinder, or more hospitable creature ever existed.”*

Either the beauty or retirement of the neighbourhood of BELLE-FIELDS led to its being more than once the resort of the wanton Lady Ligonier, after her separation and divorce from her husband, in 1771. Upon one of those occasions she is traditionally said to have been accompanied by the celebrated Italian poet Alfieri; but in his life, written by himself, he does not make mention of this circumstance, unless it took place in the year 1771, when he confesses to have made a few months’ tour with his enslaver, from whose toils he could only escape by a retreat to the Continent. Still the tradition receives some additional weight from the fact that a beautifully romantic path through “The Firs,” in the immediate neighbourhood, has long been known as “Alfieri’s Walk.”

3.—BAPTIST CHAPEL, HILL CLIFF,

Scarcely half-a-mile to the north of Belle-Fields (our last illustration), and on the way thence to Warrington, stands the truly venerable

* *Barthomley*, by the Rev. Edward Hinchliffe. 8vo. London, 1856.

BAPTIST CHAPEL at Hill Cliff. Perhaps I ought rather to say *stood*, for of late years the humble building represented in my vignette, taken early in the century, has been removed, and another erected more in accordance with the extent and requirements of its increasing congregation of zealous worshippers. A brief but comprehensive summary of its history has been given by the Rev. William Stokes in his *History of the Midland Association of Baptist Churches*,* and as it contains everything necessary to my present purpose of imparting interest to my little sketch, I feel no scruple, with the above acknowledgment, to avail myself of its reproduction here :—

“The above ancient church, at Hill Cliff, is probably the oldest Baptist Church in the United Kingdom. Tradition gives it an existence in the time of the Reformation, and some assign to it even an earlier commencement. But, without drawing upon unauthenticated rumour, it is ascertained that a Mr. Weyerburton, a person of property and a devoted man, was its recognised minister; that he remained with the people to the end of his days; and that he died in 1594. This fact being beyond doubt, there is at least a *probability* in the tradition that the church was coeval with the Reformation, which may be said to have taken place in 1529. The building is an interesting specimen of the humble and barn-like structure in which men, to whom we moderns owe the great body of our liberties, assembled together to worship the Great Supreme. It would seat about eighty persons.

“Mr. Dayntith followed the above excellent man, and the pulpit, Bible, and minister's walking-staff of that period, with the date of 1638, are yet in existence. It is reported that Oliver Cromwell, having halted with the parliamentary forces at Warrington,† worshipped in Hill Cliff Chapel, and that one of his officers occupied the pulpit on that occasion. Mr. Tillam was the next pastor, and after him Mr. Thomas Lowe, who, it appears from Ivimey, attended the General Assembly of 1689, and the one of 1692. Mr. Francis Turner followed, by whom the Baptist interest was commenced in Liverpool, and it was during his ministry, in 1714, that ‘the church at Hill Cliff agreed to consider the Liverpool branch as a district branch.’ His labours were successful in an unusual degree. He was succeeded by Mr. John Hayes, who remained among the people until his death. The well-known John

* Published by Theobald, Paternoster Row, London, 1855.

† After defeating the Royal forces under the Duke of Hamilton at Preston, Wigan, Winwick, and Warrington on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of August, 1648.

Macgowan, the author of the 'Dialogues of Devils,' 'The Shaver,' and other works, followed Mr. Hayes. He carried on the business of a bread baker, at Warrington, while minister at Hill Cliff. He removed to Bridgnorth in 1759, and while there he preached before the Midland Association at one of its annual meetings. He was afterwards pastor of the church in Devonshire Square, London. The next pastor was Mr. Wainwright, who died in 1772; and after a period of some adversity the church accepted Mr. A. Hughes as pastor. His connection with the church was an unfortunate one, and soon closed. Mr. John Thompson followed in 1792. His ministry, which continued to 1825, was one of great prosperity and success. Mr. Bradford, who had been with Mr. Swinton, an assistant to Mr. Thompson, continued as pastor until his death, in 1830. Mr. Enoch Lloyd and after him Mr. W. Jones succeeded. The present minister, Mr. A. Kenworthy, became pastor in 1839, and the number of church members is ninety-eight,

"This ancient interest is the parent of several others in various directions, and, though its course has been fluctuating, it has been on different occasions signally honoured of God, in sending out a number of useful men as pastors to different parts. It suffered severe persecution under the Stuarts, and it is traditionally said that during the Civil Wars two of its members were put to death by order of the Earl of Derby, the leader of the Royalist forces. As a refuge from the fury of their persecutors, they dug a place under ground, into which they fled whenever they apprehended danger. This *dark* relic of persecution is now the cellar of the minister's house.

"N.B.—I am indebted for the greater portion of the above particulars to the kindness of the present pastor at Hill Cliff, Mr. A. Kenworthy.—W. S."

The celebrated landscape painter, Richard Wilson, who has been designated "the English Claude Lorraine," was on several occasions resident at Hill Cliff, when labouring under his repeated pecuniary difficulties. Some productions of his pencil were a few years ago recovered from the possession of farmers who had taken them from him in return for board and lodging. From the very ancient burial-ground of the BAPTIST CHAPEL (shown in the distance in our vignette), it is said that he declared that a panorama was seen unequalled by any other landscape in England. Even without his opportunities, and without his practised eye, we can readily believe this when we take our

stand in this quiet cemetery, and see spread out before us a tract of level country at the least 100 square miles in its area, extending from the well-known points of Penmaen Mawr and Moel Famau in Wales on our left, following the high ground in Lancashire of Ashurst Beacon, Billinge Hill, Bolton, and Rivington Pike, until it ends on our right in the town of Stockport. Within this boundary we see extended before us the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey, as they expand into the Irish Sea; and on or near their banks we can distinguish the towns of Mold and Flint, Liverpool, Widnes, Runcorn, and Warrington, with the intermediate towns of Prescot, St. Helens, Ashton, Wigan, Newton, and Manchester. So uninterrupted is the view, that from hence a railway train may be traced by the smoke of its locomotive from the starting-point at Liverpool to its destination at Manchester, and even thence to Stockport. For extent, if not for variety, the valley of the Mersey has probably no British rival.

At our feet, and around us, are subjects of even deeper interest—the mortal remains of those who during upwards of three centuries without fear or wavering gloried in the name of Protestant rest after their labours. To the care and perseverance of the present pastor of Hill Cliff (the Rev. Abraham Kenworthy,) we owe the recovery of many of the earliest gravestones, which, in the course of time, had become buried by the decay of the rank grass which hung over them. Many of these are found to bear dates of the early part of the 16th century, and it were well if some record were made of these earlier ones, which, lying for the most part horizontally on the moist ground, are already showing signs of disappearance from the alternations of the weather and the footsteps of thoughtless visitors.

In 1714, as we have been told by Mr. Stokes, the Baptist Church at Hill Cliff agreed to recognise their Liverpool brethren as a district *branch*; and we are told by Mr. James Stonehouse, of Liverpool, in a communication printed in the 4th volume of the *Journal* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (p. 76), that at this date a Baptist chapel was erected at Everton near Liverpool, adjacent to a cemetery, for which the ground had been given to this body in 1707, by Daniel and Hannah Fabius. Prior to this the Fabius (or Bean) family had doubtless interred at Hill Cliff, for one of the gravestones here bears the short inscription:—

“*Ebenezer Fabius, 1691.*”

And another—

*"Here Lyeth the Body of Hannah Fabius,
who Dyed June the 7th, 1702."*

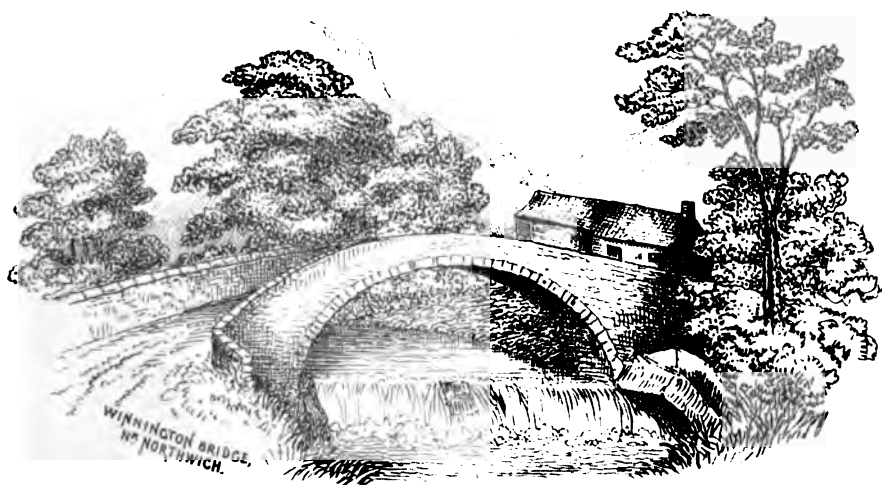
There is at Hill Cliff a very elegant Latin inscription to the memory of Mr. Samuel Simson, a merchant of Chester, who died in the year 1719, and who during his life had been a liberal benefactor to his poorer brethren at Hill Cliff, as is shown by many grateful acknowledgments in the early records of the congregation. This epitaph, which was composed by the pastor, Mr. Turner, is too long for introduction here; but near by is another, which is too curious an attempt at Latinity to be omitted. It would appear as if both author and sexton had broken down contemporaneously:—

*"Subter hoc Saxum Tho : Wainwrighti Amicus ille noster sternere
se somnum factum est. Ille autem Prædicatoria fuisse in Congressu
Baptistus per Warring"*

4.—HALTON CASTLE.

A larger representation of this picturesque ruin (likewise from my collection) has already appeared in a former volume (the 2nd) of the Chester Archaeological Society, but our group of Local Sketches would have been rendered incomplete without a representation of this striking object in our landscape, equally as it is a famous key-note in our local history.

It is supposed to have been founded by Nigel, a Norman follower of Hugh Lupus, the first earl of Chester, and he and his successors took precedence of all the other barons of Cheshire, ranking next in place and dignity to the Earl himself. The succession and chief incidents in the lives of all these barons of Halton have been carefully summarized by our fellow-member Mr. Beamont, in the volume above referred to. Whilst garrisoned for King Charles the First it was taken and subsequently dismantled by Sir William Brereton and the forces of the Parliament, so that scarcely sufficient remains are now left to define clearly its original plan and construction. Mr. Alfred Rimmer, the architect, says, in the third volume of the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society* (p. 17), "Halton Castle has been built at various periods: probably the greater part of what now remains is of the 13th century. Unlike those already described (Beeston, Clitheroe, Elvaston, etc.), it is built round a court; for as the



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times began to grow more tranquil, and life and property became more secure, they paid better attention to the comfort and appearance of their dwellings. The windows of castles in the latter end of the 13th century were enlarged; but these looked for the most part inside to the court, while those to the outside were smaller, and more like those of the preceding century." The courtyard at Halton is now a bowling-green and ornamental garden, and the surrounding walls are carefully preserved from any further decay and dilapidation than the course of time must inevitably produce.

Although the letter *H* is treated by many as "simply an aspirate and no letter," its introduction into the 9517th line of Murray's (1813) edition of *The Vision of Pierce Plowman* has led to the character of the district around Halton obtaining an unenviable repute for lawlessness and crime during the mediæval period of English history. We there read:—

"Thoro the pass of *Halton*•

Poverté might passe without peril of robberyge."

But in Pickering's (1842) edition the name of the reprobate locality is Aultone, and, at the suggestion of our fellow-member Dr. Robson, I enquired, through the medium of *Notes and Queries* (3rd S. xii, p. 373), whether this discreditable notoriety did not appertain more to Alton in Hampshire, since it lies on the direct route from London to the great Weyhill Fair, near Winchester. Moreover, I stated that the rock on which HALTON CASTLE is built stands in the midst of a long marshy country, affording no shelter for robbers, and never a place of much resort. My query very shortly met with several replies, all tending to remove the undeserved reproach from our Halton, and two of them fixing it so unmistakeably upon the Alton suggested by Dr. Robson, that it would be culpable to omit the substance of them here.

The first reply to my query referred me to Mr. T. Hudson Turner's *Account of Domestic Architecture of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 107, where we read: "The wooded pass of Alton, on the borders of Surrey and Hampshire, which was not disafforested until the end of Henry's reign, was a favourite ambush for outlaws, who there awaited the merchants and their trains of sumpter horses travelling to or from Winchester: even in the fourteenth century the wardens of the great

* The learned editor, Dr. Whitaker, affixes to this passage a note assigning it to Halton "in Cheshire, formerly infamous to a proverb as an haunt of robbers."

fair of St. Giles, held in that city, paid five mounted sergeants-at-arms to keep the pass of Alton during the continuance of the fair, 'according to custom.'"

In a second reply Mr. W. Chapman, writing from Farnham, says "I venture to claim for my neighbouring town (Alton) the unenviable notoriety which the lines

'Ye, thorough the pass of Aultone
Poverté myght passe
Withouten peril of robberyge,'

as they appear in Pickering's edition of *Piers Plowman's Vision*, seem to bestow on the place named. The form of the word as above rendered seems preferable to that used by Dr. Whitaker (January, 1813), if indeed it is not assignable to Halton in Cheshire, as suggested; for the orthography is the same as in the Domesday records, and the district itself is known to have been for a very long period the resort of robbers. There is a spot in the parish of Bentley, and close to the forest of Alice Holt, to which the word 'pass' would not be inapplicable; but it is more than probable that the word is used in the sense of road or passage, as ordinarily applied in the present day. . . . "

Upon the above evidence it is clear that our very kind and good neighbours of Halton have for some time rested under a wholly unjustifiable stigma, from which they can never hereafter suffer if, as we were enjoined at school, they will only "sound their *Hs*."

5.—WINNINGTON BRIDGE, NEAR NORTHWICH.

So far as I know, no representation of WINNINGTON BRIDGE has hitherto appeared, yet, as the site of the last battle of the Great Civil War, it rightly claims a place in a series of sketches like the present. My vignette is copied from a small oil painting in my possession, the canvas and frame of which lead me to assign it to the latter part of the 18th century.

The Battle of Winnington Bridge is well known as the chief incident attendant upon the rising of Sir George Booth, the second baronet of the name, who, although originally a zealous Parliamentarian, had subsequently become offended at the arbitrary measures of the Government, and desirous of a restored monarchy:

In the year 1659 Sir George received a commission from the exiled king (Charles the Second,) at Brussels, constituting him the commander of the Royalist forces in Cheshire, Lancashire, and North

Wales, and in virtue of this commission he attacked and captured the city of Chester, though not the castle likewise. Leaving Chester, however, he marched towards York, which was deemed likely to fall into his hands, but a report that General Lambert was in his rear induced him to return to Chester, whence he sallied forth to meet Lambert, who had halted at Nantwich for two days. On the 19th of August the Royalists were quartered at Northwich and the Parliamentarians at Weaverham, and the two armies came into action the next morning amongst the enclosures near Hartford, the horse being unable to act, and the Royalists retiring uninjured from hedge to hedge, and passing the BRIDGE "without any other loss than that of reputation." "Their next endeavour," says General Lambert, in a letter to the Parliament, "was to secure the BRIDGE, which they had good reason to hope for, in regard the river was unfordable, the bridge narrow, flanked with a strong ditch on the far end and a high hill, up which no horse could pass, otherwise than along the side in a narrow path." "This position was abandoned," says Dr. Ormerod, from whose *History of Cheshire** the above extract is taken, "by Sir George Booth after three good volleys; and Lambert's horse, passing the bridge together with his foot, charged the horse of the Royalists, which advanced to cover the retreat. Sir George Booth's infantry retired in good order, as Lambert states that they *followed* their colours up the hill, protected by the gallantry of the cavalry, to which he gives due praise, honouring English valour in his adversaries. Within a quarter of a mile the Royalists again halted to give battle, but were routed a second time, disputing the place very gallantly, both parties shewing themselves like Englishmen. The foot escaped by means of the enclosures, and their horse divided towards Chester and Warrington, both divisions being pursued as far as Frodsham and Warrington, at the latter of which the Royalists were stopped by a garrison consisting of four companies of foot and a troop of horse. Sir George Booth effected his escape from the battle of Winnington Bridge, but was shortly afterwards arrested, and committed to the Tower. The Restoration effected his release, and he was by Charles II. created the first Lord Delamere of Dunham-Massey."

6.—GEORGE FOX'S OAK, AT FRANDLEY.

Forty years ago, as we were wont to travel from Lancashire to London by the four-in-hand stage-coach, we passed a tavern three miles

* Vol. i., p. 50.

south of Warrington known as the "Cat and Lion,"* at Stretton, with the unpoetical and ungrammatical legend :—

"The Lion is strong, the Cat is vicious;
My Ale is good, so is my Liquors."

A mile beyond this we passed another village inn, and read on its swinging signboard :—

"Behold the Fox, near Frandley Stocks,
Pray catch him when you can,
For they sell here good Ale and Beer
To any honest man."

Both "Frandley Stocks" and the tavern sign have disappeared some years ago, but in a shady lane running westward from this point we can still boast of a living memorial of that good, nay blameless man, George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, or Society of Friends. It is traditional that, upon one of his visits to Cheshire, he preached to a congregation of fellow-worshippers under the OAK represented in our vignette, and there is everything in its appearance to justify our receiving this tradition as a fact in our local history.

From *George Fox's Journal* we learn that after an imprisonment at Lancaster, in 1660, he took Cheshire on his way to London. He says "I came into Cheshire to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting without doors, the house not being sufficient to contain it." We may assume this to be the occasion from which the tradition descended, although he had held meetings at William Gandy's in 1647, and again, at a later period, in 1667, 1669, and 1674. His visit in 1669 was on his return from Ireland, and he says "We landed at Liverpool, and went to Richard Johnson's, whence departing the next day we passed to William Barnes's house, and so to William Gandy's, visiting Friends, and having many precious meetings in Lancashire and Cheshire." The Richard Johnson here named was of Sephton, Lancashire, and a maternal ancestor of my own. From 1660 to 1685 we find, from Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, that he suffered repeatedly both in his liberty, person, and substance from the persecution which was carried on against the followers of George Fox. His son John married one of the daughters of Richard Cubban, of Bickerstaff, the early and firm friend of Fox. On Richard Cubban's death twelve "Apostle-spoons," bearing the assay-mark of 1573, were divided

* Is this the ante-type of *Punch's* recent cartoon of "The Persian *chat* (Shah) and British Lion"?

amongst his three married daughters, and one of these has passed, through many vicissitudes, down to myself. The William Barnes who is next named by George Fox, was of Sankey, near Warrington, and his house remained until very recently. The residence of William Gandy has also been taken down, but it stood within a hundred yards of GEORGE FOX'S OAK, on the road leading to Comberbach.

A portion of the present Friends' Meeting-house at Frandley is shown on the left hand side of the vignette, whilst beneath the canopy of GEORGE FOX'S OAK a two-story building appears, the lower part of which is used as a stable for the horses of Friends coming here from a distance to worship, and the upper story, reached by an outside staircase and door, is appropriated to the quarterly meetings for discipline of the female Friends. To the right, but attached to this building and close to the foot of the OAK, is a low shed with sloping roof, in which the ancient hearse, or carriage, formerly used for the conveyance of deceased Friends to their quiet burial-ground at Whitley,* two miles from hence, has been locked up from sight, together with its primitive harness, for upwards of fifty years! It is said to be the identical "carriage" referred to in the following Minutes of the Friends' Monthly Meeting, nearly two centuries ago, namely, in 1692. A Friend who made a pilgrimage to the spot a few years since, and wished to see this relic, found the door strongly locked, the key lost, and its last known possessor dead many years before.

"18th, 7 mo., 1692. Ordered that John Key take to his house ye carriage for ye dead, and take upon him to serve friends in that concern of carrying their dead when called upon."

"19th, 12 mo., 1692. 'Tis this day concluded that when friends have dead to bury, to prevent disorder in timing of it, that he that

* This burial-ground is singularly isolated and solitary, with its one single gravestone, which, contrary to the custom of the Society of Friends, was allowed to be placed there over the body of one of the very ancient family of Starkey of Stretton, who is said to have given the ground for its present purpose. The inscription runs thus:—

"HERE : LYETH : INTERRED THE : BODI : OF : IOHN STARKEY :
LATE : OF STRETTON : GENT : WHO DEPARTED : THIS : LIFE THE :
10TH : OF : APRILL : IN THE : 44TH : YEARE : OF : HIS AGE : ANNO :
DOMINI 16 86. POST : FUNERA : VIRTUS."

At the foot of the inscription a shield is inscribed, bearing the coat of Starkey (a stork *sable*, membered *gules*). Probably no other Quaker cemetery can exhibit so singular an anomaly as an inscribed gravestone, two centuries old, and bearing a distinct *armorial coat*.

maketh the grave observe the hour of ten to open the grave, and that the friend that keeps the Carriage, as well as those that go to accompany the corpse, be at the house where the dead is at ten. In order to take up the corpse before eleaven, that the testimony of truth respecting that service may be answered."

In the year previous (1691) there are two curious entries in the minute-book, shewing that although the Society of Friends of that day did not object to the use of tobacco, nor even to a visit to the alehouse, yet they enjoined a limit to the former which would at times be grateful to such of us as cannot smoke, in self-defence from others who do:—

"14th, 4 mo., 1691. It being considered that the too frequent use of smoking Tobacco is Inconsistent with Friends holy profession, It is desired that such as have occasion to make use thereof take it privately, neither too publickly in their own houses, nor by the high wayes, streets, or in alehouses, or elsewhere, tending to the abetting of the Common excess.

"18th, 8th mo., 1691. Friends not to smoke during their labour or occupation, but to leave their work and take it privately."

Perhaps the traces of a little honest Quaker blood in my own genealogical descent may have deepened the regret which I feel that I have secured no sketch, however rude, of the dwellings of Richard Johnson, William Barnes, or William Gandy. Perhaps, too, they have enhanced in my own estimation the interest of the little vignettes which I here present to the public; but such as they are they are unique, and ere long would have been likewise lost. I trust, therefore, to the indulgence of my fellow-members in thus venturing to thrust into notice my little series of LOCAL SKETCHES.

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society.

(CONTINUED FROM VOLUME 2.)

1863.

THE second meeting of the session (the first for the year 1863,) was held at the Society's Rooms, on February 2nd; the Rev. Canon Blomfield in the chair.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN expressed the pleasure he felt in again meeting his friends and fellow-members of the Chester Archaeological Society, with whom in that room he had spent so many agreeable and instructive evenings. He trusted the present might prove as prosperous a session as the one which had preceded it, and that all those who could help forward its success, either by contributing original papers or bringing forward objects of antiquarian interest for exhibition, would at once place themselves in communication with the secretaries.

Dr. McEWEN read a paper "On the ancient Church and Sanctuary of Pennant Melangell, Montgomeryshire, with remarks on the law of sanctuary as it prevailed in the Middle Ages." The privilege of safe asylum, he said, was traceable back to the most remote ages of the world. The "cities of refuge" of Jewish times (and, he might have added, the "mark" put upon Cain,) were instances of the early prevalence of the custom in Bible history, while cases abounded in classic story of the like universal application of the privilege of sanctuary. In England the principle could be traced to early Saxon times. In Scotland the sanctuary was called *Gortholl*, or *Gyrthol*, which meant, in simple terms, safety or protection. Until the reign of Henry VIII

every church or churchyard was a sanctuary, except as against treason and sacrilege, which were offences not lightly to be forgiven by either the State or the Church. Criminals who escaped thither took an oath before the coroner to abjure the realm, and not to return without leave of the king, and had thereupon a safe conduct to the nearest port of embarkation for a foreign land. From the reign of Henry II., in 1154, to that of Henry VIII., the law of sanctuary continued in pretty much the same state. Now and then, but only occasionally, as in the case of A'Becket at Canterbury, the right of asylum was invaded; but in most cases the Church took care to let it be known that punishment, human or divine, or both, fell heavily upon those who dared to violate the sanctuary. At length, abuses of a serious nature having engrafted themselves upon the system, the privilege was formally abolished in the 21st year of the reign of James I.

The little church of Pennant Melangell, erected in a secluded nook in the northern part of Montgomeryshire, was chiefly remarkable, not so much for its architectural features, as for the legendary story connected with it, and from the fact of its still retaining the original wall which had once marked the bounds of its ancient sanctuary. The legend in question, which was quoted entire by the lecturer, from a M S. in the Wynnstay Library, may be epitomised as follows:—Early in the 7th century one Brochwel, consul of Chester, a liberal and good man, ruled as Prince over the districts of Powys. Brochwel, while hunting one day in the neighbourhood of Pennant, a part of his principality, entered a great wood with his dogs in pursuit of a hare, which took refuge in the lap of a beautiful virgin, engaged there “in divine contemplation and prayer.” In vain the huntsman sought to blow his horn, for the instrument stuck fast to his lips; in vain, too, the Prince strove to urge on the dogs, for farther and farther away they retreated at every call, obstinately refusing, the legend assures us, to approach the chaste person of the virgin. Explanations ensued, from which it appeared that the lady had for 15 years dwelt a recluse in that thicket, eschewing the face of man; that her name was Monacella; that she was the daughter of Iochwel, king of Ireland, and had fled from her home and country, rather than be wedded to a man whom her conscience disapproved; and that further, with the Prince's permission, there in those woods she would remain, and end her days in peace. Brochwel, astonished at her words, at once acceded to her wishes, and founded on the spot a church and religious house; erecting it into a

perpetual asylum, refuge, and sanctuary in honour of Melangell or Monacella, who was constituted first Abbess, and who died and was buried there some thirty years afterwards. Pennant ceased to be a sanctuary in the reign of James I., but the spirit of Melangell retained its hold upon the people of the district for more than two centuries afterwards; for until comparatively recent times it was held to be scarcely less than criminal to pursue a hare into that privileged region, the peasants always greeting their favorite animal with "God and Monacella be with thee!" The church was apparently a Perpendicular structure; but the circular Norman font, and some capitals built into one of the walls, point to a fabric some 400 years older than the present church. The churchyard contained two dilapidated stone effigies; one in armour, attributed to Iorwerth Drwyndwn, eldest son of Owen Gwynedd, and the other, a lady, said, but erroneously, to represent the virgin saint Monacella. Within the sacred precincts were also several yew trees, into one of which the sheep were wont in winter time to climb for shelter among the branches. In front of the west gallery of the church was a curious piece of carved wood work, representing in quaint fashion the principal incidents of the Monacella legend, as already detailed. Of this carving, as well as of the church, churchyard, font, windows, monuments, &c., the late Mr. J. Peacock exhibited a series of elaborate and artistic drawings, which contributed more than a little to the interest of the paper.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN offered the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer; after which an interesting and vigorous discussion ensued, of which, as no reporter was present, we regret our inability to give more than the merest digest.

The Rev. C. BOWEN thought much misapprehension prevailed as to the exact meaning of the term "sanctuary" in early times, and, as several legal antiquaries were present, would be glad of some further information upon the point.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES explained that in former days every church and probably churchyard was a privileged asylum, to which offenders might flee for temporary shelter (viz. for 40 days), provided they were free from the brand of murder, treason, sacrilege, and a few other heinous crimes. The practice dated back in England certainly to the times of the Saxons, as it was referred to both in the laws of Ina and Alfred, and, he believed, in the yet earlier Welsh laws of Howel Dda. There were, too, he thought, but few instances on record of its violation.

Certain churches, as apparently this one of Pennant, had special rights of sanctuary attached to them; but in later times the privilege was extended, and some of our larger towns enjoyed the prerogative of being public sanctuaries. Manchester, for instance, was erected into an asylum in 1540; but, immediately growing tired of the distinction, it was transferred to Chester in 1541.

References to sanctuaries in other parts of the kingdom were made by several members, and especially by Dr. McLewen to that at Holyrood, Edinburgh, for debtors only, the privileges of which had been exercised within living memory.

Mr. T. HUGHES would supplement Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes's remarks on the sanctuaries of Manchester and Chester by observing that before the privilege, such as it was, had been three months located at Chester, the mayor and other civic dignitaries had been despatched to London to secure its immediate removal, inasmuch as the city had thereby become the common resort of criminals of the worst description. At their instigation Chester ceased to be a sanctuary, and the distinction was thereupon transferred to Stafford. In the days of the Norman earldom there were three special sanctuaries established in Cheshire, one being at Hoole Heath, near Chester, its boundary extending to the outer limits of the city north-eastward; another at King's Marsh, an extra-parochial district near Farndon; and a third at Rudheath, near Sandbach. These were sanctuaries in the fullest sense of the word, and sheltered the fugitive for life, if he committed no fresh depredation, and kept within the privileged bounds; he erecting, by the bye, no house of habitation, but dwelling solely in booth or tent. Very similar to the asylum at Holyrood was the debtor's sanctuary formerly at Chester. Here, whenever a citizen could prove to the mayor that he was unable to pay his just debts, he was placed in the "free-house," near Northgate prison, and might walk at large, and with perfect impunity, within its boundaries, which extended to the then corn-market on the north side, and from the Water Tower to the Phoenix Tower on the City Walls. This privilege had fallen into disuse towards the commencement of the present century.

Mr. MORRIS said that the old churches in Montgomeryshire were rather famous for their rood-screens, though several had been mutilated, and portions of them fixed up in different parts of the church, as he believed was the case at Pennant Melangell. With respect to the curious font at Pennant, he might observe that there was one somewhat

similar at Chalk Church, in Kent, though the font there had the shaft smaller in circumference in proportion to the bowl, which, however, was of the same shape.

Dr. McEWEN thought it might be worth mentioning that there were some large bones preserved in Pennant Church, which some had imagined to be the bones of a deceased Welsh warrior or giant, but in his opinion they seemed more like parts of the skeleton of a whale. Some pleasantries having been exchanged among the various speakers about Welsh giants,

Mr. WYNNE FFOLKES remembered to have assisted in opening a tumulus in Denbighshire, wherein was found the skeleton of a man at least six feet seven in height.

Mr. R. MORRIS referred to some bones in the porch of Mallwydd Church, Montgomeryshire, of much larger dimensions than those mentioned by Dr. McEwen, which were said to be the remains of some antediluvian animal found in close proximity to the church,

In the discussion which followed on this and other topics incidental to the lecture, the Mayor, the Rev. Canon Blomfield, J. Kilner, W. B. Marsden, and other gentlemen took part.

Mr. JOHN JONES (Curzon Park) having presented to the Society's Museum a large cylinder of lead, discovered in May, 1862, in Eaton Road, Mr. Wynne Ffolkes introduced it to the notice of the meeting, explaining that it was found a few feet below the surface, on the site of the new houses recently erected by Mr. J. Jones behind the old Maypole in Handbridge. He was not personally present at its discovery, but he understood from Mr. Jones that, on its being broken open, the cylinder, which is of sheet lead, hermetically sealed at one end and similarly secured by a band up the side, was full of burnt bones, principally human, though some few had been pronounced to be the bones of animals, a circumstance not uncommon in such deposits. Close to the cylinder were found three Roman coins in fair condition, considerably sent by Mr. Jones for exhibition at the meeting. He had no doubt the cylinder contained the calcined remains of a Roman citizen, although it was most uncommon to find bones deposited in such a vessel as that then before the meeting. He had noticed similar remains in all sorts of vases and domestic vessels of clay, but this was the first time he had fallen in with such a burial in lead. He believed Mr. Peacock had been in communication with Mr. C. R. Smith, and he would perhaps favour them with that gentlemen's opinion upon the subject?

Mr. PEACOCK read Mr. Roach Smith's letter, in which he pronounced the cylinder and its contents to be unequivocally Roman. A similar vessel to this curious Chester example had been found some years ago at Rouen, but he (Mr. Smith) was unable to point to any other instance of so early a period in England or elsewhere.

Mr. HUGHES, in confirmation of Mr. Smith's opinion, reminded the meeting that this discovery was made on the site of what had been long known to be the principal cemetery of Roman Chester, which extended southward from that point to Heron Bridge. On almost every acre of this site Roman sepulchral remains had been found whenever the land was disturbed to any depth. He believed the cylinder, which was much battered at the top, was in a far more perfect state when first found, but had been thus injured by the workmen, who imagined it to be full of money instead of nothing but, to their eyes, useless and uninteresting bones. Possibly the top and bottom had been similarly secured at the time of the original interment.

The CHAIRMAN and Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes thought, from the oxidation of the lead and from the testimony of others, that the cylinder was originally deposited in the state it presented to the meeting, Mr. Ffoulkes conceiving that it had been used simply as a makeshift in the absence of a more appropriate vessel of clay. To this it might be replied that the cylinder is very massive, and that its value in mere lead, particularly in Roman times, must have been considerable. But in any case, this will be acknowledged to be an interesting discovery, and one well deserving the attention it has now received at the hands of the local antiquarian Society. (See further notice and illustration at page 255 of our present volume.)

Feb. 19. The MAYOR of CHESTER occupied the chair, and there was a large attendance of members.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD read a curious and valuable Paper on "The LIFE OF THOMAS HARRISON, architect of Chester Castle and the Grosvenor Bridge." This Paper is an exhaustive biography of our great local architect, and will appear at length in the next section of the Society's Proceedings. In the discussion which followed Mr. C. Potts, Mr. Ayrton, the Mayor, Mr. Hughes, and the Rev. Lecturer took part, and many new facts were elicited, which will be embodied in the Paper when printed in the Society's *Journal*.

April 13. A meeting was held in the Society's Rooms on Monday evening, under the presidency of the Right Worshipful the Mayor (J. Williams, Esq.), who briefly introduced to the meeting Mr. R. B. Edmundson (of the firm of Edmundson & Son, Stained Glass Works, Manchester), the lecturer of the evening.

Mr. EDMUNDSON proposed to confine his present paper mainly to the history of window glass manufacture, reserving the more elaborate subject of stained glass for treatment in some future lecture. [Mr. Edmundson very shortly afterwards dying, this promise became impossible of fulfilment.] Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in his able work on the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," proves that glass in a manufactured state was known to the Egyptians before the Exodus of the Children of Israel from that land, 3,500 years ago. Mr. Edmundson, having gone at some length into the Egyptian aspect of the question, then proceeded to trace the manufacture from the East. The Phœnician cities of Sidon and Alexandria, following in the wake of their sister city Tyre, became afterwards celebrated for the manufacture of glass. To these cities the art was almost exclusively confined for centuries, and they alone during that long interval supplied the wants of the world in this particular. From Syria the manufacture of glass, like "the sway of empires, ruled towards the west," Greece and Rome gradually acquiring and profiting by the art. Glass works were established in Rome by Tiberius, and, so great was the estimation in which the art was held, that ornaments, vases, and goblets of glass were preferred by many to those made even of the precious metals. It was even thought by some writers that glass was made for windows at this time; for it was certainly used in mosaics, and in ornamenting the walls of rooms, as a substitute for marble.

Venice appears to have known the art of glass-making almost as early as the foundation of the city itself, it having been probably transferred thither, or rather to Murano, from Rome. In Venice the workers in glass were looked upon as gentlemen, and were considered eligible to marry into the families of noblemen, in which case their issue were regarded also as noble. The glass so far described was all *blown*, and afterwards flattened, casting not being then known. From Venice the art penetrated into France, where it soon attained to great perfection. One Abraham Thevart, of Paris, discovered a method of casting plate-glass of much larger dimensions than had been previously thought practicable. To the astonishment of the

artists of that day, the first plate he cast measured 84 by 55 inches. Plates are now made up to 150 inches long and 100 wide. In France, like Venice, workers in glass were held to be, *de facto*, gentlemen, and it was ordained that none but the sons of noblemen or gentlemen should venture to engage, even as artisans, in any of its branches. About the same time the art found its way into Bohemia, Germany, the Netherlands, and soon afterwards to England.

Glass-making was certainly practised in this country early in the 16th century, and, as some conceive, at least a hundred years before. In 1557 the finest sort of window-glass was made at Crutched Friars, in London. If glass was really made in England early in the 15th century, it was most likely the spread or broad glass, made in cylinders and then flattened out; but, in any case, it was of so inferior a quality, and long so continued, that for the better class of work it was made a condition that no glass should be used save that manufactured "beyond the seas." This national inferiority continued more or less down to 1832, when Messrs. Chance and Hartley, of Birmingham, and Messrs. J. Hartley and Co., of Sutherland, introduced the improved cylinder glass, and brought over from France and other parts of the Continent workmen of the best class; and by constant energy and perseverance were soon able to equal and, indeed, now surpass the foreign makers. Samples of coloured glass from this eminent firm were on the table for exhibition, and he (the lecturer) might add that Messrs. Hartley make more coloured glass and of every description than almost all the other makers united.

As before stated, broad or cylinder glass was the first made, but that was superseded in the 16th century by glass made on the rotary principle. Bohemia adhered to the cylindrical form, and carried the art to such perfection that whenever large and pure glass afterwards was needed in France, &c., they had to import it from Bohemia. Early in the 18th century the French themselves took the business up, by importing workmen from Bohemia; and, achieving great success, the art rapidly extended itself in the Lyonnais in the north of France, then to Belgium, and afterwards to England. Broad glass continued to be practised until 1845; but on the excise duties on glass being equalised, and finally taken off all together, the manufacture was shortly afterwards abandoned. The oldest manufactories of broad glass in England were at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and were carried on by the ancestors of the present Sir M. W. Ridley. There were others also in Staffordshire and elsewhere.

Crown-glass making was introduced into England by Germans, about the year 1620. They first erected works on the Tyne, at Whickham, near Newcastle, but on the Durham side of the river. They afterwards removed to Howden, on the same river, subsequently settling in Newcastle itself, where the manufacture of crown and broad glass was carried on until about twenty years ago. The Germans brought with them the old continental notions about the gentility of their craft, and in some degree maintained their position as "gentlemen" in the eyes of their inferior workmen; but the English spirit ultimately rejected the idea that the terms "workman" and "gentleman" were or could be synonymous, and the pretensions thus set up by their foreign competitors are now entirely obliterated. The lecturer related some amusing anecdotes of this assumption of dignity, which in years gone by he had heard from his father and other very old glass-makers.

From the Tyne the artists in glass working made their way to Bristol, then, it would seem, to St. Helens, in Lancashire, then to Birmingham, Leeds, and Warrington. These last-named works he (Mr. Edmundson) had the management of for several years. Thence it passed to West Derby, near Liverpool. Strange to say, the Tyne—where crown glass was first made in England, and the manufacture cultivated to an extent surpassing all others, the fame of which, too, was so great that architects never neglected to quote in their specifications "the best Newcastle glass"—has now entirely lost its position in this respect, as not a single "table" of crown glass is made on the Tyne!

Plate-glass, especially for mirrors, was of very early date. Glass mirrors were used as early as the 13th century. No plates at this time could have been large, as casting was not then known, nor indeed until the close of the 17th century, when, as before described, it was invented by Thevart, a working manufacturer of Paris. Plate-glass for looking-glasses, coach windows, &c., was made at Lambeth, in 1673, by Venetian workmen brought to London by the Duke of Buckingham; also at Messrs. Cookson's establishment at South Shields, in 1728. The latter firm continued the process of blowing as well as casting down to the early part of the 19th century. He (Mr. Edmundson) had known and conversed with old glass-makers who had been blowers of plate-glass at these works.

The great improvements that had taken place in the art in France through Thevart's invention found their way into England in a somewhat curious manner, as related to the lecturer by Mr. Fincham, a gentleman who for many years had had the sole management of the works in question. Admiral Affleck, somewhere about the year 1770, was travelling on the Continent, and expressed a great desire to see the manufacture of plate-glass in actual operation; but our Gallic neighbours were too much afraid of being robbed of this noble art to allow him to gratify his curiosity. This so enraged him that he swore, as admirals can and sometimes *will* swear, that if he might not see their glass house he would let them see that he would have one of his own in England. Certainly he it was that originated the first company, and obtained a charter in 1773, getting over French workmen to carry on the works. The manufactory was established at Ravenhead, near Prescot, in Lancashire, by the title of the British Plate Glass Works. He (the lecturer) had seen the tombs of some of the French workmen, who helped to establish these works, in the little cemetery of Windleshaw Abbey, near St. Helens. These works became very eminent, and indeed retain their good name to the present day. England could not boast of producing the originators of cast plate-glass, but she could boast of something connected with it of equal, nay greater importance, viz., the invention of the steam-engine, that mighty agent which has revolutionised the world. In 1788 this company ordered from Messrs. Boulton and Watt, of Birmingham, a steam-engine, said to have been the second ever erected; and in the following year they commenced the machinery for grinding and polishing, previous to which all such work was done by hand labour. This machinery, by the bye, which the rapid progress of the last 80 years had little, if at all, improved, was invented by a Lancashire man,—a native, he believed, of Liverpool.

Mr. Edmundson went on to explain the various processes of window-glass making, exhibiting actual samples of the ingredients and its manufacture, and showing the gradual effects of the several refining trials, from the time it left its parent earth till it reached the highest point of crystal purity. A series of sepia drawings, prepared specially for the purpose and displayed upon the walls, gave additional interest and value to his very practical remarks. In his *viva voce* observations, he was recording, in fact, the results of nearly 40 years' intimate

acquaintance with the various branches of the art, having, as he stated, been in his early youth a working glass-maker, afterwards manager of a glass works, having himself made thousands of feet of all colours and tints of glass then known, and practising glass-staining and painting at the same time. This naturally afforded him rare opportunities of gaining by actual experiment what very few, if any glass painter, in this country could hope to do.

This long career of study entitled him to take exception to certain statements and errors in Winston's celebrated work on Stained Glass, to which, however, as the work of an amateur, he awarded a large meed of praise. The Rev. G. A. Poole, another writer on stained glass, had, on the contrary, by some crude and ill-natured remarks in *The Builder*, during 1861-2, laid himself fairly open to criticism; and certainly Mr. Edmundson dissected his faulty theories with no sparing or "prentice hand." This portion of the lecturer's address was perhaps the raciest and best of the whole, but our space forbids us to go into it at any length. It will suffice to say that Mr. Poole, in assuming the poverty of our modern stained glass, had laid great stress upon the semi-opacity or translucency of the old as an object yet to be attained. Mr. Edmundson showed by actual experiment on some very old cathedral glass that that translucency was all a myth, for that when cleaned and polished it was as transparent as, if not more so than, the modern glass. Then, again, according to Mr. Poole, there was a *tone* or mellow crust upon the old glass altogether wanting in modern examples. Here, too, Mr. Edmundson was at issue with his critic, proving once more by experiment that the normal condition of these ancient windows was that of perfect freedom from that tone so much and, he would confess, so properly extolled in the present day. He would venture to say that if Mr. Poole had lived in the times when those windows were set up, he would have found *no tone, no translucency* there *then*; and he would further undertake to prophesy that if Mr. Poole could awake out of his grave a couple of hundred years hence, he would require no spectacles to find both the one and the other on the window glass of this decried 19th century. Both results were simply and solely the effect of age, and could be legitimately produced in no other way. It was almost like blaming an infant at the breast for its lack of grey hair or manly vigour. Several other groundless objections of Mr. Poole's were disposed of in like manner; Mr. Edmundson thus concluding a lecture

which occupied from first to last nearly two hours in its delivery, and which elicited in its progress numerous outbursts of applause.

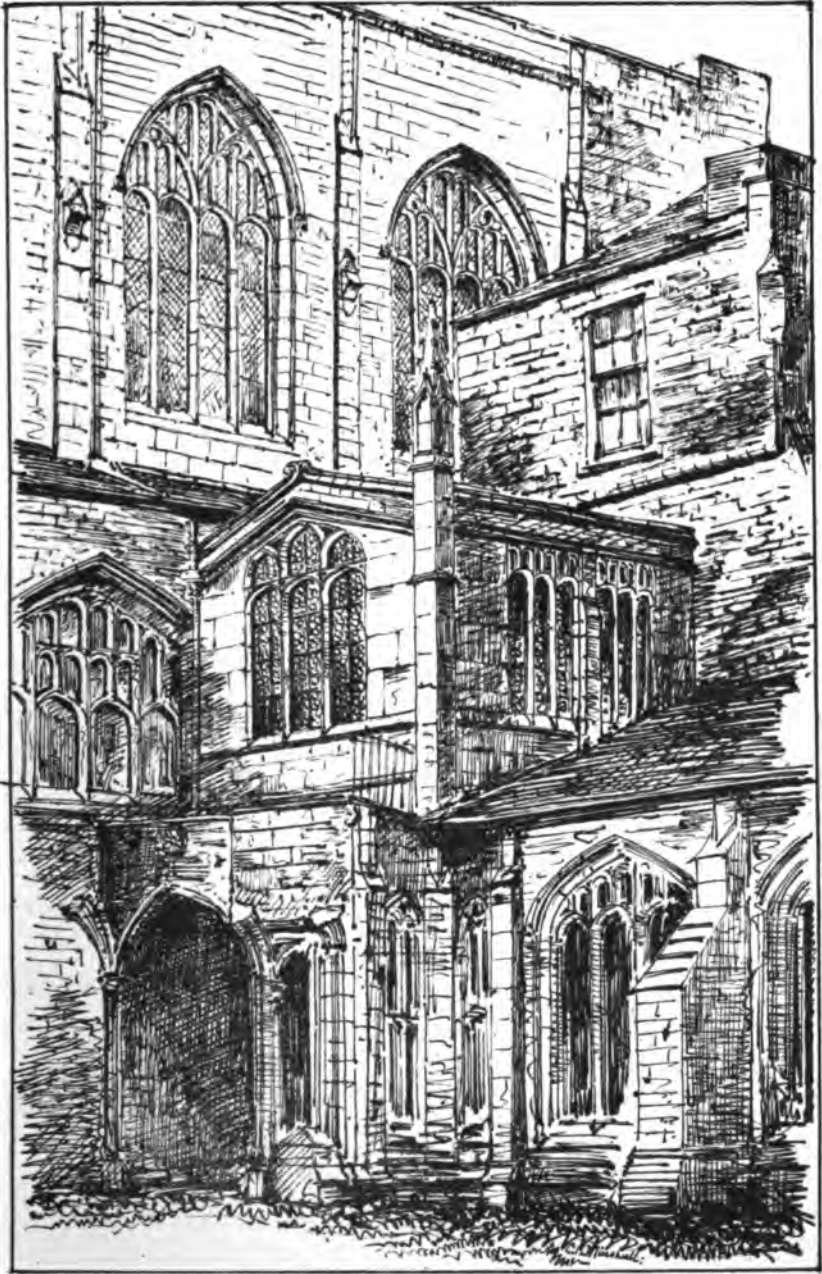
Major EGERTON LEIGH wished to know if there was any truth in the popular notion that many old colours and stains had been lost, and that no real substitutes had as yet been found.

Mr. EDMUNDSON replied that not only was there no colour of ancient times not reproduced in all its vigour now, but there were many new colours now known to the glass stainer which were never dreamt of by the older artists. Specimens of the old and new glass upon the table would, he contended, amply corroborate, on comparison, all he had advanced.

Mr. T. HUGHES would at that late hour only say that, within the last ten days, he had conversed with a gentleman who had recently returned from the east, and who wore in his scarf a pin, the head of which was formed of an Egyptian glass *scarabæus*, probably 3,000 years old. The owner informed him that he was present when an ancient tomb was exhumed, and that the sacred beetle in question was taken out of the case in which the mummy had lain for so many centuries. The small domestic chapel attached to the bishop's palace at Chester crowned the south west corner of the cloisters of the cathedral. The windows of this chapel, when he was a boy, were filled with ancient circular quarries of what was then known vulgarly as "oystershell glass." This glass has now, he believed, wholly disappeared from the chapel windows; but Mr. Albert Way, their distinguished honorary associate, once assured him that this was the last apartment in England which retained that ancient form of glazing, a distinction which he regretted to feel it could not now boast, for the eternal love of change afflicted episcopal as well as commercial heads in the present generation.

The MAYOR tendered the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, which being suitably acknowledged, and a similar vote having been accorded to the chairman, on the motion of Major LEIGH, the meeting separated.

June 8. At this meeting Major (afterwards Col. Egerton) LEIGH, M.P., read a Paper on "The Ancient Ballads and Legends of Cheshire," before a large and appreciative audience. Although the Ballads, &c., were subsequently issued in a handsome volume, there is much that is essentially *per se* about this Paper, as read before the



BISHOP'S CHAPEL, CHESTER CATHEDRAL.
Shewing Oyster-shell Glass formerly in Windows.

Members : it will in all probability be printed in the next division of our *Journal*, and the rather so in that the volume referred to is now, and has long been, quite out of print.

June 23. At a numerous-attended meeting held this day, the Rev. C. P. Wilbraham delivered an extempore lecture on "The Alhambra and the Kremlin." The Lord Bishop of Chester was present, and the Rev. Canon Hillyard took the chair.

Mr. WILBRAHAM said that when requested to give this lecture he at first wished to evade it, but he felt that it would be selfish to withhold such account as he could supply of the remarkable ancient buildings of the world. There were various styles of architecture, which embodied the characters and religions of various nations. The old Egyptian superstitions were enshrined in the massive temples and pyramids which he had seen on the Nile. One hundred thousand workmen were engaged for twenty years in building the Great Pyramid. When he mentioned this fact to a number of stonemasons, who attended one of his lectures, they rose and gave a loud cheer ; but on hearing subsequently the statement of Herodotus, that the workmen received no wages and only three onions a day, they raised an appalling groan. (Applause and laughter.) In estimating the buildings of the ancients, we must bear in mind that the nations they subdued were compelled to labour as bondmen for their conquerors, as was notably the fate of the Jews. The lecturer referred to the remains of Solomon's works. His pools are still extant, each about 600 feet long, hewn in the solid rock. He had also seen in Mount Lebanon the foundations of Baalbec, called in the Scriptures "costly stones." Three of these stones, each 63 feet long, 14 feet deep, and 12 feet high, had been brought the distance of a mile over rugged ground, and raised 25 feet up in the wall. He had measured, in the quarry, another stone 68 feet in length. It was unknown by what mechanism Solomon had removed these enormous masses, and the natives still cling to the belief that the wise king had Genii to do his bidding. (Hear, hear.) The next noticeable style was that of the Greeks, remarkable for taste, proportion, and elegance. In passing on to the Moorish architecture, Mr. Wilbraham observed how civilization had flowed westward in three distinct streams. The central one had carried eastern art to Greece, Italy, and France ; while there

had passed from the Baltic to Germany and England a knowledge of Gothic art, of which valuable remains had been seen by the lecturer in Sweden. The third channel of art was the north of Africa, along which the Mahommedans passed, and, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, had covered those lands with architectural remains of remarkable beauty. The skill of Owen Jones had reproduced in the Crystal Palace the delicacy of Arabian art, which culminated in the Alhambra. In contrast to the massiveness of the Egyptian style, the Moorish is of gossamer lightness. Each of the styles had become connected with peculiar forms of religion. Paganism, the poetical mythology of Greece, had appropriated the old heathen architecture, Mahommedanism the Moorish, while the Gothic and Byzantine represented Christian architecture. Mr. Wilbraham remarked, that the interest of ancient buildings was greatly enhanced by the associations connected with them, and that the study of history threw a charm over sites hallowed by events which had happened thousands of years ago. [(Hear, [hear.) Without such historic knowledge, travelling became a mere senseless rushing from inn to inn and from water to water. Viewed in this historic light the inroads of the moors into Spain were of vivid interest: and one of our great historians holds, that, had not the Saracens been defeated at Tours by Charles Martel, the West would have become Mahommedan, and the Koran would have been taught in the schools of Oxford. We might then have had Alhambras of our own, but they would be bought too dearly if the Muezzin called the hours of prayer on Chester Cathedral, and an Imaun usurped the functions of the venerated Dean. The Moorish architecture of the Alhambra was remarkable for external plainness. Towers of massive masonry overhang the picturesque valley of the river Darro, and none would dream that within those recesses were such lovely treasures of taste and art. And if so noble in its decay, imagination cannot realize what it must have been, when the Caliphs held their court there. It was an evil day for art, when Ferdinand and Isabella vanquished Granada and drove out Boabdil the last Moorish sovereign. The long cherished hate of Moor and Spaniard found vent in the destruction of these priceless remains. The monks with fanatic zeal obliterated every symbol of the rival creed, and soon after Charles V. pulled down one half of the Alhambra in order to build on its site a Flemish palace which was never completed. One special type of the Alhambra architecture is the "Horse Shoe Arch."

Unlike the Norman or the pointed arches of our own cathedrals, the Moors adopted the graceful curve of a horse shoe with eminent success. It was sad to hear of the injuries inflicted on the Alhambra by the Spaniards: one court was used as a pigstye. The Governor's wife kept her donkey in the chapel, and when Mr. Wilbraham visited the Alhambra, he was refused admittance to one of the finest courts because the governor's hens were laying, and might be disturbed. Washington Irving, the eloquent historian of the Alhambra, has thrown a poetic halo round three restorers of its courts, Tia, Dolores, and Mateo; but stern prose represents the two former as "crabbed own women," and the last as a "blundering blockhead." The walls are in tasteful designs, inscribed with sentences from the Koran, speaking the goodness and glory of God. The architecture of Rome, to which the lecturer next alluded, was of a very practical character. Aqueducts, such as that at Segovia, though of untold grandeur, were not even mentioned by classic writers, so universal were they in the Roman empire. Cisterns too had been constructed in the colonies of Africa, and Mr. Wilbraham had seen one at Carthage, said to contain supplies of water for 200,000 inhabitants. Even in the remote Decapolis beyond Jordan, he had found theatres said to contain 15,000 spectators, and all the world knew of the Coliseum. "Panem et circenses," was the cry of the people, "bread and games." It would be a mistake to consider architecture as a sure test of civilization. It needed only some few master minds to conceive works, which the basest slaves might execute. It was probable that our own grand cathedrals and churches were erected by rude and fierce men. The lecturer proceeded to describe the Byzantine character of Russian architecture. Its principal feature is the abundance of domes and cupolas. He had reached Cronstadt at sunset, and had seen the golden cupolas of St. Petersburg gleaming in the last rays of the sun like balloons of fire, a vision of unearthly beauty. Nor could he ever forget a moonlight walk he had made round the Kremlin at Moscow. The sixty golden domes of that ancient pile had been newly gilt in honour of the Czar's coronation, and glittered in oriental splendour. Some persons had an erroneous impression that the Kremlin was a dark and gloomy pile; far from it, all is whiteness and gaudy colour. It is a palace, fortress, and cathedral in one, surrounded by a wall and Tartar towers. The Cathedral of the Assumption is the "Holy Place" of Russia, and attests the gorgeousness of the Eastern Church. The

screen is a sheet of solid gold, 5 feet by 4, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Its very magnitude saved it from French spoliation, as the invaders never dreamed of such costly booty being within their grasp. The lecturer alluded to the patriarchal position of the Emperor as the head of Church and State, and expressed a hope that the abolition of serfdom might lead to social improvement; and, with reference to Poland, that the rulers might learn to govern their citizens as citizens ought to be governed, which might God grant. (Hear, and applause.) The Kremlin stands on high ground overhanging the river Moskwa. From a wooded cliff in the distance the French invading army caught its first sight of the Kremlin, and burst into a triumphant cheer at the happy accomplishment (as they then deemed it) of their arduous toils. Mr. Wilbraham described the interior of the Kremlin, the old Tartar thrones, also the memorials of Peter the Great, and the regalia of the Empire. The costliness of the new Russian cathedral, built by the Emperor Nicholas, was also described. The walls of this gigantic building were entirely covered with marbles brought from Italy, and the cupolas were lined with real gold, circumstances that explain the astonishing fact that eleven millions of pounds were spent upon it. The lecturer concluded by saying that some of his hearers might perhaps envy him the sights of wonder he had endeavoured to describe, and might regret that they, too, could not wander through the courts of the Kremlin and the Alhambra. He begged to comfort them by the assurance that England contained some of the most valuable architectural remains in the world; these were within reach of all, and amply repaid careful research. They knew how suitable Gothic architecture is for Christian worship, and in our English Cathedrals and Abbeys we had some of its noblest types. It was remarkable that, whilst Greek art went upon the principle of drawing the eye "downwards" with heavy impediments, Gothic art, on the contrary, ever studied to carry the eye "upwards" in pinnacle and tower. While in Grecian buildings the human figures were represented in marble as bending under the superincumbent mass, the Gothic statue seemed to be flying heavenward, and with the mere touch of the finger, uplifting the vault and buttress, as if to soar upward were their true gravitation. Hence the impossibility of blending these two styles. Mr. Wilbraham stated that the late eminent Professor Schlegel (whom he had known in Germany) described architecture as "frozen music." The idea was a beautiful one, signi-

fyng harmonies suddenly arrested and fixed,—harmonies for the eye, not for the ear. It was gratifying to know that the feeling which impelled men to make the houses of God reverent and beautiful had revived amongst us, and he hoped that the spirit of devotion which had reared such noble temples to our Maker would ever exist. (Mr. Wilbraham sat down amidst applause.)

Colonel HAMILTON (Gresford) submitted to the company some specimens of the Arabesque patterns taken from the Alhambra. There were some written inscriptions on these remains: upon which Mr. Wilbraham remarked that the people of that creed were not allowed to reproduce animals, still less man, on their works, and were consequently obliged to confine themselves to flowers and fruits.

Mr. T. HUGHES remarked that the lecturer had omitted, in the course of his observations, any reference to the Temple of Jerusalem and the mosque connected with it. The lecturer had spoken of the bridges and aqueducts of the ancients, but he (Mr. Hughes) wished to mention that we had in Chester a bridge erected by Mr. Harrison, crossing the Dee, unequalled in many points by any which Greece or Rome had built. He would also remark to the Archaeological Society, that a hypocaust had, the day before, been excavated in Bridge-street, on the site of the old Feathers Hotel, and he supposed it might have some connection with the one under Mr. Beckett's shop. One of the most learned antiquaries connected with the Society, Dr. Brushfield, had undertaken to give a paper on Baths and Hypocausts, when some reference would no doubt be made to the one recently discovered. [This promise was amply fulfilled by an exhaustive treatise on *Roman Chester*, printed at an earlier page of our present volume.]

Mr. WILBRAHAM replied that the question suggested by Mr. Hughes was a very interesting one. There was so much perplexity at the present moment about the Mosque of Omar, that he purposely evaded the subject in his lecture. From the discoveries made by Mr. Cattermole and others, it seemed probable that the mosque covered the great stone of sacrifice of the first Jewish temple; nor was it impossible that it might yet be proved that the crucifixion took place on that identical site.

A unanimous vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Wilbraham for his interesting lecture.

Nov. 17. The Rev. C. Bowen, rector of St. Mary's, occupied the chair.

Mr. ROBERT GEORGE KELLY, artist, of Birkenhead, read an learned and interesting Paper on "The Origin, Nature, and Influence of Art." Mr. Kelly illustrated his subject by the exhibition of numerous water-colour drawings, most of them the production of his own easel, and received a hearty vote of thanks at the conclusion of the lecture.

Jan. 14, 1864. The ordinary monthly meeting was held in the Society's Rooms, on Monday; the Rev. Canon Blomfield in the chair. The Rev. Chairman briefly introduced

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS, who had undertaken to read a Paper before the Society on "Ancient Customs and Superstitions relating to Baptism." In commencing, Mr. Morris gave a short account of the meaning of the words "custom" and "superstition," with their present and past significance. He then proceeded to remark upon Christian names, touching upon their peculiarities, and the origin of some, whether from rivers or places. He next treated of Scriptural and Puritanical names, and gave some very interesting examples, among which a jury empannelled in Sussex was the most peculiar, forming as it did an almost unequalled list of odd names, such as "Fight the good fight of faith," &c. In reference to Scriptural names, Mr. Morris read several examples from Cheshire and different parts, and gave as a reason why the names of the daughters of Job were frequently used, that they were considered as the fairest in all the land, and that as all parents were of opinion that their own baby was the best, they thought they could not do better than use those names. He also adverted to the privilege of the bishop to change any profane name at confirmation, and quoted as an example Lord Chief Justice Gawdy. In allusion to the giving of presents by sponsors, such as the usual set of "knife, fork, and spoon," Mr. Morris deduced it from the old custom of giving "Apostle-spoons," of which opulent sponsors gave the whole twelve, those in middling circumstances four, and the poor only one, which had upon it the figure of the saint in honour of whom the child received its name. He then quoted several extracts from the plays of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and also from Addison's "Drummer Boy," in reference to the use of these spoons in their time. Another present

alluded to was the familiar coral and bells, the use of which Mr. Morris considered to be derived from the old superstition that the coral would change colour if the wearer were sick, and would preserve from harm all places it was in, from devils, storms, tempests, and evilspirits; and that as the bells were also considered to drive away the imps of wickedness at the sound of their ringing, the combined influence of both would most certainly protect the baby from every kind of harm. Turning then to feasting, Mr. Morris gave some very peculiar and interesting extracts from several authors, which he had had to refer to in the course of his study in getting up the lecture, and gave an amusing account of the feast at a Scotch baptism, when, after the more solid viands had been cleared away, a general scramble was made for the sweetmeats, which formed a most important item on these occasions, and to which allusion is made in an old almanack for 1676. He also read a bill of fare of a banquet given at the christening of a clergyman's daughter at Clockley Cley, which clearly showed that plenty was the order of the day. In the conclusion of this part of the subject reference was made to the evident decrease of both the customs of feasting and giving presents in the words—

Especially since gossips now
 Eat more at christenings than bestow,
 Formerly they used to trowl
 Gilt bowls of sack; they gave the bowl,
 Two spoons at least, an use ill kept,
 'Tis well now if our own be left.

Reference was then made to the use of chrism; and the travels of Sir John Chardin were quoted, he having seen it used under the term *myorne*. Mr. Morris also mentioned the works of Tertullian, Irenæus, and other old authors, in reference to the use of it in olden times. He then introduced the term "chrysome child," and endeavoured to explain the true meaning of the word, some doubt having arisen as to whether it was a child who had been baptised, or who had died before the celebration of that sacrament. No doubt had ever been started as to its being a child who died within a month after birth, or that its origin is derived from the *vestis chrismalis*, or chrysome cloth, put upon the child's head at baptism, and which was worn before the Reformation for seven days after baptism, to represent the seven stages of man's life, and taken off on the eighth. After the Reformation, it seems to have been the custom for the mother to bring it at her churching, or purifi-

cation, when it was given to the priest. Some old Cheshire and other parish registers were also referred to, in which the term was used. Allusion was next made to the use of chrism for other purposes than baptism, an old Pontifical at Rouen, relating to the "Dedication of an Anglo-Saxon Church," mentioning its use for that purpose; and also that the crosses found on the old stone altars were intended to point out the places which had been anointed with the chrism; and that the crosses once inlaid with metal, found in Salisbury Cathedral and elsewhere, were also intended for that purpose. Mr. Morris then instanced the small silver box or vase which was used to contain the chrism, and was called the chrismatory; it was divided into three parts, to hold the different oils used in the celebration of the sacrament. In conclusion he related some old superstitions respecting the birth of children on "old Christmas day," and the prophecies connected with them.

The CHAIRMAN having invited remarks illustrative of the Paper, the Rev. W. B. Marsden and others contributed some anecdotes and historical facts in reference to the subject of baptismal observances. Mr. Marsden produced a little bottle containing water brought from the River Jordan, that river in which the first Christian baptism was administered, the sacred waters of which were only recently employed at a baptism in our own Royal Family.

Mr. T. HUGHES exhibited a presumed original letter from Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, in which were some curious references to marriage and baptism among the Quaker fraternity. This letter had been kindly lent for the occasion by Mrs. G. Ransome, of Chester.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer and chairman closed the proceedings.

Feb. 8. The Rev. Canon Blomfield delivered a lecture on the "*Black Death*, or the Great Mortality of the Fourteenth Century," under the presidency of J. Williams, Esq. The room was crowded, and amongst those present we observed Mr. Charles W. Potts, Mr. T. Roberts, Mr. Williams (Old Bank) and party, Mr. Charles Leet, Mr. E. Owen, the Ven. Archdeacon Ffoulkes, Mr. H. Ff. Taylor (Christleton), Mr. and Mrs. Meadows Frost and the Misses Frost, Mr. and Mrs. James Dixon, Mrs. John Harrison, Miss Wilbroham, Dr. Davies, Dr. and Miss Waters, Rev. J. and Miss Harris, Mr. Borok-

hardt, Dr. Brushfield, Rev. E. R. Johnson, Mrs. Payne and family, Mr. and Mrs. C. T. W. Parry, Rev. W. Grindrod, Dr. and Mrs. McEwen, Mrs. J. B. Taylor, Rev. C. and Mrs. Bowen, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Ffoulkes, Mr. R. and Miss Morris, Mr. J. Ralph, Rev. J. M. Kilner, Mr. C. Brown, Miss Feilden, Mrs. Blomfield and party, Mrs. H. and Miss Ford, Mr. Gill, Rev. W. B. and the Misses Marsden, &c.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. J. Williams, Treffos,) introduced the Rev. Canon to the meeting in a few appropriate remarks.

The Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD, in commencing his lecture, said he thought he was addressing none but those who were Members, or at least friends to Archæological enquiry; and most probably those present had attended lectures of the Society on previous occasions, and had perhaps heard him express an opinion, three or four years ago, that the store of material for Archæological lectures was pretty nearly exhausted. Therefore they might say that he had dug deep in the mine to find so obscure and apparently uninteresting a subject as the one he had chosen for delivery that night, namely, the "Black Death, or the Great Mortality of the Fourteenth Century," which spread all over Europe, indeed he might say all over the world, in the reign of Edward the Third. His attention had been drawn to this subject, not so much by any enquiry of his own as by the assistance of a friend of his, an able and accomplished young man, who had given much attention to it as bearing upon the economical condition of the poorer classes of this country, and he had given him (the rev. lecturer) statistics from which a good part of his information had been drawn. There could be no question that the subject was one of a peculiar, although perhaps not of a very interesting, character; still it fell within the province of Archaeology, and bearing, as it did, on the Black Death, assumed a decidedly *grave* aspect. They saw none of the pictorial illustrations on the walls which usually adorned the place and gave a flavour to the lectures, nor any specimens of antiquarian relics on the table, with one or two exceptions; nor could he hope to enliven his remarks by any anecdotes to form episodes in the history of the event. He must throw himself on their patience while he gave a statement of the facts of the "Great Pestilence," which probably were unknown to most of the persons in the room, details which were curious in themselves, and which he believed were very little known even to the student of mediæval history. It was very remarkable that a dispensation of Providence so

awful in itself, so destructive to the whole of Europe and of the world then known, bearing so extensively upon the physical and social condition of nations, and leaving such considerable and permanent results, should occupy so very small a space in the page of our national history. They might be aware that Hume, Henry, and Rapin dismissed this great question in a single sentence; Lingard had given somewhat more attention to it; while Hallam, with his usual accuracy, spoke of it in strong terms, but regarded the accounts of it as exaggerated. Froude, in his brief sketch of the antecedent events which bore upon the state of the English people as it was in the time of Henry VII., made no allusion whatever to the fact; though it had a very marked influence upon the social and economic condition of the people at that date; indeed he ascribed to entirely different causes circumstances which were clearly traceable to the results of the Great Pestilence. The fact was, perhaps, that such events as that did not fall much within what was usually considered the province of history. The substance of all early portions of our history was drawn from peculiar sources, from state papers, public records, royal ordinances, treaties, conventions, and other documents emanating from kings and princes and governments, which had been carefully preserved in chronological order in the successive periods of our history. Those all related to public events connected with the acts of the governing powers, and recorded the history of the sovereigns, their feats in war, or their proceedings in home administration. But there were no public and official records of the ordinary course of events, of which the life of a nation was made up. Even the most striking and terrible visitations of Providence,—however overpowering for the time all human conflicts and setting at nought all human arrangements,—passed away unrecorded, except by some private individuals, who kept a register of the events of their own time, and whose reports were after regarded as partial, exaggerated, or altogether apocryphal. So that history, which dwelt on events of far less real importance both at the time and in their effects on the subsequent conditions of the people, made light of these; and succeeding generations were almost left in ignorance of their occurrence. Take, for instance, the fact of the Great Mortality which occurred in the reign of Edward the Third. It occurred just four years after the Battle of Cressy, and six years before that of Poitiers. Now of these two great victories we had ample details, filling pages of all our histories, and highly-wrought

pictures of the terrible slaughter which was made of the knights and nobles and common soldiers, who in the former battle were said to number 86,000. But of the far more dreadful havoc that was made among the whole population of Europe by the Great Mortality in the intervening period,—when the deaths in one year throughout the continental kingdoms were said to exceed twenty-five millions,—when in England alone two-thirds of the whole population were swept away ; of that no public record existed, no official account was ever taken. It was only incidentally referred to in one or two Acts of Parliament or royal precepts, and we had [to gather the facts of it from the private reports of individuals who happened to keep a register of events at the time. Now those reports, coming from private individuals, were not usually regarded with the same respect as those of public records, and it had been rather the fashion with historians to undervalue them, and to pronounce them overdrawn and highly exaggerated. It so happened, however, that we were enabled at the present day to corroborate the narratives of the Great Pestilence from other authentic sources, and to show that the accounts which had been handed down to us of the Black Death were literally true ; and they proved it to be the most extraordinary, the most extensive, and the most appalling visitation of Providence which ever occurred in the history of the world. They would no doubt be familiar with the graphic account of the Great Plague of London, in 1665, given by Defoe. Probably the incidents of the Plague would have passed away from the memory of mankind if it had not been preserved in Defoe's account ; but as it was, it had become a household book, and the details of that scourge had reached the minds of even our children. Passing on to the subject in hand, the Great Mortality commenced in the remote East, probably in China, where it carried off 23 millions of people—swept across the Asiatic continent and appeared at Constantinople, thence it followed a westerly course into Italy, devastating the Continent.—afterwards it appeared in England, and finally settled in the North : there was no place of Europe, in fact, he might say, of the then known world, where its fatal results did not occur. Boccaccio, in describing the horrible miseries he witnessed at Florence during the plague, said that numbers fled from there to escape its ravages. There was another writer in Italy, Matthea Villani, who had written a treatise on the plague, of which he himself died, and whose history was taken up by his brother. Then if they

went to France they had another celebrated surgeon, Guy de Chauliac, who saw it in Avignon, and had left an account of it behind him. In England they had only one full, and direct account of the Mortality (which did not reach these shores till 1348), written by De Knighton, in Latin; and he had given not only an account of what he saw, but a view of the whole state of the kingdom under the ravages of the Pestilence. It differed from the "Sweating Sickness," a subsequent plague, described by Caius in 1485. which was much milder in its nature than the one under consideration. With regard to the Black Death, he would read to them one or two passages respecting the visitation, and the first was—

"In the year of Our Lord 1348, there happened at Florence a most terrible plague, which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broke out some time before in the Levant, and, after passing from place to-place and making dreadful havoc all the way, had now reached the West; where, in spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, in the spring of the preceding year began to show itself in a sad and wonderful manner, and differing from what it had been in the East, where bleeding from the nose is the fatal prognostic; here there appeared tumours in the groin or under the arm, some as big as a small apple, others as an egg, and afterwards purple spots in most parts of the body—in all cases the messengers of death! Those attacked generally died on the third day. I saw with mine own eyes cases in which animals, having merely touched something belonging to infected persons, died in a very short time."

Boccaccio also gave an account of the dreadful nature of its infectious character, for he said—"I saw the rags of a poor man just dead thrown into the street, and two hogs coming by and rooting amongst them, and shaking them about in their mouths, in less than an hour turned round and died on the spot. The lower sort fell sick daily by thousands—some in the streets, and others in their own houses, where their deaths were only known by the stench which came from them. Every place was filled with the dead. The effect of the mortality was to make people very selfish and cruel, leaving the infected to die unattended and uncared for. Laws, human and divine, were disregarded, those who should enforce them being all dead. Every one did just as he pleased. Brother fled from brother; wife from her husband; a

parent from its own child. Trenches were dug, and bodies thrown in by hundreds. Upwards of a hundred thousand perished in Florence, which was not supposed to contain so many people."

Again the same author said, "Palaces depopulated to the last person; estates left with no one to inherit; numbers, after dining with their friends here, supped with their departed friends in the other world." Having enumerated the immense numbers which perished in Italy, Florence, Avignon, Germany, and other places, he would now confine himself to England, two-thirds of the people of which were swept away by the scourge. Henry de Knighton, who was a monk of Leicester, said "In this and the following year there was a general Mortality throughout the world. It first commenced in India, passing through Persia and the Saracens, to the Christians and Jews. There died at Avignon, in one day, 1,312 persons, on another day more than 400. Of the preaching friars in Provence 358 died in Lent. At Montpelier, of 140 there only remained 7. At Marseilles, out of 150 not one remained. This destructive Pestilence first appeared in England at Southampton, and then at Bristol, and the whole adult population of each town seemed to die off at once—very few kept their beds for more than three days; most of them died in six hours. In Leicester, in the small parish of St. Leonard, more than 380 perished; in that of St. Cross, 400; in that of St. Margaret more than 700; and so throughout the town."

In the same year, said Knighton, there was a great destruction of sheep throughout the kingdom, so that in one pasture ground there died more than 5000 sheep, and their bodies became so offensive that neither beast nor bird would touch them. The cattle strayed through the pastures and corn fields, and no one attempted to drive them away. They dropped down dead in vast numbers in the ditches, and no one cared to remove them, for labourers and servants were dead too. The Scots, hearing of the calamity which had befallen their neighbours, ascribed it to the hand of God as a punishment, and, assuming that the terrible vengeance of God must have destroyed the power of the English, they attempted to invade the border, but the same Pestilence attacked them, and in a very short space of time about 5000 died. The account which he had read by Knighton was generally objected to on standard authority, giving, as it did, a detailed account of the subject written by a private individual, who would be anxious to exaggerate

and colour the particulars of the plague. That was the view most historians took of it, therefore it became them to look into the same, with the collateral evidence they had, to confirm the statement of Knighton as to the destructive character of the scourge. For instance, they had now had published by the Record Office the writings of John Capgrave, who was born in 1390, who said "It was supposed that the Pestilence had not left in England a tenth part of the people. He said also that the rents of the lords of lands and the tithes of the priests had ceased; that because there were so few labourers the land lay uncultivated, and so much misery was in the land that it never regained the prosperity it had before." That was a fact (said the rev. lecturer) which he should be able to show them more distinctly from other evidence. He would now point out some local particulars—some local facts—to illustrate what occurred in certain localities in the kingdom, and which might be taken as specimens of what happened elsewhere. For instance, a manuscript found in the British Museum, which had reference to Meaux Abbey, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, written in 1390, stated that the plague was so severe that only ten monks were left in London. Another document had reference to the Abbey of Croxton, in Lincolnshire, which had the Royal authority (Edward III.) and which told them that no one remained in the convent but the Abbot and Prior.

In 1450 the people of Winchester complained to the King that nine out of its 16 streets were in ruins. Statistics were quoted showing how many clergymen died during the plague in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, Bristol, Oxford, and other places, as well as showing the diminution of the population in various counties. They had, moreover, very specific information of the ravages in the Eastern counties, more so, perhaps, than anywhere else, as they were the most important manufacturing counties in the kingdom; they were the principal commercial districts. Having enumerated some of the towns where the direful disease spread amid the greatest consternation and alarm, and stating the probable number of churches that fell into disuse through the depopulation, the Rev. Canon said that from statistics the population of the country was greater before the plague than at the present day; and it was very probable that England, for 300 or 400 years at least, did not recover her prosperity, her population, her wealth, or the condition of her people. He dwelt at some length on

the decay of towns caused by the "Black Death," and quoted various authors to substantiate his remarks. The Great Mortality commenced on the 31st of May, and ended on the 29th of September; therefore all the dreadful ravages and accumulation of death must have occurred in six months. Now the state of the country under such an awful pestilence as that described, causing as it did the whole population to be deprived of its physical power, could be more easily conceived than described. It was not the fashion in those days to describe in graphic terms events of that nature, and they could only judge of them from the facts, and allow their imagination to draw the picture for themselves. The moral effects of the Great Mortality were remarkable as they were described by Boccaccio and others. It seemed to have divided the people into two classes, the anxious-minded and the reckless. The latter, feeling that death was at hand, adopted the principle, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and would break out into the grossest licentiousness, ending their lives in that way. On the other hand the anxious-minded persons went to the extreme of fanaticism, and employed the whole of their time in extraordinary exercises, considering them to be necessary devotions to the Saints and the Virgin Mary, made under enormous sacrifices of time, in the hope that they would obtain pardon in this world and be saved in the world to come. It might be interesting to enquire more or less into the cause which led to the fearful ravage and pestilence. Amongst the causes to which they were able to look for the periodical visitations of Providence, by which such havoc was made amongst the nations of the world, they could only discover those which were physical and apparent to the senses. They could not tell whether it might not have been necessary in the economic dispensations of the Divine Government to keep down by those means the overgrowth of the population, at a period when there were no means open to relieve it in other ways. An overpopulated country would in those days have been a scene of great misery and of physical and moral degradation. Subsistence could not have been found for the people, and famine and pestilence would have been the periodic scourges. In these days, not only were the internal resources of the country enormously developed, and the means of external supply indefinitely increased, so as to admit of an addition of millions to our population, but emigration opened the door for escape for all the occasional surplus, and those who could not find a subsistence

here could take to themselves wings and fly away to new countries to make themselves a home there. He said that Hallam, Froude, and others moderated the numbers of the population before the plague broke out, as was clearly shown by facts which had since come to light ; and the millions of people that perished caused a scarcity of labourers to till the land. Several Acts of Parliament were quoted, one statute in particular, showing how the labourer, or the working classes—who in those days were neither more nor less than serfs—obtained their independence by being allowed to go into the market and obtain the greatest amount of wages for their labour. The independence of the working classes dated from the "Black Death" in the 14th century. He spoke of the introduction of stocks (a pair of which he believed to be in Chester at the present day), glanced at the law of settlement, and said that they had in this history no bad argument against the theory of the subdivision of land amongst a multitude of small owners,—a system of peasant proprietorship, which seemed to the minds of some persons the best, if not the only, remedy for the hardship and depressed state of the labouring classes. The dissolution of the ancient bonds of feudal serfdom tended on the Continent generally, as it was now doing in Russia, to the system of small ownerships ; peasants having patches of land granted to them out of the extensive commons and wastes, which were, if not created, yet greatly increased by the depopulation of the country by the Great Pestilence. On those few acres they lived by personal labour in cultivation, deriving an independent but very scanty and miserable subsistence, not so good as that of the old service under the old lords of the soil, not so good as that of the labourer, who had no land, but depended upon wages for the work done. And this still remained a true account of the condition of a great part of France and Germany, where certainly the physical condition of the poorest classes is in no respect better, if it is not worse, than that of our own poor. The people, it was true, were not crowded together in vast masses in certain manufacturing districts ; but neither were there great centres of manufacturing and commercial enterprise, sources of the wealth and prosperity of the country—the Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow. These have been created entirely by the independence of the labouring classes, they not being small proprietors or attached to the soil, but at liberty to seek for a good market for their labour wherever they could find it. If the masses of British peasantry had ever come (or

should ever come) into a condition of peasant proprietorship by innumerable small investments in land, their moveability from place to place would be put an end to, and the drawing them together in vast nests of population for the use and benefit of the manufacturer would become impossible. And that perhaps was not a result which those who gave them the advice would think altogether desirable or wish to see. He explained how the foundation of our agricultural system came about, and read an amusing manifesto issued by the College of Surgeons in Paris, respecting the cause of the Black Death. After some further remarks he concluded by saying—When the experience, so slowly and dearly bought, has been applied to the perfecting of sanitary arrangements, so that we have now no reason to dread the approach of these tremendous scourges, and when, if milder epidemics do occasionally visit us, they are met by an amount of medical skill and science under which they are greatly modified and soon disappear; then also (and it is a far greater blessing) we are able to meet these and all other calamities of human life with a different mind and a more enlightened spirit of Christian faith and patience, to trace them to their true source, to receive them as instruments of moral discipline, and to find comfort under them in an intelligent belief that all things are working together for our good.

Mr. T. HUGHES, in local illustration of the Rev. Canon's remarks, said that a reference to Ormerod's *Cheshire* would show that the incumbents of nearly half the parishes of Cheshire died during that eventful year 1348-9, and most of them, no doubt, of the fearful Black Death.

The CHAIRMAN moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon for his excellent lecture, which was accorded with much cordiality.

Feb. 23. The fourth monthly meeting of the session was held at the Society's Rooms, Dr. Brushfield (Medical Superintendent of the Cheshire Lunatic Asylum,) was called to the chair. There was a numerous gathering of members.

The Rev. EDWARD R. JOHNSON (Minor Canon of the Cathedral, afterwards Rector of Northenden, Cheshire) delivered a lecture "On the Roman Wall between the Tyne and the Solway," of which we regret our space enables us to give only a very meagre abstract. Born and long resident in the vicinity of "the wall," Mr. Johnson brought to his subject an antiquarian zeal and topographical knowledge which only a native and an intelligent observer could command. He com-

menaced by stating that the Roman Wall (as it was commonly called) must be regarded as quite distinct from the general subject of Roman remains as ordinarily existing in this country, and might fairly claim the first place in interest and importance. The historical circumstances connected with it afforded ample proof that it was considered of vast importance by the Romans themselves; for when we remembered how many Generals and Emperors bestowed their attention and skill upon its construction and maintenance, when we found that again and again their labours were mocked by the indomitable energy of the wild Caledonians, we might fairly conclude that this *vallum barbaricum* was an object of constant interest to them, as well as a frequent cause of anxiety. To us, also, even in its ruined desolate condition, it became a special object of interest, if only as illustrating so forcibly those iron qualities for which the Roman character was notorious. This barrier was something very much more than a wall, being rather an elaborate and stupendous system of defensive works, comprising a series of fortified stations about five miles apart, and as many acres in area; connected by a line of wall averaging 8 feet in thickness, and a fosse of 35 to 40 feet wide, both facing towards the north; connected also by a military road of the usual Roman construction running through them and yet again connected (or in some parts not connected, but protected) towards the south by a triple rampart of earth and a ditch. Moreover, in addition to the walls and stations, at the distance of every Roman mile along the whole course, from the Tyne at Walls-end to Bowness on the Solway—70 miles—there was a castle or fort some 60 feet square, and between each castle four turrets or watch towers. The nature of the country over which this complicated barrier stretches was described as hilly in the central district, especially for some ten or fifteen miles, where an abrupt basaltic ridge crops up, presenting a precipice to the north, and a more gradual slope to the south; while east and west the barrier descends to the lower slopes which bound the rich valleys of the Tyne and tributaries of the river Eden, care being taken always to keep the rivers on its southern side. The wall with its fosse, stations, and mile castles, unflinchingly adhered to the highest ground, ascending to the edge of the basaltic ridge, dipping down into the gaps, and turning aside for nothing; the triple rampart towards the south, with its ditch, accompanied the wall along the more moderate heights, but in the central district fell off towards the south,

and pursued the lower ground. The traces of the barrier towards the east and west extremities were very slight, but in the central district, for some ten or fifteen miles, considerable remains still existed, showing some four or five courses of the Wall, and the stations and mile castles are surprisingly perfect, in fact, the whole system of the works might be clearly followed out. The more perfect preservation in this district was said to arise from the fact that, that wild and less thickly populated district having been the stronghold of the moss-troopers, the works had been left undisturbed; even antiquaries dared not to enter the district, Camden telling us it was impossible, on account of "the rank robbers thereabouts." So little was this locality traversed that, in 1745, General Wade could not convey his artillery across from Newcastle to Carlisle. It was stated that great difference of opinion exists as to the origin of this barrier, some authorities thinking that it was all one grand design—Hadrian being the author of it—others that it was the work of successive Generals, and others thinking that it was in some of its parts quite a late work, constructed by Britons, aided by the Romans before they took final leave of the country. The Wall itself was described as composed of a double facing of rough but regular courses of masonry, filled in between with concrete—the concrete poured in apparently in a liquid state—the stones very uniform in dimensions, placed lengthways into the wall (there being no bonding tiles), and presenting their ends (about 9in. by 8in.) to the face of the Wall. The stones of which the *station* walls were constructed were invariably smaller, with the exception of those of the gateways, which were of the most massive and imposing character, the largest of the stones showing the luis-holes by which they had been raised to their positions. Most interesting inscriptions were said to exist in the various quarries of the district, recording the names of the officers under whom the different companies of certain legions had worked out stone for the construction of the works. A detailed description was given of two of the most perfect stations—Homesteads (the *Burcovicus* of the *Notitia*), and Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*)—of which the former was the most interesting specimen, its walls, some 5ft. high, complete all round; its four double gateways, showing the holes in which the pivots of the gates have turned, the deep ruts of chariot wheels, and the great stone in the centre of the way, exactly similar to the "stepping stones" found in the streets of Pompeii. The streets,

the lecturer added, were clearly defined, buildings laid bare, and the ground strewn with interesting remains. An amphitheatre, some 100 feet in diameter, was said to exist outside the wall, supposed to have been a "stadium castrense," used by the soldiers of the guard for their amusement; and very recently a gateway had been discovered in the wall, as if for a special means of exit to this stadium. Hypocausts, supposed by the rustics to be "The Kitchens of the Fairies," had been discovered here and at other stations, the dimensions and position of them indicating that they were used for the purpose of warming the better class of houses, as well as for the more special purposes of the bath: pipes had been found attached to the walls of the rooms, evidently intended to conduct the heat from the hypocaust; in one instance, instead of a hypocaust, a flue had been found running round three sides of the apartment. The construction of these hypocausts seemed absolutely identical with that of the one recently discovered in Chester, only excepting that flags were employed instead of tiles to support the floor of concrete; and the lecturer expressed the opinion that hypocausts also existed under several floors laid bare, but which it had been thought undesirable to disturb. He was led to this conclusion partly by the fact that buttresses, which were never found in connection with the main wall or station walls, were found supporting the walls of some of the larger buildings—one such, 92 feet long, at Birdoswald, had moreover narrow slits between the buttresses, apparently having some connection with the hypocaust, which he doubted not would one day be brought to light. Among the numerous objects of interest discovered were altars, dedicated not only to the ordinary Roman deities, but to the Sun, the Syrian Hercules, Astarte, and Baal; showing that the troops quartered along the barrier had come from far distant provinces of the Empire. An altar to *Discipline*, "*Disciplinæ Augusti*," was specially mentioned as remarkable, and as illustrating so forcibly the mind and habit of the Roman soldier; as in the case of the Centurion in the Gospel, who, accustomed to pay and exact instant obedience to the commands of authority, could at once believe in the Saviour's power to heal his servant with a word. Another altar was described as dedicated to Silvanus by the Hunters of Banna, which had created much perplexity, no such place as Banna being known; but a bronze cup had been discovered in Wiltshire, on which were found the names of some of the stations of this barrier, and Banna among them; this confirmed

the reading of the altar inscription, but still where Banna had been was a mystery unsolved. Millstones of various dimensions and in large numbers were discovered, some evidently of stone not found in this country; also mortars, with round stones used as pestles, or rather rolled about in the mortar for the purpose of bruising the corn; round and conical stones, supposed to have been balista-shot; Samian ware in great quantities; coins also in abundance, but only two with the Christian monogram, and these of the date of Magnentius, A.D. 350. Lastly, some very valuable gems, found at Petriana (Walton House,) were described; two especially, of sardonyx, with very remarkable devices, of which most carefully executed drawings were exhibited, but of which no explanation had yet been given; and a third was described as a rare specimen of an imitation onyx, the composition being of glass-paste.

The lecture was illustrated by a general plan of the barrier in its entire length, sections of the works at various points, a ground plan of a station, and three large sketches in neutral tint, one representing the barrier as it makes its way along and over the highest ground; another representing one of the eastern gateways into the station at Amboglanna; and a third showing one of the mile-castles. The lecturer expressed himself as much indebted to the works of Dr. Bruce, of Newcastle, and to the Duke of Northumberland, who had caused a survey to be made of the whole barrier, and had presented a copy of the work to all the proprietors along the line.

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. Brushfield) stated that the old Roman Wall at Chester was of the same quality, and made in the same peculiar manner, as the one which had just been so ably described by Mr. Johnson; the outside stones being in each case laid dry and without any of the bonding courses of tiles usually found in Roman work, more especially towards the south, of which the "old wall" at Wroxeter might be quoted as an example. Allusion was then made to the various inscription stones, and the interesting fact that at the station of *Bre. menium* (now called High Rochester,) one of the tablets had been erected by a detachment of the 20th Legion, the same that had so long encamped at Chester. Dr. Brushfield also drew attention to the form of the various stations along the wall, as shown by Mr. Johnson's illustration, and compared it with the old Roman *Deva*; the four principal streets running right through the city, intersecting in the middle,—as well as the shape of the walls, the corners being rounded off instead

of square, to which circumstance the late secretary of this Society, Mr. Massie, had drawn attention. As to the first seal exhibited by Mr. Johnson, he (Dr. B.) had one which it closely resembled in its principal features ; these were known to be characteristics of amulets used by the Gnostics, the followers of Simon the Sorcerer, mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles." This peculiarity consisted in the engraved figure being formed of heads, human or animal, so that whichever way you looked at it a different head was presented. The Chairman concluded with a vote of thanks to Mr. Johnson for his very able and interesting lecture.

Mr. JOHNSON made an appropriate reply, and gave a sketch description of the best way to see "The Wall," to those inclined to undertake the journey.

March 14. The fifth meeting of the present session was held in the Society's Rooms, on Monday ; Alderman Williams in the chair.

The Rev. Dr. HUME, F.S.A., of Liverpool, delivered a lecture on "Monumental Brasses," which was of a highly-interesting character. A large number of beautiful "rubblings" were exhibited by the lecturer, from some of the best examples now existing in this country.

Mr. W. FFOULKES exhibited the skull of a Saxon, found in a large gravel bed in Bedfordshire, it having evidently been a Saxon burying-place, as gold ornaments, Saxon urns, glass cups, &c., had been found there. Many thousand skulls had been examined ; it had become a scientific study ; and from the facts obtained professors stated that they were able to tell whether a skull was that of a Saxon or not. He handed round the room a piece of lead, declared to have been dug up at the new hotel in course of erection at Charing Cross, London, and which he said had puzzled a great many antiquaries. It was, however, neither more nor less than a forgery ; hundreds of them were manufactured in London over and over again, and were sold for a few pence to workmen, who often sold them to the curious for large sums of money. It was, therefore, highly desirable for those in the room to see a specimen of the lead, in order that, if they went to London, they might not be imposed upon. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Hume for his excellent lecture, which vote was accorded with acclamation,

April 27. The Rev. Canon EATON in the chair. By the personal exertions of the Secretaries, aided by the cordial sympathy of numerous friends of the Society in Chester and the neighbourhood, a choice collection of Shakesperian and other Elizabethan relics and reminiscences was brought together, such as perhaps had never before been exhibited in this city.

The Rev. HENRY GREEN, M.A., of Knutsford, delivered a lecture on "Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers of the 16th Century, especially Geoffrey Whitney, of Cheshire." After some preliminary observations on the Tercentenary Festival, and on the causes that had induced him to turn his attention to the subject of this Paper, the lecturer said the first English Emblem book was composed by Geoffrey Whitney, submitted by him in manuscript to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in 1586, and printed in the following year at Leyden. Whitney was a member of an old Cheshire family, and was born in or near Nantwich, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He afterwards resided for a considerable period in the Netherlands. The question for them to consider was whether Shakespeare made any use of Whitney's Emblems or others like them, published in the 16th century. Which of them passed under Shakespeare's notice we might not be able to say with certainty, but that he knew of them and used them, either directly or indirectly, there could be no reasonable doubt. After a variety of illustrations, the lecturer concluded as follows: "Nor—after the evidence adduced, and comparing the picture Emblems which I have submitted to your inspection with passages of Shakespeare which are their complete parallels, as far as words can be to drawings—are we required any longer to treat it as a mere conjecture that Shakespeare, like others of his countrymen, was acquainted generally with the popular Emblem Books of the sixteenth century, and especially with the "Choice of Emblemes," by Geoffrey Whitney, of Cheshire, the earliest and, I may dare to name him, the best of our English Emblem writers. Others might be more pungent, more polished, or more elaborate in their conceits, or in the language in which they clothed them; but there were none of greater purity, more abundant learning, or a more thoroughly religious spirit. As he was characterised by those who knew him when his work first appeared, so might he be spoken of now: Chaucer was the Homer of England, Whitney its Hesiod. And surely it is not in Cheshire people at this time, when such general testimony is being

given to one immortal memory, any unreasonable pride to be zealous for the fame of that poet of our county who nearly three hundred years ago, when Avon's banks first resounded with Shakespeare's songs, celebrated the praises of the Cholmondeleys, the Wilbrahams, the Mainwarings, the Cottons of Combermere, the Brookes and the Corbets of Elizabeth's glorious reign,—who along with them made mention of the Calthorpes, the Drakes, the Jermyns, the Norrisses, the Russells, and the Sidneys, and whose humbler descriptions and thoughts and expressions the mighty genius of Shakespeare did not disdain to use, to elevate, and to ennoble!

The Rev. C. BOWEN: Shakespeare, in every point of law, was always accurate, which proved that he must have been a close observer of the legal profession, for he never made a mistake. It was very singular, too, how truthfully the great poet translated foreign languages, which showed that he must have been a linguist.

The Rev. LECTURER: Yes, but he was not learned in that respect in the sense of Erasmus, and other great men of that class.

Mr. J. RALPH: It was true that every allusion Shakespeare made to law was correct, and a pamphlet published a short time ago tended to prove that he must at one time of his life have been a lawyer's clerk: (Laughter.)

The LECTURER said: When he was at College at Glasgow, where he was educated, a young man gave in a long exercise on the various terms of law, and so wonderfully correct was the production that the professor doubted his having written it. However, the young man did write it, and it showed that a person might get up a case very accurately according to law without intending to plead in a court of equity. (Laughter, and hear, hear.)

The Rev. CHAIRMAN expressed his full concurrence with the line of argument taken up by the lecturer.

Mr. T. HUGHES, as one of the secretaries of the Society, asked the attention of the meeting while he touched upon or described the various objects of surpassing interest and value then displayed before them. He would first instance the rich series of photographs scattered broadcast about the room by Mr. Green, and prepared at that gentleman's cost in illustration of his lecture. Probably an outlay so large had seldom before been incurred under similar circumstances in the whole history of the Society; and it was only due to the lecturer that the

additional illustrative light thus thrown upon the subject should not be lost sight of, or unacknowledged by those who listened to his remarks. It would be now his (the speaker's) duty, as the personal trustee for the moment of so much valuable literary and historic property, to describe somewhat in detail the various objects of interest then exhibited. In the first rank he would place the magnificent compliment paid to the Society by Mr. J. Fitchett Marsh, of Warrington, who had indulged them with a treat, the like of which had never before been experienced in that or any other room in Chester. He alluded to the splendid series of early Shakespeares, embracing perfect copies of the first folio edition of 1623 (a duplicate of which was sold last month by auction for £273), the second folio of 1632, the third folio of 1664, and the fourth folio of 1685; together with an almost perfect series of the separate quarto plays of Shakespeare, original editions published during the lifetime of our national bard. Similar original quartos of contemporary authors, including Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Dekker, Heywood, Greene, Beaumont, Armin, Fletcher, and others, from the same valuable collection, gave additional lustre to the exhibition; it was probable, indeed, that the mere money value of the Shakespearian literature exhibited by Mr. J. F. Marsh and others at the meeting was not far short of one thousand pounds. From the same stores came a choice copy, but wanting the title page and one preliminary leaf, of Holinshed (our Cheshire historian's) Chronicle, the first or Shakespeare edition of 1577, so called from its being the probable source of the historical information on which he founded his various plays. Gold, silver, copper, and bronze medals of the Shakespearian Club, a fine miniature of Shakespeare on ivory, copied from Jansen's original portrait, and framed in wood taken from the poet's own mulberry tree; a tablet and snuff-box finely carved from the same wood, and a portfolio of rare and varied portraits of Shakespeare from every imaginable source, completed the list of Mr. Marsh's contributions. Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, had also cordially responded to his call, and had sent a plaster mask from the head of Shakespeare on his monument at Stratford, and an "apostle" spoon of silver, bearing the English mintmark of 1616 (the date of the poet's death,) and long a heir-loom in his (the Dr.'s) family. From the Warrington Free Museum came an ancient leathern bottle, or "pocket pistol," illustrative of a passage in the play of "Henry VIII.," and other relics. Miss Cowley, of Warrington, contributed a box of

the far-famed mulberry tree wood, and Mr. J. T. Picton, of the same town, a piece of the oaken linden of the fire-place at Shakespeare's house at Stratford. This block had been recently sawn into, and within it had been discovered a pretty little palmwood cross, which had at some ancient date been secreted in the chimneypiece, probably as a charm against witchcraft. Mr. Green, the lecturer, on behalf of a friend, and Mr. Mark Cann, of Plymouth, respectively exhibited copies, neither of them quite perfect, of the second folio Shakespeare of 1632. Dr. Brushfield had also entrusted to the speaker a volume of rare playbills, connected with the Chester Theatre in the olden time, prominent among which he would direct their notice to the bill of the Theatre in Foregate-street, traces of which had endured even to the present day, up a passage on the south side of that street. A pair of embroidered ladies' shoes and pattens to match, of Elizabethan date, came from the stores of Mr. Edwards (Blue School); and last but not least, there was exhibited by Mr. F. Butt, silversmith, an elegant original miniature portrait, upon ivory, of Mrs. Sarah Siddons, the greatest Shakespearian actress England has ever known, and sister of the equally celebrated John and Charles Kemble. This handsome locket was also inlaid at the back with a movable brooch, containing the hair of the lady and her initials, "S.S.," in gold, within an oval of pearls. So far as he (Mr. Hughes) could learn, this portrait had never been engraved, and was, indeed, until quite recently never out of the Siddons family. This beautiful work of art is now (1876) in the collection of Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Bart., at Oulton Park. From his own personal collection, Mr. Hughes exhibited copies of Whitney's and other Cheshire authors' books of Elizabethan times, as also a very rare plan of the city of Chester, as it appeared in Shakespeare's day, in which were shown churches and other public edifices which had since wholly disappeared.

May 25. Mr. ROBERT MORRIS read a carefully-compiled paper on "The Baptism of Bells, and on some Legends attaching to the Bells of Cheshire." It is possible that a digest of this lecture may be given in a future number of the *Journal*.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Morris for the entertainment he had afforded the meeting, and after a suitable acknowledgment from that gentleman,

Mr. T. HUGHES (Hon. Sec.) observed that the existence of a solitary ancient bell in so many of the old Cheshire churches was a circumstance, to his mind, easy of explanation. Prior to the Reformation most of the English parish churches had in their steeples melodious peals of bells; but when the fiat went forth for the dissolution of religious houses, the commissioners appointed by Henry VIII., entering largely into the rapacious spirit of their master, played fearful havoc, not only with the temporalities of the church, but also with its decorations and furniture. It was one of the Puritanical notions of the hour that bells were papistical, and tended to propagate heresy; and as they possessed withal considerable money value, the commissioners uniformly decreed their removal, usually leaving just one bell to summon the parishioners to service under the new regime. It was thus at St. John's in this city, but in that instance the commissioners went further still, for they removed every fother of lead that they found upon the roof, leaving a church in ruin as their legacy to the parish. The lecturer had spoken of "St. George's Bell" as the precursor of the celebrated Chester Cup. For some reason he (Mr. Hughes) could not explain, this race, which had for more than 100 years been run on the old Roodeye at Chester, was early in the last century transferred to Farn-don, on the Dee, a few miles from the city. While it was essentially a Chester prize, the corporation were large annual subscribers to it, in conjunction with the several trade companies of Chester; and when it was transferred to Farndon the subscription from the city was not withdrawn, the public bellman going round on the day of the race to announce the race to the citizens. There was an old Cheshire saying, "You must go to Holt to see Farn Races," the fact being that the racecourse at Farndon was so situate that the race could only be seen to advantage from the Holt or Welsh side of the river. Mention had been made of the bell of St. Sepulchre's, London, tolling at the execution of criminals at Newgate. A similar custom prevailed at Chester, for when a condemned felon was removed at midnight from the Castle to the City Gaol, then situate at the Northgate, the bell of St. Mary's Church tolled its solemn dirge until the fatal cart reached the limits of the Castle boundary at Glover's Stone, the bell of Holy Trinity Church taking up the knell as the procession moved along Nicholas Street, on its way to the place of execution at the Northgate.

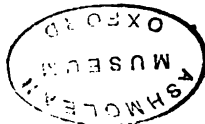
Oct. 3. The Rev. C. P. WILBRAHAM delivered an excellent lecture on "Ancient Architecture," being a sequel to his discourse on "The Kremlin and the Alhambra."

The LECTURER confined his observations almost entirely to his adventures in Russia and Spain, and to the objects of historic and antiquarian interest he had there personally visited. He graphically described the battle-fields on and in the neighbourhood of the Douro, and the exploits of the British army there, under the great Duke of Wellington. The Russian Imperial house at Peterhoff, and the ceremonies he had witnessed there in connection with the marriage of the Grand Duke Michael; the great aqueduct of Segovia, with its beautiful cathedral and Moorish castle, were all in turn described; and he compared the civility of the Spanish muleteer, and the obsequiousness of the Russian serf, with the brusqueness of the American cabman, who would say to his fare "*I am the gentleman that is to drive you, and you are the man that is going!*" Mr. Wilbraham concluded a most instructive and interesting lecture amid applause.

In the course of the discussion which ensued, the Rev. H. VENABLES remarked that the port of Chicago in America had originally been built too low, and the Americans had actually raised the whole town eight feet.

The Rev. C. P. WILBRAHAM: I was there when it was done. (Great laughter and applause.) I may add that in America, whenever you get tired of your neighbour, you put your house on rollers and move off. At New Brunswick they had actually moved a church across a river at a time when it was frozen over. When they got to the middle the ice seemed on the point of cracking, but they got safely across. They construct their buildings on a framework of timber.

Mrs. Vaughan Lloyd sent for exhibition some photographic views of Bramhall Hall and Marple Hall, near Stockport; the former being a splendid specimen of the old timber houses of Cheshire, and the latter celebrated as the birthplace of the learned and notorious John Bradshaw, President of the Council which consigned Charles I. to the scaffold.



HENRY IV.

PART II.

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO CONNECT SOME CHESHIRE PERSONS,
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PLACES WITH SHAKESPEARE'S
DRAMA OF THIS NAME.

BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT.

ON two previous occasions when this Society favored me with its attention, I had the pleasure to bring before it two of our great bard's historic dramas, "RICHARD II.," which has been called the conspiracy of the Three Henries, and the first part of "HENRY IV." My purpose in doing so was to connect with this county and neighbourhood, some of the persons, circumstances, and events, mentioned in those dramas, which, as my hearers may perhaps recollect, proved to be very numerous.

My subject would seem to be incomplete without the addition of the second part of "HENRY IV.," and although this drama contains fewer local allusions, and will refer more to the bitter harvest which the county reaped than the other two; I propose now to bring it before the Society with such circumstances as seem a consequence of the whole, and as arise out of your county records,—a rich mine of materials for the genealogist, the antiquary, and the historian, of which the county may be justly proud. I propose to do here what I did on the former occasions, use the drama as the thread on which to hang my remarks; and if in attempting to carry out my purpose, I should tax the hearer's patience, I hope he will bear with me for the poet's sake who deserves the best illustration, and a better illustrator than I can hope to be.

See *Chester Archaeological Journal*, vol. III, pp. 215 - 246.

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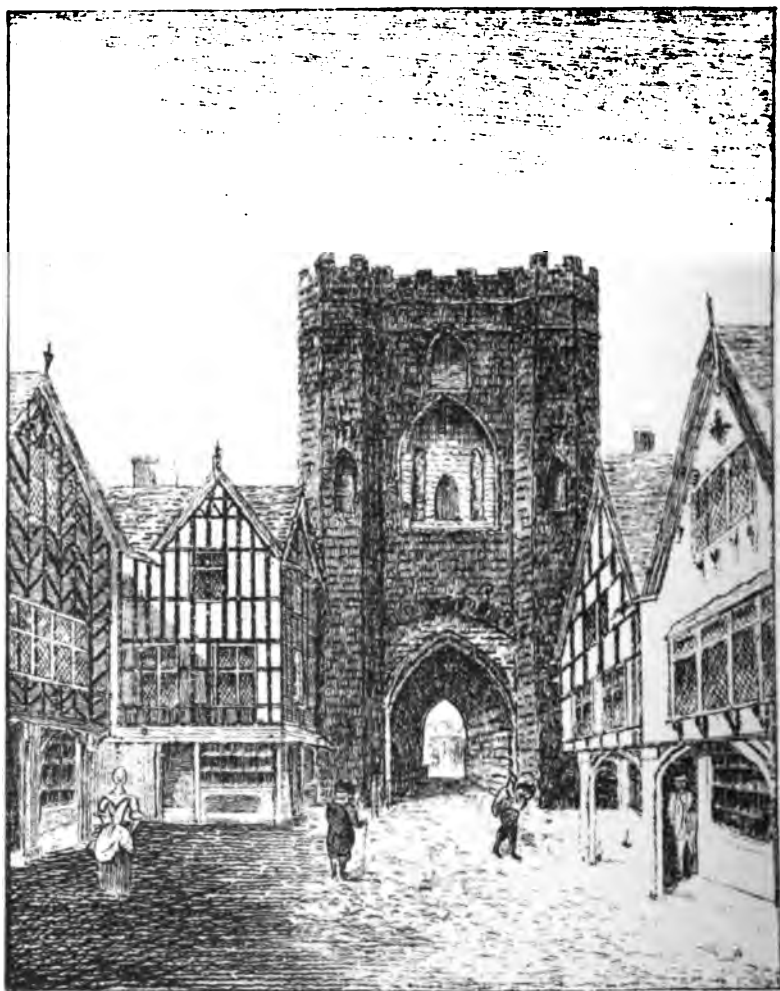
When we parted last we heard the King, on the field at Shrewsbury, pronouncing Worcester's doom, and reproaching him with having caused the death, on the King's side, of one noble Earl and three Knights; a loss which history but slightly magnifies, for Hume, in summing up the followers the King had lost, names only the Earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gawsel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Masey, of Puddington, and Sir John Calveley. The last two were Cheshire men, and the last the inheritor of a name which the pages of Froissart have made immortal.

It has been said that Chief Baron Cockayne changed his ermine for a breast-plate, and fell in the King's host, but this appears to be a mistake.* It is very remarkable that neither the King nor the historian mentions the King's "dear and true industrious friend, Sir Walter Blunt," who died fighting in the King's coat, and who of all men deserved the King's grateful remembrance. I showed formerly, on the authority of Rymer's *Fædera*, that news of the victory at Holmedon, which the poet makes Sir Walter the first to bring, was really not brought by him, but by Nicholas Merbury, a Cheshire man. Sir Walter, however, was a tried Lancastrian, and when John of Gaunt, the King's father, made his will, he honored Sir Walter by making him one of his executors. The Blunts seem to have been unfortunate at this time: one of them, Sir Thomas, was put to death for King Richard II., in 1400. Two others died at Shrewsbury, and Nicholas, another of them, who was there on Hotspur's part, and survived the field, thought it prudent to leave the country afterwards, and to take the name of Croke when he returned; and a fourth is mentioned later in the play, as the person to whom Sir John Coleville was delivered for execution.

Neither the poet nor the historian gives any adequate idea of the fierceness of the fight at Shrewsbury, in which there fell not less than 8,300 men, of whom more than 2,000 were knights and gentlemen, a class on whom in that age of personal prowess the slaughter always fell the heaviest.

Faithful to the cause of the late monarch, in whose corps of Cheshire archers so many men of all ranks were enrolled, and willing

* Thomas de Wendeley, on his tomb at Bakewell, is said to have fallen at Shrewsbury, but it is not said on which side.



Spencer A.C. Photo-Art. London

The EASTGATE, CHESTER, Taken down in 1766.

to believe that Richard was still alive,* the county had followed Hotspur with devotion to Shrewsbury, notwithstanding that sixty-four of their leading men were then under bail for their good behaviour. Sir Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton, descended from one of those palatine peers who had served Hugh Lupus, died upon the field; and there also perished by the headsman's axe, in the 47th year of his age, Sir Richard Vernon, Baron of Shipbroke, another of those palatine peers. Their bodies were probably conveyed home to be committed to their family vaults; but Hotspur, their leader, at first found a grave in the church at Whitchurch, where in a later age a far more famous warrior, the great Lord Talbot was buried, and still sleeps in marble effigy. After two days, however, Hotspur's body was taken up, and conveyed to Shrewsbury, and there exposed to satisfy the people of his death; while the King stood before it, and solemnly appealed the body to answer him at the general judgment for all the blood that he had caused to be shed, a solemn mockery which it seems difficult to understand.† When this was over the body was quartered, and one of the quarters sent to Chester, and there fixed up over the east gate, where it remained until his widow piously collected the four quarters, and interred them with reverence at York. Sir Piers Legh had been before beheaded without trial in 1399, and his head had been placed upon the same gate. If these two objects remained there at the same time, the grim spectacle would certainly excite horror, however it might inspire terror. After these preliminary remarks I proceed now to the drama with which we have to do.

At the end of the first part of "HENRY IV.," the curtain fell on the battle field at Shrewsbury: it rises now before Northumberland's castle at Warkworth, where rumour in a dress covered with painted tongues is scattering abroad stories both true and false, about the recent battle and its results:—

I from the Orient to the drooping west
Making the wind my post horse, still unfold
The acts commenced on this ball of earth.

* Hotspur summoning the Cheshire men told them that they might see King Richard alive at Sandiway.—*Traison et Mort Richard II*, 285.

† *Traison et Mort Richard II*, 285.

Upon my tongue continual slanders ride ;
The which in every language I pronounce,
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.

Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures ;
And of so easy and so plain a stop,
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still discordant wavering multitude
Can play upon it.

And then, after giving two opposite accounts of the battle, she retires. Lord Bardolph now enters, and knocking at the castle gate, learns from the porter that the Earl has walked forth into the orchard, and that if he will only knock there the Earl himself will answer him. Those must have been times of primitive simplicity of manners, when a great Earl did not disdain to be his own porter and to answer the knock at his own gate. Presently the Earl enters, and thus hastily asks Lord Bardolph the news ?—

Every minute now
Should be the father of some stratagem,
The times are wild, contention like a horse
Full of high feeding madly hath broke loose,
And bears down all before him.

To which Lord Bardolph replies that he brings news from Shrewsbury as good as heart can wish, “ that the King is dangerously wounded, the Prince of Wales killed by Hotspur, and both the Blunts by Douglas, with other like particulars. Their discourse is interrupted by the entrance of Travers, the Earl’s servant, who had been sent out to hearken for news. With hopes newly raised by Lord Bardolph’s relation, the Earl eagerly demands his servant’s news ? and he replies—

My Lord, Sir John Umfreville turned me back
With joyful tidings, and being better horsed
Outrode me. After him came spurring hard
A gentleman almost forespent with speed,
That stopt me to breathe his bloodied horse,
He asked the way to Chester ; and of him
I did demand what news from Shrewsbury,
He told me that rebellion had ill luck
And that young Harry Percy’s spur was cold ;
With that he gave his able horse the head
And bending forward struck his armed heels
Against the panting sides of his poor jade
Up to the rowel head.

How vividly, by a single touch, the great painter brings before us the gentleman who was stopt by Travers! We almost hear the heaving of his horse's sides as his rider stops to ask the way to Chester. Well might he be in haste to be there, for the Cheshire men who had been favourers of Richard II., and still cherished his memory, had marched in large numbers with Hotspur to Shrewsbury, which made their friends at home doubly anxious to know the result of the battle.

After hearing Travers to the end, Lord Bardolph endeavours to discredit his story, but "suspicion hath a ready tongue," and the Earl has his misgivings, which are now interrupted by the arrival of Morton from Shrewsbury, of whom the Earl, turning to him in haste, eagerly demands, "How doth my son and brother?" and then as fearing the worst, and without waiting for a reply, he adds—

Thou tremblest and the whiteness of thy cheek
Is apter than thy tongue to tell thy errand.

To break the news more gradually Morton replies :—

Douglas is living and your brother yet :
But for my lord your son
Mine eyes did see him in bloody state,
Rendering faint quittance, wearied and out-breath'd,
To Henry Monmouth ; whose swift wrath beat down
The never-daunted Percy to the earth,
From whence with life he never more sprung up.
In fine, his death (whose spirit lent a fire
Even to the dullest peasant in his camp)
Being bruited once, took fire and heat away
From the best-temper'd courage in his troops :
For from his metal was his party steel'd.

Having heard him to the end, Northumberland sadly observes—

For this I shall have time enough to mourn,—
In poison there is physic.

The King, it is believed, repaired to Chester soon after the battle of Shrewsbury; and finding rumour, with her uncounted tongues, as busy there as she had been before the Castle of Warkworth, he tried to bridle them; and for that purpose he issued out commissions to all parts of the county, requiring the commissioners to arrest all the spreaders of false news (the word in the Cheshire records which I so translate is *marisnusa*) and fables, and all who excited commotions amongst the people.

The King could have stayed but a short time in Chester, for on the 19th August, less than a month after the battle, he was at York, where he heard mass in the Cathedral, and was the guest (not a very welcome one) of Archbishop Scrope, whose brother, the Earl of Wiltshire, he had lately put to death.* But policy took the King to York, and reconciled him to this double-facedness.

Meanwhile warrants and precepts of many kinds appear on the county records. On the 16th September, not two months after the battle, the Prince appointed Sir John Stanley, a Cheshire man, of the house of Hooton, and steward of his household, to be keeper of the county of Chester, and to resist the malice of the Welsh rebels round about. Another warrant of the same month gave commandment to the Prince's officers to seize into his hands the lands of such gentlemen of the county as had refused to lend their assistance towards the relief of Harlech Castle, then besieged by the enemy; and very shortly afterwards Sir Thomas le Grosvenor was commanded to repair with all speed with his family and power to his lands at Pulford and Church-en-Heath, on the Welsh Marches, and there to stay and abide, that he might resist the malice of the rebel Owen Glendower. Many other Cheshire men received a similar command at the same time.

The mention of this chieftain (Owen Glendower) induces me to say a few words in order to clear him from some of the charges made against him, and which, resting on the authority of the fables of Hall, the Chronicler, were believed until the researches of Mr. Endell Tyler, in his "Memoirs of Henry of Monmouth," refuted them. A warrior who, with only the resources of a part of his own small country at his back, could hold his own against all the power of England for fifteen years is entitled to the rank of a hero. He was excepted during all that time from every act of amnesty; and when at last he received a pardon from the victor of Agincourt, he retired to Monnington, in Herefordshire, where being thought to have assumed the name of John of Kent, he disappeared from history. One of Glendower's most illustrious prisoners was the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, a Cheshire man, and the owner of Rushton, near Tarporley. He had ravaged Glendower's lands, and it was told the latter that he had received the king's

* *York Fabric Rolls*. Surtees' Society, 191-2.

commands to take his life; and I take a description of a scene which was the consequence from the recent drama of *Glendower*:—

So Grey has Bolingbroke's good leave to slay me,
But not my sword's good leave; nor shall have mine.
Come forth, companion steel, whom to my side
Unwillingly I clasped, to other ends
And other studies fitted from my birth.

The two chieftains, as was to be expected, very shortly meet, when Grey, being disarmed and made prisoner, knowing that he would have no quarter, exclaims :—

Ill fortune's star has lighted on my sword,
Wilt thou take life, or dare I ransom crave?

To which his captor replies :—

I hold your lordship's life too precious far
To waste with murderous prodigality.
Keep it, my lord, to serve what side you will,
And for some passing service to our cause.
We cannot feast you with such lordly pomp
As when you graced the royal coronation.
But in our hunger-stricken hills, with us
Poor pensioners of nature's sterner mood,
My lord will please a season to abide.

(From *Owen Glendower*, a poem by Rowland Williams.)

Grey was afterwards ransomed by the King for 10,000 marks [*Harl. MSS. 1989, fo. 381*], which shows the estimation in which he held the services of his Cheshire subject. Glendower held fast by his allegiance to Richard II., and refused to acknowledge Bolingbroke. He was not a confederate, but an opponent, of Hotspur; and he did not witness the battle of Shrewsbury from the Shelton oak, but was in a distant part of the country at the time.

We return to the records. By one of these, dated a few weeks after the battle, the mayor and sheriffs were commanded to expel all the Welsh from the city, and to allow none of them to be there before sunrise or after sunset.* A little later, a John Ambler, clerk, Griffith Henry ap Bleth, and others, had safe conducts to approach the King to make their peace for having joined in Percy's rebellion; and Howell ap Meuric, and two others, were sent prisoners to Chester Castle, to remain during the King's pleasure. But of all the records, the most numerous are those which relate to the offending

* *The Cheshire Sheaf*, I., p. 36.

men of Cheshire who had incurred forfeitures of their lands and goods for being in the field at Shrewsbury. Amongst these are inquisitions on Sir Richard Vernon, Sir Richard Venables, Sir John Masey, of Tatton (his namesake of Puddington had fallen on the other side), Sir Hugh Browe (of Malpas) Sir William Legh (of Baguley), Thomas and John de Beeston, and Hugh le Legh, all of whom had fallen in the battle. Those who had not so fallen, but had incurred forfeitures by being there, were Sir Piers Dutton, Sir John de Wynnyngton, Adam Bostock, John Done, Robert de Leftwyche, John Legh (of Booths), John de Molyngton, Thomas de Holford, Thos. Spark, Richard Cholmondeley, Arthur de Davenport (of Calveley, sixth son of John de Davenport, and the first founder of that house), David de Nunnerley, William de Crue, John de Kynaston, Randel del Moore, Peter Fitz Robert de Brundley, Thos. de Huxley, John de Aldersey, David Bykley, Roger de Bykerton, John de Knight, and Henry de Bebbington, names which sufficiently speak their Cheshire origin. Besides these, there were inquisitions on Hotspur and Worcester.

To give the particulars of all these inquisitions would carry us too far, but I shall allude to a few of them. The inquisitions taken on Hotspur and Worcester found that they had neither lands nor goods in the county, though it might reasonably have been expected to be otherwise; for Ralph Percy died not long before in battle with the Saracens, and it was found that he was the owner of Fulk Stapleford, and that Hotspur was his heir. Ralph was one of the heroes of Otterburne, which is the subject of "Chevy Chase," the ballad which Sir Philip Sidney said stirred his spirit like a trumpet. In no case were the personal chattels of the sufferers found to be of much value, which might be in part owing to the jurors not inquiring too strictly after them, unwilling perhaps, to add sorrow to sorrow. Richard Vernon, baron of Kinderton, one of the greatest of Cheshire notables, bore a shield *argent* fretty *gules*, to which a cadet of the house added a martlet, saying as he could not walk with the legs of the family, he must take wing. Sir Richard's lands were saved by the law of entail, and came to his son of his own name who forgot and forgave his father's fate, and died on the bed of glory at Agincourt. The personal chattels of this great baron were found to be worth no more than £6 6s. 8d., and they consisted of—

	£	s.	d.
Two beds, worth	2	6	8
Three earthen vessels and a dish, worth ...	0	13	4
One furnace, worth	0	10	0
Two beasts of burden with two foals, worth ...	1	6	8
Two sows and eight small pigs, worth ...	0	4	0
Six acres of corn, worth	0	10	0
Two stirks, worth	0	4	0
Two acres of barley, worth	0	8	0
Peas, worth	0	8	0
Two loads of hay	0	6	0
Two acres of peas and beans, worth ...	0	3	4
Six acres of aniseed	1	0	0

The inquisition on William Legh, of Baguley, found that he had in the hands of Jocosa, his wife—

	£	s.	d.
Seven beds, worth 6s. 8d. each	2	6	8
Household instruments, worth	0	13	4
Two beasts of burden, worth 20s. each ...	2	0	0
Eight oxen, worth 13s. 4d. each	5	6	8
Four cows, worth 6s. 8d. each	1	6	8
Six stirks, worth 4s. each	1	4	0
Eight acres of aniseed,* worth 3s. 4d. each ...	1	0	0

The inquisition on Griffith ap Madoc found that his goods were—One three-footed iron stool, one gridiron, one posset, four wooden paniers, worth 4s.; twelve sacks, one cart saddle, one pair of tongs, 14 wooden dishes, one breast plate, and one cloak.

We gather from the records that so general had been the disaffection of the county before the battle, and so great the alarm after, that they gladly consented to purchase peace at the price of three thousand marks, and to raise and pay the money in three years. At first, the King appointed certain of his friends to receive the money; but he afterwards entrusted it to the Prince of Wales, whom he also empowered either to chastise or to receive into

* Aniseed, the crop mentioned in two of these inquisitions, is likely to surprise a Cheshire farmer. It was used largely by our ancestors in the composition of distilled waters when spirits were less used. It was of use in stomachic complaints, and it has still a place in the *Pharmacopœia*, but it was not the anise of Scripture, for that was the dill plant. Brandy seems to have been first brought here from France. In an argument in the Exchequer 1668, it was resolved that it was not a strong water but a spirit, and the next year the House of Commons resolved it to be a spirit perfectly made.—*Jacob's Law Dictionary*.—*Brandy*.

favour all such persons either in Cheshire or Denbighshire as had incurred the King's displeasure in joining in the late rebellion. The King, it must be remembered, was the baron of Halton, and when the three thousand marks were to be collected, the Chamberlain was excused from collecting £20 8s. 7d. of it, which was the proportion due for Halton, and the King's other demesnes in the county.

For the part the citizens of Chester had taken they submitted to a separate fine of 300 marks, but this fine was afterwards remitted in consideration of their supplying, fitting out, and victualling certain ships intended to be sent to the relief of Beaumaris castle; and a little later a still more onerous duty was put on them which they did not think it politic to decline. The Prince of Wales, as the record informs us, appointed Hugh de Milton and others to be commanders and admirals of the war ships and barges, in which the mayor and his fellow citizens (conceives) were about to put to sea against the Prince's enemies. How would the present worshipful the mayor like to be put upon such a service now? Hugh de Milton, the admiral, was one of the sheriffs, and the spirited mayor this year was John Ewlowe. We are at no loss to know how ships and sailors were collected at this time, for the warrants exist by which Sir John Pull and Sir John Hyghly were authorised to arrest ships for service in war at sea. So that the song of the four-and-twenty press-gang fellows tells of an ancient as well as a modern mode of supplying the navy, a custom which has only disappeared in the present century.

Another entry in the Chamberlain's Accounts about this time is curious. By it he charges four pounds as paid to Richard Castell, the king's sergeant, in part of a gift of eight pounds which the people of Runcorn owed the king for suffering the escape of Robert Morysson, a felon charged with slaying one Thomas de Builde, and who for his offence had taken refuge in Runcorn Church. But at the end of all these forfeitures, there were not wanting some acts of a more agreeable kind. Not long after the battle, the king ordered the city to deliver ale and victuals to the abbot and convent of Basingwerk, and to all such loyal gentlemen as had held by their allegiance in the county of Flint. The king's friends were also remembered, and he gave gifts of land to Michael Hauberk (not a bad name for a soldier in that day) and Henry Roeliff, for the good service they had done at Shrewsbury. He also gave Henry White

a home in the leper house at Boughton, and commanded the brethren to receive him as a brother; and at the same time he gave John Denby the chaplain's place there. On 18 August, 4 Hen. IV. he also gave John Mainwaring all the lands and goods which Sir Hugh Browe had forfeited by his rebellion,* and to William Bradshaw, of Lancashire, who was wounded at Shrewsbury, he gave a grant of 6s. a year for his good service. For his share in the rebellion, Peter Werburton obtained a special pardon, dated 5 Sept. 4 Hen. IV. 1403; by which, after reciting that falsely and wickedly, and forgetting his allegiance, he had been in arms at Shrewsbury and had thereby forfeited all his lands and goods, the king of his special grace did pardon him and restore to him the whole of them. And as if this were not enough, by another grant dated 6th February following, the king out of his reverence for God, and at the special instance of his loving consort the Queen Johanna, a touching incident of the case, renewed this pardon. The Queen had been married by proxy at Eltham, on the 3rd April, 1402, but the actual marriage did not take place until 7th February, 1403, when it was celebrated with great pomp at Winchester. Afterwards, the twice pardoned rebel was commissioned to arrest horses in the hundred of Bucklow, for mounting the gentlemen of that hundred who were to proceed on the Prince's service into North Wales.

Amusements, too, were not wholly drowned in the din of war. Orders were issued to bring certain falcons to Chester castle for the use of the Prince, and to clear the forest of Mara of all dogs and swine, that the game might be better preserved.

Upon the spot where the greatest slaughter took place in the battle, there now stands the memorial church of Battle Field. It does not appear when this church, once the college of St. Mary Magdalen, was erected, but if it was founded soon after the battle it remained long unfinished; for on the 24th February, 1452, the Archbishop of York granted a year's indulgence to all such persons as should contribute to its completion. It does not speak well for the piety of our forefathers that such a memorial should have lingered so long, though Fuller says church work is ever a cripple to go up.

Two years have passed since, leaving Rumour before the gates of Warkworth, we returned to Chester with the messenger, who

* *History of Cheshire*, I., p. 307.

asked his way of Travers. Resuming the poet's story, we now go back to Warkworth; where we find Morton, a name which occurs afterwards in the records as a servant of the King, imparting to Northumberland the intelligence that—

The gentle archbishop of York is up,
 With well-appointed powers; he is a man,
 Who with a double surety binds his followers.
 My lord your son had only but the corps,
 But shadows and the shows of men to fight;
 For that same word, rebellion, did divide
 The action of their bodies from their souls;
 And they did fight with queasiness, constrain'd,
 As men drink potions.

The next scene brings us to a street in London, where Sir John Falstaff is walking, attended by his page; an office which, according to Shallow, the fat knight once filled under Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. The conversation between Sir John and his little follower is interrupted by the entrance of Chief Justice Gascoigne, and by the page whispering to his master "Here comes the nobleman who committed the Prince for striking him about Bardolph." This celebrated judge was empowered by Henry IV. to raise forces against the Percies, and in the subsequent rising of Archbishop Scrope he was similarly employed.* Just before Shakspeare's time, there was a comic actor called Forget-not-Tarlton, whose name was given him at the font by those who never thought to see him an actor.

Once when this person was performing the Judge's part in the old play of HENRY V., Knoll, who played the Prince's part, and intended mischief, struck the Chief Justice such a violent blow on the ear as made him reel, and sent the audience off in convulsions of laughter. At this time no company of actors except the court players, had more than six performers, and so it often happened that one actor had to sustain several parts. Tarlton, who had two characters to sustain on the above occasion, went off in his character of the Chief Justice, and shortly after returned in the character of a clown, when, with the liberty which was then conceded to clowns, he asked with apparent unconcern, what made the audience so merry. "Oh," replied his brother actor, "If thou had'st been here

* Jeaffreson's *Law and Lawyers*, I., p. 80.

just now, thou would'st have seen the Prince give the Judge a terrible blow on the ear." "Methinks it must indeed have been a terrible blow to the judge," said Tarlton, "since the very report of it so terrifies me, that my cheek actually tingles and burns again"—which sent the audience off into a greater roar of laughter than before. Tarlton, with his tabor and pipe, is figured in one of Fairholt's costumes.

After some sparring between them, the Chief Justice tells Sir John that he follows the Prince up and down like his ill angel, to which Sir John replies—"Not so, my lord! Your ill angel is light, but I hope he that looks upon me will take me without weighing; and yet, in some respects, I grant, I cannot go, I cannot tell." This is one of the anachronisms in which writers in Shakspeare's time were fond of indulging. The angel was first coined by Edward IV., and not before. Another of these coin anachronisms occurs in the play of King John, where the bastard Faulconbridge, in disparaging his brother, says, I would not have

My face so thin,

That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,

Lest men should say, look where three farthings goes.

which is an evident allusion to Queen Elizabeth's coinage of that name.

The scene now transports us to the palace of the Archbishop, at York, where he and the Lords Hastings, Mowbray, and Bardolph, are holding a conference, the result of which the archbishop thus announces:—

Let us on,

And publish the occasion of our arms,

The commonwealth is sick of their own choice,

Their overgreedy love hath surfeited.

A habitation, giddy and unsure,

Hath he that buildeth on the vulgar heart,

O, thou fond many with what loud applause,

Did'st thou beat heaven with blessing Bolingbroke.

Before he was what thou would'st have him be.

In the next act Sir John Falstaff is arrested by a catchpole or bailiff in a buff jerkin, which explains the prince's question to him whether a buff jerkin is not a sweet robe of durance. As the Prince and Poins are walking in the next scene, the Prince confesses that he is weary, and owns to a desire for small beer, whereupon Poins replies that a prince should not be so loosely studied as to remember

so weak a composition. "Belike then," says the Prince, "my appetite is not princely, for in troth I do now remember the poor creature small beer." There was a joke current about the Queen's beer in Shakspeare's time, which probably gave rise to the above allusion. Our new acquaintance Forget-not-Tarlton was in great favour with the Queen, and was frequently at the palace, until some of the courtiers said it was a shame for the Queen to be governed by a fool; and he was forbidden to come there again. While he was in favour he made the thinness of the palace beer a frequent subject of his wit. The royal beer, if we may trust his account of it, was not open to the complaint which Burleigh received in 1586, that some of the nobles used beer above the proper strength, as Drowne or Court beer, or Marche beer, to save wine. (Notes and Queries, Jan. 1857, p. 5.) Nor was it equal to that ale we hear of in the Shepherd's play, performed before the Earl of Derby in this City, and which is extolled in the verse—

And *brave ale* of Halton I have
And *whotte meat* I had to my hire,
A pudding may no man deprave,
And a *jaunooke* of Lankastershire.

Hitherto no ladies have been mentioned in the play: but now we are ushered into a room in Warkworth Castle, where the Countess of Northumberland and Hotspur's widow are pleading with the Earl not to join the Archbishop in his rising. At first he hears them impatiently—

I prithee, loving wife and gentle daughter,
Give even away into my rough affairs;
Put not you on the visage of the times,
And be like them to Percy, troublesome.

After this rebuff his wife is silent: but Lady Percy, though she had pleaded with her husband in vain, is now bolder with his father, and will not desist. Mark and compare her character of her noble husband with that given elsewhere of his chivalrous rival the Prince of Wales, and see how by a word she acquaints us with his thick utterance—

Lady P. O, yet, for Heaven's sake, go not to these wars!
The time was, father, that you broke your word,
When you were more endear'd to it than now;
When your own Percy, when my heart's dear Harry,
Threw many a northward look, to see his father
Bring up his powers; but he did long in vain.

Who then persuaded you to stay at home?
 There were two honours lost ; yours, and your son's.
 For yours, may heavenly glory brighten it !
 For his, it stuck upon him, as the sun
 In the grey vault of heaven ; and, by his light,
 Did all the chivalry of England move
 To do brave acts ; he was, indeed, the glass
 Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves.
 He had no legs that practis'd not his gait ;
 And speaking thick, which nature made his blemish,
 Became the accents of the valiant ;
 For those that could speak low, and tardily,
 Would turn their own perfection to abuse,
 To seem like him : So that, in speech, in gait,
 In diet, in affections of delight,
 In military rules, humours of blood,
 He was the mark and glass, copy and book,
 That fashion'd others.

Northumberland, when after hearing Morton to the end, he exclaimed

A scaly gauntlet now with joints of steel
 Must glove this hand,

showed some of his son's fiery haste, but he had none of his chivalrous valour, and to him might have been fitly addressed the reproach which Glendower applied to Mortimer.

In the next scene we are introduced to Ancient Pistol, who borrows both his bombast and its name from that alchemist of many names Philippus, Auriolus, Paracelsus, Theophrastus Bombastes de Hohenheim. In his exclamation, "Have we not Hiren here?" by which he means his sword, which was called after that of Amadis de Gaul, we have an example of his fustian; but what follows, in which he makes Hannibal a cannibal, the Greeks Trojans, and the dog Cerberus a king, exceeds this. He says—

These be good humours, indeed, shall pack horses
 And hollow pampered jades of Asia,
 Which cannot but go thirty miles a day,
 Compare with Cæsars and with cannibals
 And Trojan Greeks ;
 Nay, rather damn them with King Cerberus,

And then he ends with quoting this burlesque from the *Battle of Alcazar*—

Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis.

In the third act, at which we have now arrived, the King, weak and feeble, and sitting on his couch, is comparing it to the

watch box in which a sentry keeps watch over a beleaguered town, and he breaks out into his well-known soliloquy—

How many thousands of my poorest subjects
Are at this hour asleep? O sleep, O gentle sleep,
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down,
And steep my senses in forgetfulness?
Why, rather sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
And hush'd with buzzing night flies to thy slumber.
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,
Under the canopies of costly state.
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody?
O thou dull god, why liest thou with the vile
In loathsome beds; and leav'st the kingly couch
A watch case, or a common larum bell?

He is interrupted by his nobles coming in to discuss the means of meeting the revolt of the Archbishop, which they assure him will be easily subdued.

In the next scene we are in Justice Shallow's quaint old mansion in Gloucestershire. "Who," asks a modern writer, "does not remember its gable end, its gilt vane, its stone shafted oriel, its chimneys of moulded brick with their rich ornaments overgrown with ivy or honeysuckle. Outside is the old terrace with its ivied statues and roses; inside, the old hall with its lozenged floor, stag's horns and quaint old-fashioned pictures." (Thornbury, I., 65.)* The fourth act transports us to Gaultree forest in Yorkshire, where the Archbishop tells his confederates he has received

New-dated letters from Northumberland;
Their cold intent, tenor, and substance, thus:—
Here doth he wish his person, with such powers
As might hold sortance with his quality;
The which he could not levy: whereupon
He is retir'd, to ripe his growing fortunes,
To Sootland: and concludes in hearty prayers,
That your attempts may overlive the hazard
And fearful meeting of their opposite.

* At the commemoration in Trin. Coll., Camb., there was, and perhaps still is, set before every guest after dinner, a roasted apple strewn with caraway seeds, which must remind us of Shallow's proposed entertainment to Falstaff "You shall see mine orchard where, in an arbour, we will eat a last year's pippin of my own grafting with a dish of caraways."

Had the letter which Hotspur received at Shrewsbury, left its infection in the house at Warkworth? Northumberland's letters came in the place of their master, and were ominous.

And here I stay to mention that four of Hotspur's letters, and two of his father's, have been lately printed in the Privy Council proceedings. Two of Hotspur's are dated at Denbigh, and one is dated 10th April, 1401. They are all in French, and unsigned. Hotspur was in arms at the siege of Berwick, at the age of 12, and all his life, he used the sword oftener than the pen.

The King's forcés, led by Westmoreland and Prince John, now confront the forces of the Archbishop, and Prince John addresses the latter—

You, lord Archbishop,
Whose see is by a civil peace maintained ;
Whose beard the silver hand of peace hath touched,
Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutored,
Whose white investments figure innocence
The dove and very blessed spirit of peace :
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself
Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war ?

After a parley, the Archbishop offers a schedule of his demands, and after consultation Prince John answers that he allows them all, and the rebel army then disbands; whereupon the Archbishop and his confederates are then arrested for high treason, an act of perfidy, in which the king must share, and from the stain of which all his and Prince John's fame will not clear their memory.

Immediately after the arrest, the King gave orders to Sir Wm. Gascoigne, to try the Archbishop and Lord Mowbray; but instead of trying them, the intrepid chief justice said, "I am so much beholden to your highness, that all your lawful commands I am bound to obey; but over the life of the prelate I have not, and your highness cannot give me, any jurisdiction, and, for the other prisoner he is a peer, and has a right to be tried by his peers." But a more obsequious judge was found in Sir William Fulthorpe, who placing himself on a throne in the Archbishop's palace, called both the prisoners before him, and without indictment or form of trial, condemned them both to be beheaded, and the sentence was executed accordingly. Talleyrand, standing by the tomb of the Archbishop, and remembering the incidents of his death, exclaimed, "his fate

was just: whoever rises in rebellion and does not succeed, deserves to die. His conduct is worse than a crime, it is a mistake!"

Two years before, the King had been the Archbishop's guest, and consequences not expected followed his legalised murder: for the people, who considered his death a martyrdom, made him a saint; large gifts were offered, and miracles wrought at his shrine, until it was forbidden by a royal ordinance.* A similar attempt to put down miracles by a king of France, gave birth to the Pasquinade—

De part le roi defense a Dieu
De faire miracles en ce lieu!

Falstaff, who about this time falls into a soliloquy about sack, attributes Prince John's dislike of him to his having no fondness for this wine, which was almost as great a compound as the fat knight himself; for we have sherry sack, canary sack, sack and toast, sack and sugar, old sack, burnt sack, mulled sack, and sack with lime in it: according to some it was a mixture either of cyder and sherry, or cyder and canary with sugar in it, and had its name either from the French word, *sec*, dry, the Italian *sacco*, the leather bottle which held it, or from the sequin, the Venetian coin, the price at which it was sold. Canary, one of the wines of which sack was made, had even more meanings than it. When Mrs. Quickly was a little elevated, she was said to be in her "canaries." There was also a dance of that name; one of the best kinds of tobacco was so-called; and canary is still the name of one of our stranger song birds."

In this soliloquy Falstaff seems to assume that Prince John was Duke of Lancaster, but this is a mistake, as he was never so. When Henry IV. assumed the crown, his dukedom of Lancaster, and all his other titles, including that of Baron of Halton, which was part of his duchy of Lancaster, became merged in the crown. But being well aware that, while he held the duchy of Lancaster by an indefeasible title, his right to the crown was most questionable, one of his first royal measures was to obtain an act, that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, in addition to his other titles, should have and bear the title of Duke of Lancaster; and that neither the King's inheritance of his said duchy, nor its liberties, should be changed, transferred, or diminished, through his assumption

* *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 191-5.

of the royal dignity. After this re-grant of the dukedom, the Prince of Wales, in all writs and official acts, constantly styled himself Duke of Lancaster; and on the handsome seal of his lordship of Carmarthen which, is given in the *History of the Castle of Halton, and Priory or Abbey of Norton* (p. 90), he bears the titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.* In the county records there is a memorandum which shows that after the above act, the Prince of Wales became Duke of Lancaster. On 22nd August, 5 Henry IV. says the following record, Master William Swinburne, lieutenant justice of Chester, delivered to John de Capenhurst, mayor, a wain or wagon bound with iron, and two horses, for Henry, the Duke of Lancaster.

There being a lull in the King's sea of troubles he made his will, in which he neither mentions the Virgin nor the saints. It is written in English, and breathes forgiveness of injuries and Christian charity throughout, and except that he founds a chantry, it might have been written by a follower of Wickliffe. John Norbury, probably a Cheshire man, and one of those who sailed with him from Port le Blanc, in Brittany, when he came a "poor unminded outlaw sneaking home," is one of the witnesses.

The King, who is declining in health, is in his palace, and his son Clarence, who was lord of the honour of Hawarden, is with him. The King having asked him of the whereabouts of the Prince of Wales, he makes this answer, "With Poins and other his continual followers." An ungenerous answer, which lessens our regard for his fate at Beaugé, where

Swinton laid his lance in rest,
And tamed of yore the sparkling crest
Of Clarence's Plantagenet.

Westmoreland now entering, brings the King news that the Archbishop and his confederates have been brought to the correction of the law and, their forces dispersed, upon which he exclaims—

O! Westmoreland, thou art a summer bird,
Which ever in the haunch of winter
Sings the lifting up of day.

* In the Inquisition post mortem of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, amongst the Eaton charters (39 Elizabeth), the Queen is styled the Duchess of Lancaster, but, since Henry V., no prince or sovereign, except Queen Elizabeth, has been styled Duke or Duchess of Lancaster.

What bird is it that suggested this beautiful comparison? Out of our 365 British birds the list of our song birds is soon reckoned. They are, the lark, the nightingale, the blackbird, the thrush, the missel thrush, the robin, the wren, the linnet, the goldfinch, the willow wren, and the woodlark. Several birds may prefer a claim to be this "summer bird," as first the winter thrush, of which we read in in the *Lyra Apostolica*—

Sweet bird, up earliest in the morn,
Up earliest in the year,
Far in the quiet mist are borne
Thy matins soft and clear.
As linnet soft, and clear as lark,
Well hast thou ta'en thy part,
Where many an ear thy notes may reach,
And here and there a heart !

And secondly the lark, of which Milton sings,

"Hear the lark begin his flight,
From his watch tower in the skies,
"Till the dappled morn arise."

Broome too thus sings of it,

The lark sweet warbling on the wing,
Salutes the gay return of spring !

Another poet says of it,

Higher, still higher,
From the earth thou springest,
Like a cloud of fire,
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar and soaring ever singest !

But Mrs. Browning in her allusions to the lark is fullest,

Near all the birds
Will sing at dawn, and yet we do not take
The chaffering swallow for the holy lark !

And again in another place

My soul was singing of a work apart,
Behind the wall of sense as safe from harm,
As sings the lark when suck'd up out of sight,
In vertices of glory and blue air.

But of all the birds the lark is that which may be most truly said to sing in the haunch of winter, and to hail the dawn.

More good news now coming in, the King exclaims—

Wherefore should these good news make me sick,
Will Fortune never come with both hands full,
But write her fair words still in foulest letters ?

She either gives a stomach and no food—
 Such are the poor in health ; or else a feast
 And takes away the stomach—such are the rich
 That have abundance and enjoy it not.
 I should rejoice now at this happy news,
 And now my sight fails, and my brain is giddy.

And then he swoons, and that well-known scene follows, in which the King coming to himself, expostulates with the Prince of Wales on his having taken the crown. "Come hither to me, Harry," he says, to which the Prince replies, "I never thought to hear you speak again," and then the King concludes the most eloquent and touching passage of the drama with this advice:—

Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds
 With foreign quarrels ; that action, hence borne out,
 May waste the memory of the former days.
 More would I, but my lungs are wasted so,
 That strength of speech is utterly denied me.
 How came I by the crown, O Heaven forgive !
 And grant it may with thee in true peace live !
P. Hen. My gracious liege,
 You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me ;
 Then plain and right must my possession be ;
 Which I, with more than with a common pain,
 'Gainst all the world will rightfully maintain.

In Shakspeare's time three stages were required to make a complete title at law to land,—actual possession, right of possession, and a right of property and possession,—all which might be acquired by length of time and a descent cast. The Prince in his speech, or the poet by him, clearly shews that he was aware of all these niceties. The King dies shortly after in the Jerusalem chamber.*

* Henry IV, as his son after him, had been filled with the thought of expiating his usurpations by a crusade. His illness meanwhile had grown upon him during the last years of his life, so as to render him a burden to himself and to those around him. He was covered with a hideous leprosy, and was almost bent double with pain and weakness. In this state he had come up to London for his last Parliament. The galleys were ready for the voyage. It was apparently soon after Christmas that the King was making his prayers at St. Edward's shrine, "to take there his leave and speed him on his journey, when he became so sick, that such as were about him feared that he would have died right there." He was carried thence into the Jerusalem chamber in the Abbot's house, where he ultimately died ; and it was there that he was attended by his son, the Prince of Wales, and the scene about the crown took place. (Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 374-375).

And here, having exceeded the space allotted me, I close this paper in the words of a transatlantic admirer of our literature; who says, we learn more of the moral aspect of the reign of HENRY IV from the pages of Shakspeare than from history. Henry wore the crown of England, an anxious and a melancholy man; and while in his accession there was more of craft and less of atrocity than in the Scottish usurper, there were doubtless times when, in the still hours of his sleepless nights, and in the silent chambers of his palace, and in the more secret and silent chambers of his conscience, he felt with guilty sinking of the heart,

Better be with the dead
Whom we to gain our place have sent to peace,
Than on the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstasy



Cleanings from an Old City Church,

BEING A SHORT HISTORY OF THE

PARISH OF ST. PETER'S, CHESTER,
ITS CHARITIES, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, & CHURCH MONUMENTS.

BY

ISAAC ENGLAND EWEN.

HENRY BRADSHAW, a monk of Chester, writing the *LIFE* OF ST. WERBURGH, says that "about 140 years after the sufferings of our Saviour CHRIST, the Christian faith and baptism were promulgated in CHESTER; and that then a Church was here built, and at that time called by the name of STS. PETER AND PAUL. It was the Mother Church and the burial place to all CHESTER, and seven miles beyond, and continued so for the space of 300 years and more." He further related that religion flourished in CHESTER above all cities and towns in the region. The commandments of GOD were observed aright, charity was fervent, increasing day and night; and that in the mother church of ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL all Holy Sacraments were daily ministered.

About the end of the sixth century, Ethelbert, King of Kent, was baptized by St. Augustine, and it is recorded that in gratitude to Almighty God for the royal Christian convert, a special thanksgiving service was held in all the churches of the land dedicated to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Therefore, within the walls of our Chester Church, thanksgiving and praise were offered to GOD for a circumstance, that history showed was productive of the most beneficial results to the country at large.

Other characters now took their part in this historical drama. The Lady ELFLEDA had a saintly friend whose history, life, and character, are familiar to most Cestrians. She loved this friend, and she loved the cause of religion. The expression of her love to ST. WERBURGH was shown in the enlargement of ST. PETER's Church. Some years later, the Lady Elfleda was moved to persuade her royal husband and other Saxon nobles to found and endow a Minster to the honour of this loved Christian friend; and to this end, in a general council of the clergy, and by the consent and assistance of the temporal power, it was resolved to remove into the middle of the city the old church of ST. PETER and ST. PAUL. By this decision we gather that this first of British churches once stood upon the site now occupied by the present Cathedral Church of Chester.

A once eminent Member of this SOCIETY (the late REV. W. H. MASSIE), in a Paper which he read before the members, said that the present Church of ST. PETER was supposed to stand on the site of the Roman *Prætorium* (the part of the camp occupied by the Roman general); for it not only filled the situation of that part of the old camp arrangement, but accounts for the non-continuation of the Bridge-street, which ceased exactly opposite the Church. MR. MASSIE gave further reasons why this should be so, and concluded the argument by stating that, "if any person should chance to be walking in the EATON-ROAD towards CHESTER after dark, he will see right before him the lights on each side of the higher end of Bridge-street, with the illuminated clock of ST. PETER's in the centre. This then was the straight Roman road in all its integrity," and there did not appear any sufficient reason for doubting that, when CHESTER was a Roman encampment, the *Prætorium* occupied the site upon which the church of ST. PETER at present stood.

At the Norman Conquest the Church bore its present name, for it is recorded in the greater Domesday Book that in the time of Robert de Rodelent, HUGH LUPUS, A.D. 1070, claimed for teinland (the land of a thane or nobleman) the ground upon which the Parish Church of ST. PETER stood. This claim was resisted, and the county proved at the trial that it was the property of the burgesses. In the year 1072 the Church received an ecclesiastical gift from Simon, son of Osborn, a bishop of Exeter.

From 1300 to 1538 the Abbots of the Church of St. WERBURGH and the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield were alternately the patrons of the living; and upon examining the admirable Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, I find information respecting three of these early Vicars: thus in 1335 Robert de Coddington, Philip le Procurator of Farndon, with others, enter into a recognizance for 24 marks with JERDAN, Parson of the Church of St. PETER's, CHESTER.

In 1350 there is another gentlemen officiating in our Parish Church, for the record says that ROBERT DE BREDON, Parson of the Church of St. PETER's, is one of the Executors under the will of Bartholomew de Northworthyn, and he, with others, enters into recognizances for £6 7s. 6d. This cleric is again mentioned in 1351, together with Ralph, Abbot of Basingwerk, and again in 1354, with Richard de Coton: and in 1367 Elizabeth, who was the wife of William de Mainwaring, enters into a recognizance with this Parson of St. PETER's and others for £21 6s. 8d. Not only did this gentleman perform the duty of a Parson, but he appears by a record in 1393 to have been actually engaged during his lifetime in money-making occupations; for we are told that John Aston, son of Richard de Aston, kinsman and heir of ROBERT DE BREDON, late Parson of the Church of St. PETER's, CHESTER, and farmer of the mills and fisheries of the Dee, gives to the King a recognizance for £13 11s. 8d., part of the arrears of the same John Aston.

In 1385 JOHN DE HALGHTON, Parson of the Church of St. PETER's, with the Dean of the Church of St. John, receives recognizances from three other gentlemen for the tithes of the sheaves of Guilden Sutton. In 1464 there was among the names of the appointed Vicars of the Church JACOBUS STANLEY, rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill. I specially notice this appointment, for the reason that the name of the cleric is so well known; to show, too, that, four centuries ago, these two city churches were closely connected; and that as in the fifteenth, so in the nineteenth, century the same clergyman had alternately preached the Gospel in the two ancient churches.

In 1538 the last appointment was made by the ABBOTS of St. WERBURGH: but now a stronger than they appeared in the land, and took away their possessions. History records that in their stead,

in 1541, DR. RANDULPH COTGREAVE was made Rector of St. PETER's, receiving his appointment from Roger Brereton, Esq., William Cotgreave, Jun., of Christleton, and Nicholas Newbold, of Ddleston, yeoman, *pro hac vice*; evidently a temporary arrangement until the new Dean and Chapter were fully installed in their allotted estates, advowsons, and revenues. In 1569 the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were in full possession of the appointment, and they retained it until 1593; when it became the gift of Royalty, Queen Elizabeth presenting the living to William Piccocke, *alias* HICCOCK.

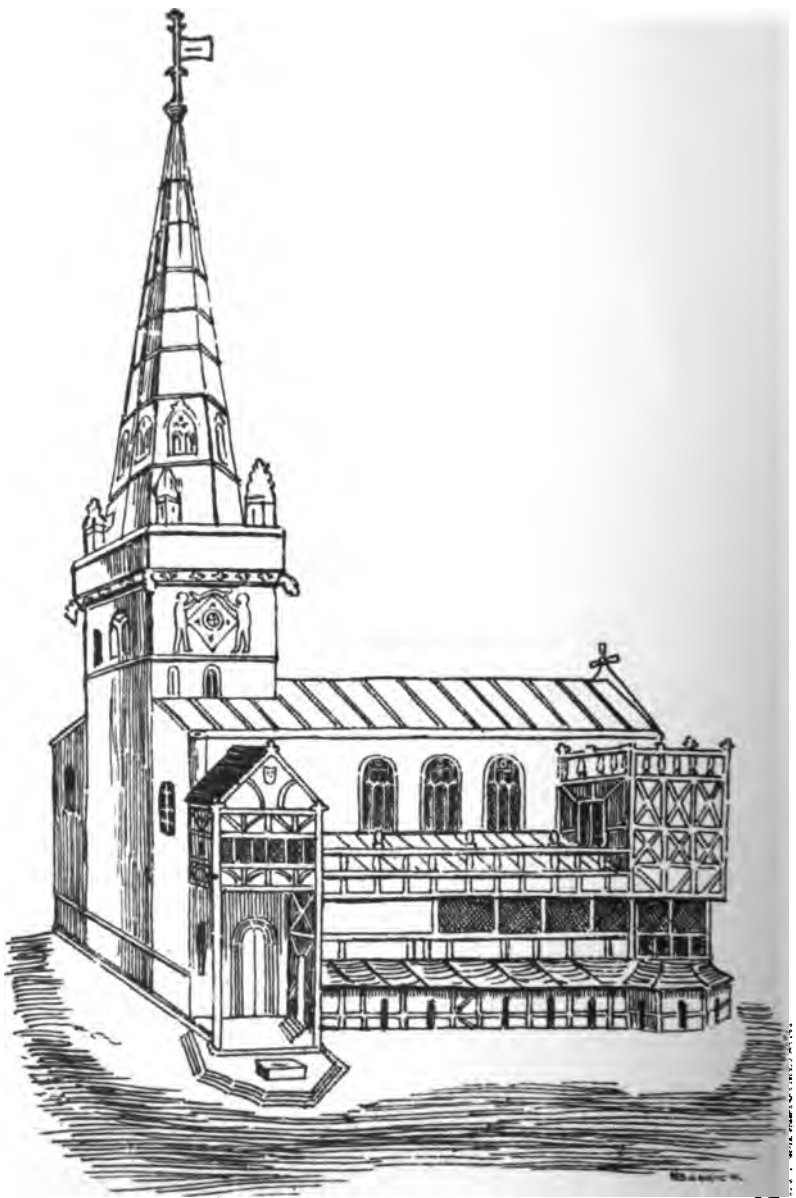
In 1624 it was in the gift of King James, and WILLIAM CASE, M.A., was the rector. *Ormerod* records that in 1627, JAMES RUTHERFORD, M.A., was presented April 12th: but from some cause or other the parishioners, upon the first day of the same year, in Vestry assembled, chose their own Minister, and paid him for the discharge of his ministerial duties. The agreement is as follows:—

“It is this day agreed betwixt me, John Glendole (Clerk) and the Parishioners of this Parish of St. Peter's, in Chester, that Mr. Glendole shall be Minister of the said Parish, to supply the place for reading of Service as formerly it hath been accustomed. In consideration whereof, the Churchwardens of the said Parish for the time being shall pay him the sum of twenty nobles, and by equal payments (that is) thirty-three shillings and fourpence every payment, the first quarter to be due the 25th day of March next. The Minister also to receive the ordinary payment due for Weddings, Churchings, Christenings and Burials. It is further agreed that if the said Mr. Glendole do preach in our Parish Church of St. Peter aforesaid, on every Sabbath day, except sickness or other occasion do hinder him, that the said Churchwardens for the time being shall pay him for his weekly preaching the sum of Twenty Pounds, to be paid likewise quarterly in equal payments, that is Five Pounds every payment, and this agreement to continue and stand good so long as Mr. Glendole doth stay with us and perform accordingly; as witness our hands.

Signed, JOHN GLENDOLE.

JOHN WILDING, }
SAMUEL ROBINSON, } Churchwardens.”

This stipend was regularly paid for sixteen years. The first entry in the accounts for 1643 records that Mr. GLENDOLE received £13 6s. 8d., balance due to him; and in the accounts of the following year these entries appear:—



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ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER

**South Front, shewing the Pentice, and the base of the Cross,
from Randle Holmes Drawing in the 17th Century.**

"Paid Mr. SMITH, our Minister, to make up his wages, Twenty Pounds 6s.;" and again in the same year: "Paid Mr. JOHNSON, Minister, to make up twenty shillings as agreed, 2s. 10d,"—plainly showing that, owing to the siege of the city then in progress, or from some other cause, Mr. GLENDOLE had ceased to be Minister of St. PETER's.

In 1612, through the generosity of a Parishioner (Mr. ROBERT AMERY), St. PETER's Clock was made to strike every quarter of an hour. This gentleman also gave three costly silver cups as prizes for successful races on the Roodeye on St. George's Day. At the beginning of the sports a drum was beaten and a banner displayed on St. PETER's steeple, by his desire; and at the conclusion of the races a sumptuous banquet was given by him in the Pentice Court, which then adjoined the Church. In January, 1627, the Mayor of the City, RICHARD DUTTON, and the Churchwardens, amicably arranged a dispute that had arisen in reference to a pew occupied by the Mayor's sister-in-law, the wife of a previous mayor: the Mayor agreeing to the terms that he as such, and his wife, should occupy a seat upon the north side of the Church upon payment of 8s. per annum, by equal payments of 4s. at Midsummer and Christmas. This arrangement, it is stated, was by general consent of the Parishioners, and for the purpose of preventing future controversy.

In February, 1627, an assessment of the Parish was made; and among the names of the parochial officers appointed, at that time, were those of men who played a conspicuous part in the parish and in the city generally. Among them we may instance Owen Jones, Christopher Blease, Thomas Cowper, and Ralph Burrowes. A memorandum in the parish books about this time shows that pew rents were in force at an early date in our English churches. For in the balance sheet of the Churchwardens setting forth all monies received by them for the use of the parish, a large proportion of income is derived respectively from *Pew Rents*, *Ley Stalls*, placing the Wief (wife), and rent of three shops under the Pentice.

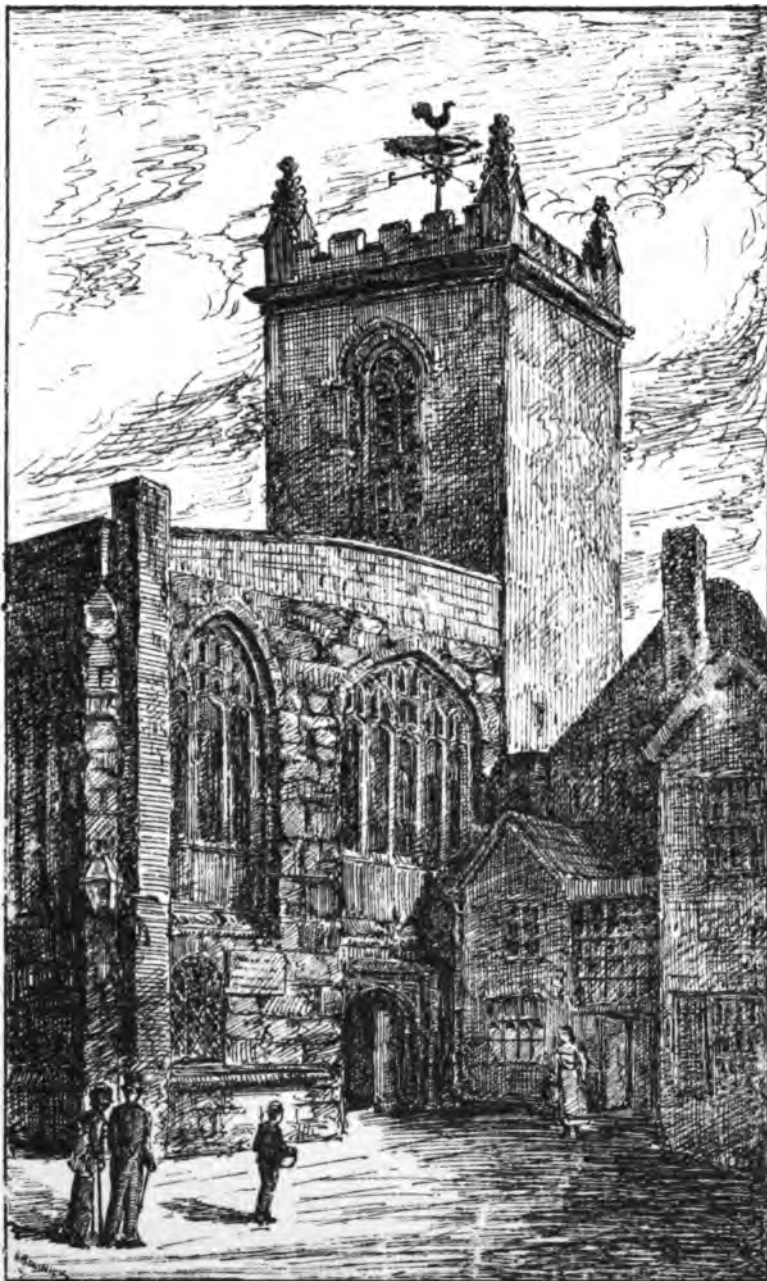
An important Vestry meeting was held in April, 1630; when the parishioners unanimously resolved that the doors opening into the Churchyard (which by courtesy had been allowed to be opened) should for the future be closed, and the Churchwardens were

requested to see that the resolution of the Vestry was fully carried out. It appears, however, that for six years the Churchwardens and their successors were unable to enforce the resolution of the Vestry,—the doors remaining open this way continuing to be a source of annoyance and discomfort to the majority of the parishioners. A special Vestry meeting was accordingly held on November 6th, 1636, and the following resolution was agreed to:—

“That by reason of three private doors (all of them belonging to tippling houses), great abuse and annoyance is done to the Church and Churchyard; which latter is so abused as to become loathsome, so that no person will allow a friend to be buried there, which is to be deplored, as formerly the yard was grown over with grass and was decent and fit for burial. This churchyard in the parish is greatly needed, for the church itself is not large enough for a place of burial for all the parishioners. Not only so, but the way is used through the church and churchyard to the said three houses, to drink wine, beer, and ale on Sundays, holy days, and holidays, and divers persons go through these sacred places to drink at these tap houses. And whereas upon a former occasion these doors were made up by the Churchwardens, and have been violently opened by owners and the tenants of the tippling houses, it is agreed that this vestry empower the Churchwardens to insist upon their resolution.”

This entry in the parish book is signed by thirty-seven of the most influential parishioners, amongst them being the name of THOMAS COWPER, Alderman. This gentleman a few years later stood upon the Phoenix Tower with the unfortunate King Charles while the Battle of Rowton Moor was raging to the eastward of the City Walls. Another signature is that of WILLIAM EDWARDS, who was upon the side of the Parliament, and became a Captain in Cromwell's Army; it was he who seized the Sword and Mace of the City for the Commonwealth (but which after some years' absence were restored). He was also sent down by the Protector to be the first Mayor of the City after its capture by the Parliament.

The year in which Mr. GLENDOLE relinquished his ministry in St. PETER's Church proved an eventful year to the city. Many of her notable citizens perished. The Siege of CHESTER inflicted dreadful hardships upon the inhabitants, heavy taxes upon the clergy, nobility, and the citizens generally. The ancient city plate was melted and converted into coin; and a battle, locally known as “Rowton Moor,” was fought near Christleton, where 100 men, mostly citizens of Chester, were slain.



ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
View from Churchyard

Notwithstanding these troubles, the bells of St. Peter's were joyfully and merrily ringing upon several days, by the Mayor's appointment, in honour of the King's victories, probably the defeat of Fairfax on Atherton Moor. But the rejoicings were of short duration, and at this period of our history we prefer that the curtain of time should cover the wrongdoings of the actors upon each side, and make us forgetful of their sad and tragical end.

From a Tablet in the Vestry, we learn that "Raphe Davies, and Ellis Lewys, were churchwardens from y^e 16th day of Aprell an^o 1637 to y^e 12th day Aprell an^o 1640. in which tyme; the East End of this Church and y^e South Side therof, from y^e window stooles was re-edified, the Roof allmost all new leaded, most of y^e pews were made new, all the rest amended and all y^e iles flagged."

The stormy days of the Commonwealth having passed away, the parishioners again rejoiced and made merry; and in the church accounts for 1660, were charges for ringing the bells upon the King's triumphal entry into London, upon his proclamation, his coronation, and then upon the day of thanksgiving for his Restoration to the throne of England. In the year 1662 GEORGE HALL was consecrated Bishop of Chester, and the parish church bells rang out a merry peal in commemoration of the event. The ringers were paid for their share in the transaction one shilling and sixpence. As a contrast to this expense, we may mention that at a recent occasion for rejoicing in the city, the ringers then employed received the sum of four pounds ten shillings, a curious illustration of the value of money at these distant periods.

About this time a new Font appears to have been erected. The carriage, the loading, and the getting of it into the church, cost the parish 17s. 11d., and a cover was made for it at an expense of 6s. It is probable that this very Font is now stowed away upon the north side of the Church, having been removed from its original position to make way for the present elegant Font, placed in the vestibule of the church by the generosity of a parishioner now living.

The Congregation of St. PETER's are historically generous. A curious illustration of their quality in this respect is on record. Two centuries ago, after the "Great Fire of London," "*an additional*

collection" was made for the relief of the distress occasioned by it; which collection, it is stated, was "*not called for*," and the money was therefore placed by the Churchwardens, in their annual account, to the credit of the parishioners.

The old Church of St. PETER had once a stately Spire, a copy of a drawing of which, by Randal Holme, preserved amongst the Harl. MSS., has already been published in the Society's *Journal*, vol. i., page 302, showing the Rector's house, the Pentice Court, and the position of the HIGH CROSS. (There is an illustration of this famous CROSS, by Randal Holme, in the Harl. MSS., 2073. The upper portion of it is still preserved at Netherleigh, and the shaft is in the grounds of General Yorke at Llangollen.) This spire being in a dangerous and dilapidated condition in 1669, was taken down; and was subsequently rebuilt, the Vestry having agreed to an assessment upon the parishioners to the extent of £110 for that purpose. Mr. Richard Francis, innkeeper, was churchwarden at this time; and during his year of office the income was insufficient to cover the expenditure of the church officers. This was for the most part accounted for by the extra liabilities in connection with the removal of the old Spire. The receipts of this year for general expenses amounted to £39 7s. 5d., and the payments £60 6s. 6d.

There are several entries amongst the items of expenditure, which illustrate very strikingly the change for the better which has taken place in the habits of society. Amongst these are—"Wine and beer for the parishioners after the meeting, when consulting about the steeple"; "wine and beer at divers times with the parson"; "wine and beer with the builder"; "beer at the discharge of a workman"; "beer and ale when the collectors met to consult when 'to goe'"; "drink allowed to workmen"; "beer and wine with Alderman Florriman of Coventry"; "beer at the auditing of accounts"; "wine to drink with Mr. Wright after sermon"; "paid for three quarts of canary, two ounces of almonds, and 'biskitts,' and for two bottles of claret to drink with the Lord Bishop when he preached at our church." Paid for horse hire and *other charges* in going to My Lord Cholmondeleys, for the mason to take down the steeple. And again, paid for *wine and beer at Mr. Francis*, upon the Ascension Day after procession.

These Ascension Processions and "May Pageants," as they were called, were very popular with our ancestors, and were entered upon with great spirit and enjoyment; all the more serious cares of life were for the time being thrown aside, and conviviality and hilarity reigned supreme. The following anecdote, related by Bishop Latimer in one of his sermons, illustrates this statement. "Coming," says he, "to a certain town upon a holiday to preach, I found the Church door fast locked. I tarried there half-an-hour or more, and at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, 'Sir! this is a very busy day with us, *we cannot hear you*. It is "*Robin Hood's*" day!!! and the Parish has gone abroad to gather for *Robin Hood*; I pray you hinder them not!' I was fain therefore to give place to *Robin Hood*. I thought *my rochet* would have been regarded, but not so; it had to yield to *Robin Hood* and his merry men!" This quotation is alluded to by Mr. HICKLIN in a paper entitled "May-day Sports and National Recreations," vol i., page 335 of the *Journal* of this SOCIETY.

Upon the completion of the rebuilding of the Spire of the Church in 1676, and the final payment of all liabilities thereupon, the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish appear to have excited very little attention. There are, notwithstanding, interesting and curious entries made in the Parish Book of Record.

In July, 1672, an inventory was made of goods belonging to the Church. The flagons, the cups, and the plates for the Communion Service are described to be of *peuter*; the carpet is said to be of "Turkey work;" the reading-desk and the pulpit had a cloth and a cushion of a green colour. A *book* in a frame is in the the chancel, and a long white pole for the use of the verger.

Just two centuries ago, the Churchwardens were required to pay the sum of eightpence for the purpose of issuing a proclamation, requiring the strict observance of the day of the Martyrdom of King Charles I. It surely is a matter of congratulation that in our day this fertile means of keeping alive an unhappy circumstance has been abolished by general consent!

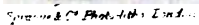
About this time the numerous extra fees for ringing the bells appear at length to have become burdensome to the parish, and at a Vestry-meeting it was unanimously ordered "That the Church-

wardens, for the future, shall not suffer the bells to be rung for any new-made freemen or freeman; unless he or they that would have them rung first pay unto the Churchwardens for the time being, for the use of the Parish, the sum of One Shilling." But, directly after this resolution was passed, the old Church bells are merrily ringing, and the ringers receiving an extra fee upon the occasion of the return of the Lord Bishop from London, and his entrance into the city. This Lord Bishop was none other than Doctor JOHN PEARSON, one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference appointed for the revision of the Liturgy, and to whose memory a handsome monument has recently been erected in the Cathedral Church of our city.

In the year 1682, during the churchwardenship of Messrs. Peter Bennet and William Darwell, there is in the Parish accounts a credit entry of six shillings and eightpence, for a "Ley Stall" in the body of the church for Mrs. Phillips. We specially notice this memorandum, because the deceased lady was the mother of Mrs. SIBEL PHILLIPS, "Spinster," who at her death bequeathed the sum of £40 for the use of the poor of the parish of St. PETER's, and who also, during her lifetime, gave to our Parish Church a portion of the Silver Communion Plate now in constant use with us.

In 1688 the parish record of church officers mentioned that Mr. Benjamin Critchley and Mr. Thomas Chapman were elected churchwardens, and Mr. Richard Adams and Mr. Ralph Hocknell were appointed collectors or sidesmen. This is the first time that "sidesmen" were mentioned in the church register, these officers being called collectors only. It appears to have been their duty to collect the monies assessed for the relief of the poor, and to pay it over to the churchwardens, who in their turn became the distributors of it to any who were in need. Various entries occurred about this date for monies received as fines for profane swearing. The largest fine mentioned was 35s., which was distributed by the churchwardens among the poor of the parish.

In 1689 we have a curious record of a memorial to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, praying him to appoint a minister as a successor to the Rev. WILLIAM THOMPSON; and also recommending to him a fit and proper person for the sacred office. This memorial



ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
Tower Arch

is influentially and numerously signed. It will be in the remembrance of many of the Parishioners that a very similar memorial was presented by deputation to the late Bishop GRAHAM, some twenty years ago; and that the Bishop inquired of the leader of the deputation if he, and the Parishioners acting with him, were aware that the selection of the new Rector was placed in his (the Bishop's) hands? "Certainly we are! your Lordship," was the reply; "but we feel that by coming to you with this request we have performed our duty." The Bishop replied "He was not quite sure but that the deputation had exceeded their duty!" and they withdrew.

A Society was next formed in the city for "the reformation of manners," and a monthly Friday Lecture was set up at St. PETER's to promote this good design. The celebrated Nonconformist, MATTHEW HENRY, appeared to have been a constant attendant upon these Lectures, and many entries in his diary regarding them were very interesting. The Bishop of the Diocese was the first preacher. Then followed Dr. Fogg, the Dean; and Mr. HENRY notes respecting this service:

"I bless God for this sermon; and as I have in my heart forgiven, so will I endeavour to forget, all that he (the Dean) has said against Dissenters, and against me in particular. Such preaching against sin, and such endeavours to suppress it, will contribute as much as anything to heal differences among those who fear God."

The plain speaking and denunciation of all immorality stirred up strife, and many began openly to deride and oppose, and formed parties to act in opposition. The enemies of the movement at last prevailed, and upon the 5th September, 1701, the Dean preached the concluding sermon.

On the 29th November, 1708, it was agreed that the five Bells then in the steeple of the Church should be new cast, and a new bell added to them. About fifty-three years afterwards the Spire of the Church was again repaired, and in 1718 an altar-piece of wood, which cost £34, was placed in the church. It was removed in 1849, when the present altar screen was erected.

At a Vestry Meeting in 1803 it was unanimously agreed, as the Corporation was discussing the necessity of the removal of the old Pentice Court; that it would be a great improvement, in case the Pentice Court was taken down, to remove the old building over the

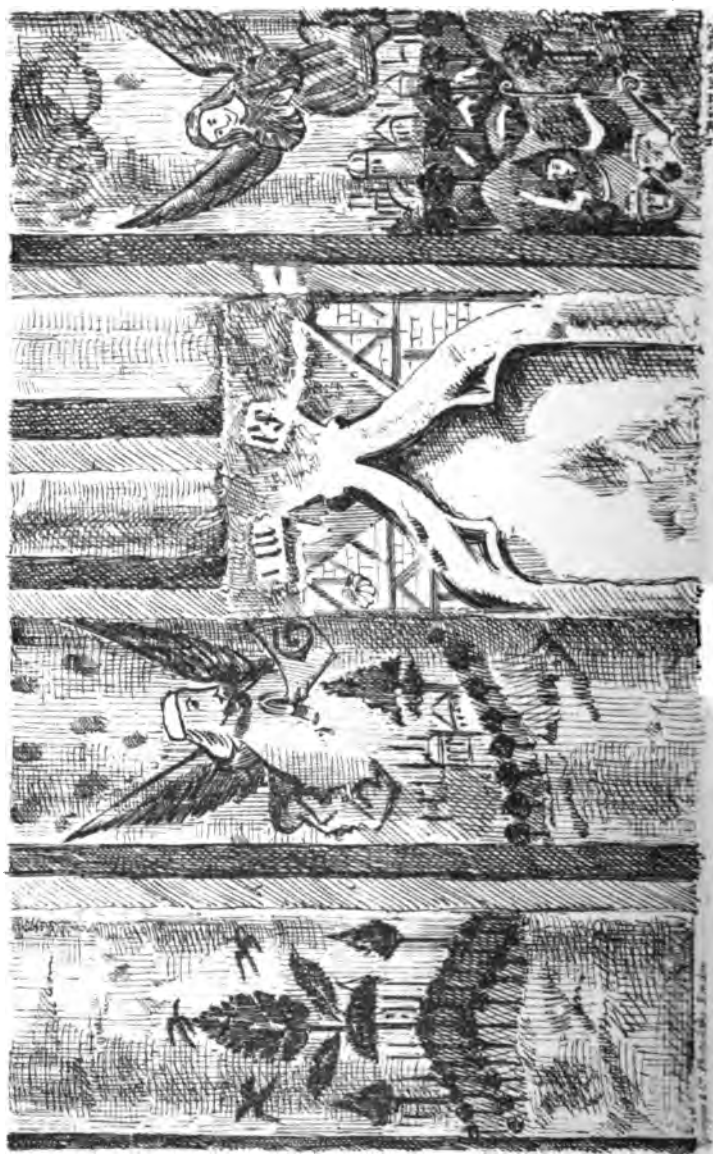
church steps, known as the Rectory House, belonging to the parish of ST. PETER'S. A subscription list, amounting to £158 6s. 6d., was set on foot, while a double church rate produced £71 5s. 9d.: the materials of the old building realized £20 5s., and the Rectory House of ST. PETER'S became a thing of the past. In 1811 the steeple of the Church was again in a dilapidated and dangerous condition, and was once more repaired.

In 1819 the walls of the church were whitewashed, the Vestry was altered, and a proper place made to keep the wine for the use of the Sacrament. In 1820 the loyal parishioners put on mourning for George III.: the Churchwardens were authorized to have the pulpit covered with black cloth as a token of respect to his memory, 10s. being allowed for the tolling of the bell.

Another extra expense was also incurred by the payment of the ringers at the proclamation of George IV.; while, just a year later, the ringers received another gratuity because the Catholic Emancipation Bill was rejected in the House of Commons. Again, at the coronation of the King, laurels, colours, and ringing cost the parish £2 3s. 0d.

In this year, 1820, the CATHEDRAL was undergoing restoration, and a collection was made in ST. PETER'S, on its behalf. The amount stood the third upon the list of collections received from the various parishes.

For several years past there had been complaints respecting the Churchyard and the burials in the Church; and in 1826 the parishioners were in earnest to provide a suitable cemetery for the parish, and desired, at the suggestion of the Bishop, to unite with the parishes of St. Olave and St. Michael conjointly to attain their object. A committee was formed, and presently recommended the purchase of the premises lately occupied by Mr. Orred, situate in the parish of St. John the Baptist, offered for sale; then it was also proposed that the money requisite for purchasing, preparing, consecrating, and rendering the same fit for a Cemetery, be borrowed under the direction of the Lord Bishop from such society in London as he might think most proper. This recommendation to purchase land for a Cemetery appeared to have been disregarded and abandoned. In 1833, the necessity of a new burial ground was



ST PETER'S CHURCH . CHESTER
Mural Painting in Porch
Angels appearing to the Shepherds &c

again discussed, and a letter was read from the Rev. HENRY RAIKES, the Chancellor of the Diocese, in which he directed attention to the subject without loss of time. The question was not finally settled till the formation of a private company in 1850.

In 1849 a new gallery was erected on the south side of the church; the pews were lowered, and a new altar screen placed at the east end. During the process of cleaning, an ancient "Fresco" was discovered upon one of the pillars opposite the Font in the vestibule of the church.

The following description of it, which has been corroborated by high authority, is from the friendly pen of Mr. HARRY BESWICK, of this city, who has supplied the drawings and details in illustration of the Paper :—

"This Fresco is painted upon the south-east pier of the Tower, and faces the principal entrance door of the Church. In this pier there is a niche, with ogee and cusped head originally having crocketed hood mold; but no trace of the carving now remains. A carved stone figure of the Virgin and Child evidently stood in the niche, the general outline of which is at present distinguishable, the stone at the back of the niche having been slightly hollowed out to receive the figure.

"It is around this niche that the mediæval artist has painted the Fresco, and in it he has indicated some of the events that took place at the Birth of our SAVIOUR.

"Over the niche is a Scroll, supported by an Angel, on which the words "Gloria in excelsis Deo!" were once to be clearly deciphered, but which are now almost obliterated; and in the spandrels formed by the head of the niche are painted the timbers of a roof, through which the "Star" may be seen shining—the design thus being to represent the Stable at Bethlehem, in which the Virgin is presenting the CHILD for the Adoration of the Shepherds.

"Upon the right hand we have a picture, showing the Angel of the Lord appearing in the heavens, and announcing to the Shepherds the 'glad tidings of great joy;' and while their flocks are feeding upon the hill sides, the Shepherds are shown wending their way to the lowly stable, one of them evidently being struck with amazement at the glorious sight that suddenly bursts upon him.

"The painting immediately on the left of the niche is partly obliterated; but we may safely conjecture that it has represented the visit of the Magi, coming from Jerusalem to Bethlehem after their interview with Herod; as an important city is pictured in the background, with a hill covered with trees in the mid-distance, but the figures in the foreground are unfortunately indistinguishable.

"Another scene remains for description; but this foreshadows the Crucifixion of our SAVIOUR. On the extreme left of the Fresco a view of Calvary is shown

upon which are three trees, representing the three Crosses, the centre one being much larger and more important than the others; and over these trees are shown three birds flying away, which evidently represent the departing spirits of our SAVIOUR and the crucified thieves. Note the direction taken by the birds: two fly in one direction, while the remaining one—the impenitent thief—takes the opposite course!

"This interesting Fresco measures 5 feet by 3 feet, and is well worthy of careful preservation."

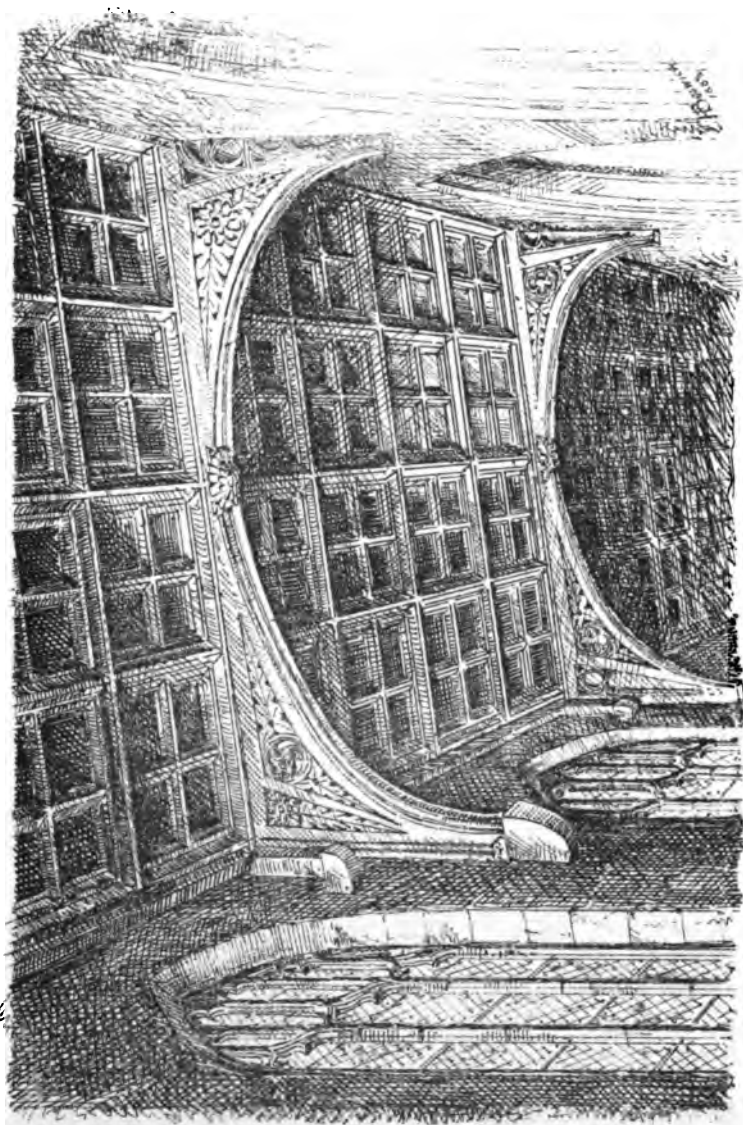
With reference to the interior of the Roof of the North Aisle, Mr. BESWICK says:—

"That portion of the Roof over the West End of the North Aisle is well worthy of attention, and is a good specimen of an open timber roof of the Perpendicular period.

"The Roof is formed of strong framed and moulded beams, with smaller beams framed in between to form panels, and the whole covered with boarding to receive lead. The Roof is supported at intervals by framed principals having arched soffits, the spandrels being filled in with tracery and carved panels, and the centre of the arch ornamented with a carved boss. These principals at one time appear to have been longer, as one end has been cut off to make them fit the span of the roof, thus showing that they were originally intended to be fixed in some other position; but where, remains a matter for conjecture."

In 1817 Sunday Evening Lectures were instituted, and were favourably regarded by all classes of Cestrians. The Vestry decided that the church rate should not be in any respect chargeable with the expenses incurred on account of these Lectures, but that they should be conducted by a committee to be chosen on the first Monday in every year.

CHESTER was one of the first provincial cities that discarded the old-fashioned oil lamps, and adopted the newly-introduced gas lights; and after the evening services at St. PETER's had been held nine months, a Vestry Meeting was held on the 14th September, 1818, when it was unanimously agreed that the Church should be at once lighted with gas for the Evening Lectures. On Sunday evening, October 25th, the church was lighted with gas for the first time, and the Dean preached to a congregation which crowded the building to inconvenience. The Lord Bishop of the Diocese and several of the clergy of the Cathedral were present, and also Lord Kenyon. All the aisles and the approaches to the church were crowded, and great numbers attempted in vain to gain admittance. A collection was made in aid of defraying the expense of lighting the church with gas, and a sum of £76 was received.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
Roof of North Aisle

George & Paul 1863 London



The Church was re-opened on Friday, August 31st, 1849, with two full choral services, at which Mr. Gunton and the Cathedral Choir very kindly gave their efficient aid.

Ten years after this the Rev. F. FORDE resigned his living, and he was, after the lapse of some months, succeeded in 1856 by the Rev. JOHN WATSON. He in his turn ceased to be Rector of St. PETER's. In 1861, by a very singular coincidence, the Rev. F. FORDE was again instituted as the Rector of St. PETER's. In 1874, he again resigned the living to become the Chaplain of St. John's Hospital, and was succeeded by the present Rector, the Rev. J. H. ACHESON.

It remains now to record a few facts about the CHARITIES of the church. The LEGACIES at present belonging to the parish are as follows:—

“Two-thirds of the pew rents of the north gallery; Crompton's legacy of £29, accruing from rent of land in Kinnerton. The parish of Dodleston is entitled to half of this legacy, so that the poor residents of St Peter's parish receive annually in coal, clothing, and provisions, the sum of £14 10s. .

Brereton's legacy of £2 8s. 4d., received from the City Treasurer upon the 23rd April in each year. The rector is entitled to £1 18s. 4d., and the poor receive 10s.

Cowper's legacy, paid by the Duke of Westminster, being a rent charge upon the Talbot Inn, now forming part of the Grosvenor Hotel. The gift provides one loaf each to twelve poor persons who have regularly attended Divine Service in St. Peter's Church on the Lord's Day.

Offley's legacy, payable at Easter, is an annual gift of £1 5s. to the rector, and £3 15s. equally divided between the poor of the parishes of St. Peter, St. Oswald, St. John, and St. Michael.

Bennett's legacy of £1 12s., annually received at Christmas for the benefit of the poor of the parish. It is a rent charge upon land belonging to the Duke of Westminster at Whitby.

Witter's legacy of £1 per annum is also a rent charge upon property in Bridge Street Row West, and is paid by Mr. Wakefield.

Mrs. Sibel Phillips, spinster, left £20 for a flagon and cup for the Communion Service; these are still the property of the parishioners, and are in the care of the churchwardens.”

There is a well-founded supposition, that the north gallery was erected and paid for by monies left for charitable uses; and there has always been in force, since its erection, a charge of two-thirds on the income derived from the letting of the pews,—and the money

obtained by this charge is appropriated to the relief of the poor of the parish. From the records of the Church it has been ascertained that in October, 1730, the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners unanimously agreed to pay four per cent interest for the several charitable legacies left to the poor of the parish since 1672 (and which legacies had been appropriated as before-mentioned). The payments were to be made quarterly, and distributed by the churchwardens and their successors for ever. The following is a list of the Charities thus appropriated:—

William Darwell, of the city of Chester, glover, left to the poor of St. Peter's parish £40, the interest of the sum to be given to them yearly for ever, being poor housekeepers.

Mr. Francis Finchett, late of the city of Chester, apothecary, by his last will gave to the poor of this Parish the sum of £5 to be put forth at interest, and the interest to be yearly paid for ever to the poor upon every Good Friday.

Mrs. Helena Salmon, of this city, by her last will left £10, the use of it to be paid to the poorest of this Parish, at the direction of the Churchwardens for the time being, upon every 10th day of April annually for ever.

Mr. Peter Cotton, attorney, left £10, the interest thereof to be distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens upon every Christmas Day, amongst twenty poor house keepers of this Parish. Joseph Massey, Jno. Wrench, Churchwardens.

Mr. Isaac Hollins, late of Wolverhampton, by his last will left the sum of £10, the interest to be paid to the poor of this Parish annually for ever.

Mr. Timothy Dean, by his last will left the sum of £25, the interest to be paid to the poor of this Parish annually for ever.

Mr. John Cowles, of the city of Chester, innholder, by his last will and testament left to this Parish of St. Peter's the sum of £20, to be set forth to poor and indigent widows, the interest to be distributed amongst such at the direction of the Churchwardens, and to none other poor.

Mrs. Margaret Cowles, relict of the said John Cowles, did bequeath the sum of £10 to be set forth; the interest to be distributed yearly on St. Thomas's Day, amongst the poor widows in this Parish of St. Peter's, such as do not actually go abroad to beg relief.

Mrs. Ann Burroughs, widow, of the city of Chester, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £5, the interest of the said sum to be paid them yearly at Christmas for ever.

Mr. Nathaniel Bradburn, of the city of Chester, gent., gave, on January 27th, 1698, to the poor of Saint Peter's Parish the sum of £5, to be put out by the Minister and Churchwardens, the interest to be paid every Ascension Day, for ever.

Mrs. Sidney Whitley of this city, spinster, left £20, the interest thereof to twelve poor women housekeepers of this Parish, to be distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens every half year, viz., at Lady Day and Michaelmas Day, for ever.

Mrs. Sibel Phillips, spinster, left £40 to the poor, the interest thereof to be every year distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens.

These last twelve Legacies, given by charitable people for the relief of the poor, exactly correspond in amount, viz., £200, to the sum mentioned as being appropriated to the erection of the North Gallery.

Unfortunately there are other Bequests which are irrecoverably lost. The statements regarding them, as recorded in the Vestry Books, are as follows:—

Matthew Anderton, of this city, gentleman, who died the 7th of November, 1693, left 30s. per annum for ever to six poor persons, to be given the first Sunday in every month, after the manner as twelve others have by Mr. Offley's last will and testament; the clerk and sexton 6d. monthly. Matthew Anderton was the Sheriff of Chester in 1650, and Mayor of the city in 1680.

John Vernon, Esq., merchant of the Staple, citizen of London, born in this city, left to the Minister of St. Peter's, for preaching on Sunday in the afternoon, £1 13s. 4d. yearly for ever, payable by the Treasurers of the city

Mr. Partington left £10, the interest to be paid by the Churchwardens of St. Peter's to their poor yearly for ever.

Thomas Hallwood, of this city, yeoman, by his last will and testament on August 8th, 1672, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £30, the interest, 30 shillings, payable every Candlemas Day for ever. The Churchwardens and Overseers to take account of it.

Samuel Bucke, Doctor of Physic, born in this Parish, by his last will and testament bearing date November 14th, 1674, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £60, the interest thereof to be received by the Churchwardens, and by them to be paid yearly to the poor of the said Parish for ever.

There are also in the possession of the Churchwardens several interesting documents written upon parchment, relating to some of the aforesaid legacies given to the parish of St. Peter. One is dated 1574, Cowper's is dated 1695; a lease of the property at Kinnerton to Mr. Arthur Walley, signed by himself, *Henry Crompton*, and Valentine Shorte. This lease is dated June 2nd, 1658, There is also another legacy given by William Wright and Daniel Greatbache, attested to on behalf of Daniel Greatbache by Valentine Gamul, Charles Ravenscroft, George Bulkeley; on behalf of William Wright, by George Bulkeley, Charles Ravenscroft, Randle Bennett. There is, too, a joint legacy signed by Thos. Cowper and John Aldersey. It is ordered that it may be distributed upon St. Michael's Day and the day of Annunciation. Witnessed by Ralph Burroughs, Sampson Shelley, Thomas Halliwell.

In an inventory of the "things now found belonging to the Church," which is dated July 22nd, 1672, there is enumerated—"a bond for Mr Partington's legacy—a copy of Thomas Hallwood's legacy to ye poore of St. Peter's Parish, being ye interest of £30, which is 30s. per annum. Ye said copy is kept in ye black box. A copy of Mr. Samuel Bucke's will, wherein is given to ye poore of St. Peter's Parish ye interest of £60, which is £3 12s 0d per annum. Ye said will is kept in ye black box."

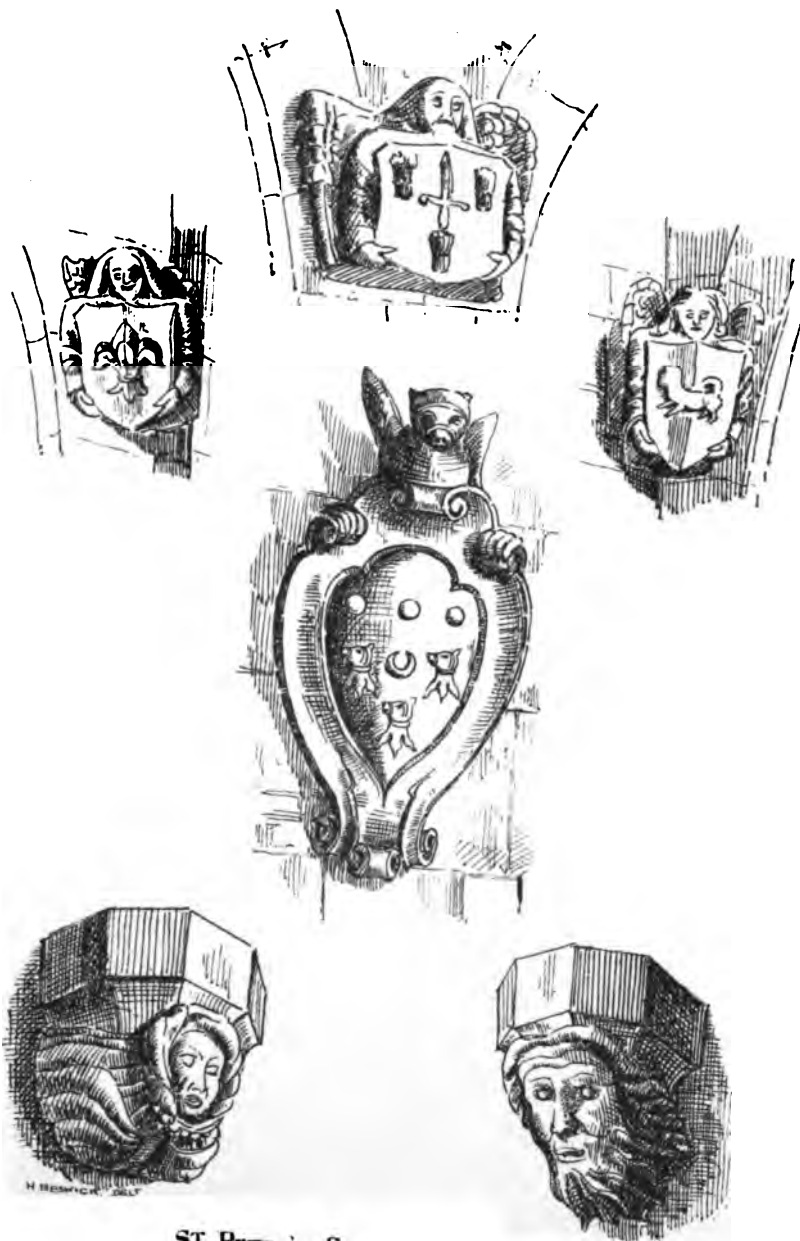
These Charitable bequests remind us that all true benevolence is a part of our common humanity and also of our Christianity. Benevolence often arises from sympathy, just as "iron sharpens iron." So is a man made sympathetic by contact with suffering and want. Our forefathers (under a less favoured system of Poor Law relief), were daily brought face to face with the ills their poorer brethren suffered: and hence, as it appears, they were prompted when old, or ill, or dying, to bequeath a task to their executors and friends, which, if with their own hands they had performed when living, would have been to them a source of comfort and of joy. It oftentimes too partook of the nature of a free-will offering of love to Christ, performed whilst the donor of the gift was yet alive. It would be well for all to remember that although this almsgiving is by the Gospel enforced upon all Christian people, it is no new law, but a repetition and developement of the old.

The following extract from page 375 and 376 of the Report of the Commissioners sent to CHESTER to enquire into the Charities of the City, and some of which Charities are connected with St. PETER's Church are very interesting, and will not be out of place here.

BRERETON'S LEGACY.

John Brereton, by his will bearing date the eighth day of August, 1631, gave and devised his Close by Flookersbrook, called 'Flookersbrook Field,' to his loving wife for her natural life; she paying yearly, out of the rents, issues, and profits thereof, the sum of £5, which he willed and devised to be paid, and distributed, in manner and form following, that is to say, to

20 poor persons of St John's Parish	...	...	...	20s.
20 poor persons of the Parish of Barrow	...	...	...	20s.
10 poor persons of St. Werburgh's Parish	...	...	...	10s.
10 poor persons of Trinity Parish	...	...	...	10s.
10 poor persons of ST. PETER's Parish	...	...	...	10s.
10 poor persons of St. Mary's Parish	...	...	...	10s.
5 poor persons of St. Michael's Parish	...	...	...	5s.
5 poor persons of St Bridget's Parish	...	...	...	5s.
10 poor persons of the Parish of Tarvin	...	...	...	10s.



ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
Details of Corbels &c

Synge & Co. Photo. Lith. London.

which said sums were to be paid yearly to the several Churchwardens of the said Parishes, who at such times and days as they with the advice of the several Parsons or Curates of the said parishes should yearly and every year for ever, distribute and pay upon every Friday next after St. George's Day, the said several sums to the said poor people, according to his intent and meaning therein. And, after the decease of his said wife, he further gave and devised his Close aforesaid, called the 'Flookersbrook Field,' unto the Mayor and Citizens of Chester and their successors for ever; upon *trust and confidence* that they should yearly well and truly pay and satisfy the said sum of £5, in such manner and form as he devised the same to be paid by his wife. He also further willed and devised that all the rest and residue of the rents and profits of the said Close, over and besides the sum of £5 formerly devised, should yearly and every year be duly paid and satisfied by the said Mayor and Citizens, for and toward the Maintenance and Exhibition of the 'Friday Lecture' at *St. Peter's Church* within the same City; the same to be yearly paid to the Lecturer there for the *time being*, at and upon every Friday next following St. George's Day.

Unfortunately for the Lecturer of St. PETER'S Church, "the *trust and confidence*" were misplaced!

There is no Evidence to shew the quantity of the Close, nor could the Commissioners in their endeavours to trace it, find any document which set forth the field and its abutments. The field has been alienated by the Corporation; and it is presumed that the fee farm rent, reserved by the following instrument, was the value of the Close at that period.

By Indenture dated March 26th, 1712, the Mayor and Citizens of Chester, —in consideration of the surrender of a former lease of the Field or Parcel of Land thereafter mentioned, for three lives and 21 years after, as of the sum of £8 fine; and in consideration of the yearly rent hereafter mentioned,—granted, bargained, sold, resealed and to perpetual fee-farm betook unto John Clayton of Hoole, in the County of Chester, Gardener,—all that field, pasture, or parcel of land with its appurtenances, situate lying and being near Hoole Rake, in the County of Chester, commonly called and known by the name of 'Flookersbrook Field,' late in the tenure or holding of Catherine Oulton, widow, and then in the possession or occupation of the said John Clayton; together with all ways, &c., to hold unto the said John Clayton, his heirs and assigns, to the use and behoof of the said John Clayton, his heirs and assigns for ever, under the clear yearly rent of £6 13s. 4d. payable at Midsummer, or quarterly by equal portions.

At an Assembly holden on the 20th day of June, in the 6th year of William and Mary, it was ordered that Mr. PETER NEWTON, Rector of St. PETER'S parish within this city, should have and receive yearly during the pleasure of the House, the sum of 5 nobles (which sum was formerly given by this House to Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON, late Parson of the said Parish) yearly out of Mr. BREWSTER'S Legacy, the first payment whereof to begin and be made upon St. George's Day then next.

The following is an extract from what is stated to be the evidence of the Town Clerk:—

"John Brereton's legacy was a sum of £6 13s. 4d., made payable annually to charitable objects, out of a Close at Flookersbrook, which was devised in 1681 to the Mayor and Citizens of Chester for that purpose. The only trace of the Corporate property in this Close during living memory has been (what is here termed) a chief rent issuing out of it, of the precise amount of £6 13s. 4d. This was sold a few years since by the Corporation, with several other chief rents, upon the usual terms of 20 years' purchase, in order to raise money to build the new markets (the present Shambles, about 1828). This sum of £6 13s. 4d. is distributed yearly by the person appointed for this purpose by the Corporation from their funds. £1 13s. 4d. is given to the rector of St. Peter's, instead of what ought to have now been a much larger residue from the increased value of the lands near this city,—that is to say, if the Lecturer of former times and the Rector of the present day are identical. The remaining £5 is given according to the directions contained in the Will, viz., to the several churchwardens, about St. George's Day. This is why the money is received in some of the parishes by the name of "St. George's Money." This "Flookersbrook Field" is now called "BISHOP'S FIELDS," and was recently owned by the late Mr. Faulkner; and when any portion of it is sold it is described in the title deeds as 'Flookersbrook Field.'"

Again, upon page 389 of the same record, occurs the following, in reference to another Legacy given to the Parish of ST. PETER'S:

Alderman Henry Bennett, by will bearing date February 17th, 1708, left the sum of £25, the interest thereof to be paid by his executors to twelve poor widows of St. Peter's Parish every Christmas. There is a sum of £1 12s. per annum, issuing from lands at Whitby, in the county of Chester, the property of the Marquess of Westminster. It is paid to the Churchwardens and distributed on Christmas Day, in sums of 2s. 8d. each to twelve poor widows. It is conjectured that Alderman Bennett's Legacy was never paid over to the Parish of St. Peter, but remained as a charge upon the real estate of the family, paying more than the usual interest. The estate at Whitby, now the property of the Marquess of Westminster, formerly belonged to Alderman Bennett, and there is no question that the annual payment above-mentioned originated in the bequest of £25, as recorded in the Parish Church Books.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

The BURIAL REGISTERS of this Parish Church date back to 1559, and they appear to have been kept with regularity and neatness. Within the walls of the Church lie buried those who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and are now forgotten in the city, where they individually acted their little part in the drama of life; and the slight knowledge we have of

them is gathered from the Inscriptions kind and loving friends have placed upon their monumental tablets. Reflecting upon these records, we are constrained to quote the words of the Preacher, and to forcibly realise their applicability and truthfulness, viz. :—
 “That the dead which are already dead, are more *praised*, than the *living* which are *yet alive*.”

THE MONUMENTS in St. PETER'S Church are not numerous, but are of great interest; many of them are mentioned, and some given in full, in the 2nd Vol. of HEMINGWAY'S *History of Chester*, pp. 89-90.

There is upon the North-east wall a marble shield, without inscription, bearing the charge of “three muzzled bears' heads erased *gules*, and a crescent.” This monument, I conjecture, belongs to the Breretons, an old Cheshire family, who were connected with the Parish of St. Peter's, and whose crest is a muzzled bear out of a ducal coronet, but this latter emblem is wanting in the shield. It has also been suggested that it might possibly belong to Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms in the 16th century. *

Adjoining this shield is a marble monument decorated with a bust of GULIELMUS WALL. This gentleman was Sheriff of the City in 1571, and Mayor in 1586. The inscription is in Latin, which, roughly translated, says “he died in the year of the Incarnate Word 1588. He was a magistrate; was of honest parentage, from Helsby, Frodsham; a member of the Common Council; a grave man, of polite manners; a companion of the best; a friend of all, he was himself frugal; but he was liberal in public matters,—prodigal to the poor. An admirer placed this monument in memory of his many virtues.”

Upon the same East wall is also placed a monument to a native and physician of Chester (Dr. Jonathan Cotgreave), a great benefactor to the Chester Charities. He lies buried in the Eastern aisle.

Upon the South side of the Church a marble monument is erected to the memory of Alderman Humphrey Page. He was Sheriff in 1700, filled the civic chair in 1707, and died April 21st, 1711, aged 54.

* The Editor thinks this so-called Brereton shield really belongs to the adjoining monument to WILLIAM WALL, whose arms were, heraldically described, “*argent*, three bears' heads erased *gules*, muzzled *or*; in chief as many pellets, a crescent *azure* in the fess-point for difference.”

Upon the same side is a brass tablet to the memory of four children of Roger Massey, which tells us as to the whereabouts of the vault. A versified inscription to one of them runs as follows:—

“Beneath a sleeping infant lies,
To earth whose ashes lent,
More glorious shall hereafter rise,
Though not more innocent.
When the Archangel's trump shall blow,
And souls and bodies join,
What crowds will wish their lives below
Had been as short as thine!”

Alongside of this tablet is a Monument of alabaster erected “to the memory of EDWARD BRADSHAW, Esq., who by his first wife Susannah, daughter and heir of Christopher Blease, of this City, Alderman, had twelve children; and by his second wife Mary, relict of the celebrated Mr. Christopher Love, had seven children. He was exemplary for his piety and charity when living; and departed this life the 31st October, 1671, in the 67th year of his age, having five of his children yet alive. To continue whose memory, his son and heir, Sir James Bradshaw, of Risby, in the East rideing of the county of York, has erected this monument.”

Edward Bradshaw was Sheriff in 1636, and Mayor of the City in 1647, and again in 1653. It is embellished at the top with the figures of three sleeping angels, and at the foot with the emblem of our mortality, “a skull.”

Upon the West wall is a marble Monument (which was originally placed upon a pillar in the middle aisle) to the memory of “Mrs. Ursula Bradshaw, youngest daughter of Sir James Bradshaw, Kt., and of his lady, who was sole daughter and heir of Edward Ellerker, of Risby, in the County of York, Esquire, who died at Chester, 18th September, 1731, *ætat.* 43; and desiring to be buried near her grandfather, her affectionate brother, Ellerker Bradshaw,” in memory of her many virtues, erected this monument.

In the Gallery, fixed upon the North wall, is a monument in memory of Henry Bennett, Esquire, of this City. It is related that he was

“A Magistrate who ruled with dignity and justice; a Merchant who improved and extended its commerce; a lover of his country and a friend of mankind; a servant of God, zealous, with knowledge. He died Nov. 26, 1747.”

During the alterations of the Church in 1847 some of the monuments were removed from their original position; and in the Vestry there is a wooden tablet to the memory of THOMAS COWPER. This is, historically, and from a local point of view, one of the most interesting relics remaining in the Church. It is inscribed as follows :—

"Here lyeth the bodyes of THOMAS COWPER, of y's citty, esquier, alderman and justice of peace, maior 1641. He died 19th day of July, 1671, aged 76 yeares; and alsoe of CATHERINE, his wife, daughter of Thomas Throppe, of the saide citty of Chester, alderman and justice of peace. She died 29th of May, 1672, aged 72 yeares. They had issue five son'es and two daughters, of which three sons and one daughter survived them."

The good Citizen and Mayor thus modestly commemorated was none other than he "who put down the drum, and beat the drummer," on that day when the first public mark of disaffection showed itself in the streets of Chester; and it was he, too, who stood with King Charles on the top of the Phoenix Tower, to witness the disastrous fight upon Rowton Moor, on September 27th, 1645.

Upon the North wall there is a monument of white and grey marble to the memory of a Shrewsbury School-boy. The inscription is written in Latin by the late Dr. Butler, Head-Master of the School. Alongside is a monument to the memory of Thomas Cowper. The inscription, which is in Latin, says :—

Whosoever thou art
who readest this, know that this is
THOMAS COWPER,
a citizen of CHESTER, who, while he lived, lived a good
citizen, a careful father of his family,
Useful to his friends, kind to his kinsfolk, at the same time temperate,
just, pious, merciful.
And (what I would that thou shouldest also know) for the two sons
whom he left,—both while he lived, & at his death,—
He made the best provision: the eldest of whom, therefore, caused this
marble which thou see'st to be set up, as a monument of his filial love.
He died on the 27th day of November, in the year 1695,
Aged 71 years.

In the South Aisle is an elegant monumental brass. The tablet which could give any information regarding it has been removed. It had been my earnest wish to substantiate a theory that this

effigy represented Mr. Robert Townshend, a Sheriff of the City 200 years ago, who died during his year of office, and was buried in the vault over which the brass is now placed. I regret, however, for many reasons, that I am compelled to abandon this theory; as several gentlemen who are authorities on brasses and all antiquarian research, and amongst them Augustus W. Franks, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and Keeper of the Mediæval Collection of the British Museum, have pronounced the brass to represent a lawyer of the time of Henry V. of a very rare type.

Upon a brass tablet at the East end of the Church is the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of MARTHA, wife of PETER BENNETT, Alderman, of this City;—

Reader, if thou hast a tear,
Thou canst not choose but shed it here;
Here lyes modesty, meekness, and zeal,
Goodness, piety, and to tell
Her worth at once, she that had shewn
All virtues that her sex could own.
Nor would my praise too lavish be,
Lest her dust blush, for so would she.

Obit. xi. January, Anno Domini 1688." *

There are two marble monuments at the West end of the Church in memory of the Grandson, and of three of the Great-grandchildren of the celebrated Nonconformist Divine, PHILIP HENRY. These tablets testify to the true nobility and worth of those descendants of the Puritan preacher:—

"In memory of Dr. THOMAS TYLSTON, a learned and able physician of this town. He was born on Lady Day, 1688, and died January 9.h, 1746. Also ABIGAIL, his wife, January 14th, 1741.

Also, Dr. JOHN TYLSTON, their son, who, whether as a physician or a man, had no superior. His skill in medicine was not exceeded but by his benevolence, which had no bounds. He willingly attests this, who had full experience of both. He was born August 22nd, 1725, and died universally lamented June 22nd, 1764.

CATHERINE, daughter of Dr. THOMAS TYLSTON, whose many amiable qualities are attested to by the sincere sorrow of many surviving friends. She died February 6th, 1769.

* The aforesaid Peter Bennett was Churchwarden in 1688.

Few examples can better instruct us how low a value is put in the eye of Providence on a continuance in mortal life, and that the reward of virtue is immortality."

The second tablet records:—

"Here lies MARY TILSTON, the last surviving daughter of THOMAS TILSTON, M.D. She died May 4th, 1797, aged 80, having sustained through life the respectable character which distinguished her family."

The following is an Epitaph in praise of one JACKSON, Clerk of St. PETER's, who died on Saturday, the 29th of March, 1823, aged 85 years. The author of this epitaph was Mr. John Venables, son of a former master of the Chester Blue Coat School:

"Freed from his length'ned service upon earth,
Beyond the reach of loose, irreverent mirth,
Old Jackson's spirit joyful sings above
His Maker's praise, His mercy and His love.
The body here reclines in mouldering state,
Nor 'scapes the certain universal *fate*.
I knew him well—a Parish Clerk was he,
A better ne'er received a burial fee;
And for a long and sonorous "Amen,"
We ne'er shall look upon his like again.
He read so well that it was oftentimes said
The parson's laurels trembled on his head.
The critics say, indeed, he read too loud,
For of his reading he was justly proud;
And this inclined rash judges to conclude
He meant a competition that was rude.
But no, Clerk Jackson's knowledge of his place
Such flimsy charges would at once outface.
At chiming in or giving out a Psalm
From Parish Clerks he bore away the palm;
And when he died, 'tis said the evening bell
Was tongue-tied, and refused to ring his knell!
His lip was scornful, and his look full stern,
Which puzzled some his character to learn;
But skilful Physiognomists would say
That much benevolence within him lay.
But what avails this unrequested praise
Of one whose virtues parallel'd his days,
Unless to warn the juvenile and gay
That even he was subject to decay;
For tho' 'mong graves so many years he pass'd,
Old Death, grown testy, thrust him in at last!"

Of her personal appearance no more is known than that she was a handsome woman. The only statue or portrait of her on record was a little brass statuette which stood seventh in the row of those placed on that North side of the tomb of QUEEN PHILIPPA, in Westminster Abbey, now worn perfectly smooth.*

As regards her failings, one stands out prominently on every membrane of her royal father-in-law's *Issue Rolls*,—that the moment money touched her hands, it melted away in a most inscrutable manner. Whatever were the amount of her income—and it was always ample—a month after quarter-day ELIZABETH was certain to be penniless!

The 'Irish Princess' was not devoid of royal blood in her own veins. She was the heir of the eldest branch of the great House of De Burgh, which asserted an *unproved* descent from Charlemagne and from Hugh Capet; and could prove descent, in the female line, from King EDWARD I., as well as from the De Clares of Gloucester. The genealogical table I have prepared will make this clear; and it also shows the descendants of ELIZABETH herself down to the point where her line merged finally in the Royal Family, by the marriage of Anne Mortimer with RICHARD, EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

To WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER, history attributes a fine and amiable character. So much can hardly be said of his wife, MAUDE of Lancaster; for she was not only of a timid and irresolute disposition, but of a complaining, querulous temper. Their only child, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, was born in Ireland,—perhaps at Carrickfergus Castle,† which was her father's—on the 6th of July, 1332.§

The first event of the child's life was orphanhood. WILLIAM DE BURGH died, not by the visitation of God, but by the enmity of man. He was murdered in a family feud, which almost possessed the character of an agrarian outrage. His uncle Edmund fell with him. Seven years later, their cousins, Edmund and Raymond de Burgh, were pardoned "for the death of Edmund, son of Richard de Burgh, and for all other their crimes, except for the offence

* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, I., Part 2, p. 124.

† Granted to Earl William Nov. 15, 1328.—*Rot. Pat.* 2 Edw. III., Part 2.

§ *I. P. M. Willielmi Com. Ulton'*, 7 Edw. III., 39.

Elizabeth, Duchess of Clarence.

BY

MISS EMILY S. HOLT,

OF STUBBYLEE, BACUP.

Seven of the nine daughters-in-law of EDWARD III. are familiar names to those who love to wander in the byeways of history. JOAN, "the Fair Maid of Kent," the LOLLARD PRINCESS OF WALES,—the beautiful VIOLANTE OF MILAN,—BLANCHE OF LANCASTER, sung by CHAUCER,—CONSTANCE OF CASTILLA, loser and winner of a crown,—KATHERINE SWYNFORD, loftiest of sinners,—ISABEL OF CASTILLA, another misjudged LOLLARD,—and ELEANOR BOHUN, the strong-minded daughter of a stronger-minded mother!

But the other two are known by little more than name; and these are, ELIZABETH OF ULSTER, first wife of LIONEL OF ANTWERP, DUKE OF CLARENCE,—and JOAN DE HOLAND, second wife of EDMUND OF LANGLEY, DUKE OF YORK. How far JOAN DE HOLAND was worth knowing may perhaps be questioned; for her character and temper were scarcely attractive: but the object of this Paper is to introduce to the nineteenth century ELIZABETH DE BURGH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER and DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, with especial reference to those points of her life and death which connect her with the County Palatine of CHESTER.

This lady is the more remarkable, since she was the only Irishwoman on whose head ever rested the fleur-de-lis coronet of a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. And an Irishwoman she was, even more in disposition than by descent. Her temperament was thoroughly Celtic,—fervid and impulsive, loving and affectionate, generous even to the detriment of justice, and entirely regardless of consequences.

At Antwerp, on the 29th of November, 1338, was born the fourth son of EDWARD III. and Philippa. He received the name of LIONEL, in honour, it is said, of the lions borne in his mother's Hainault shield.* He was committed to the charge of Margaret, or Margery, de Mounceux, as nurse;† the State governess was Margery, Lady de la Mote. The royal children kept a minstrel for their exclusive benefit, named Le Gayt, upon whom they bestowed a gay tunic, value 6s. 8d., in reward for his music.§

But it was not for LIONEL of Antwerp that ELIZABETH DE BURGH was originally destined. On the 6th of April, 1340, King EDWARD granted the marriage of the heiress of Ulster‡ to his brother-in-law, Raynold, Duke of Gueldres (husband of his sister Alianora), for the benefit of Edward, his son and heir; and she was forbidden to marry any other person without royal licence. Thirteen months later, a petition was sent to the King from the Bishops, Nobles, and Commons of Ireland praying that (as the King's grant has it)

"for their great comfort and safety, and as an incentive to the devotion and fidelity of the people of that country, most favourably affected to our Royal House, we would that our most worthy ELIZABETH, daughter and heir of WILLIAM DE BURGH, late EARL OF ULSTER, deceased (who held of us *in capite*), now under our guardianship, should be married to LIONEL, our most dear son."||

The original proposition, it is thus evident, emanated from the Irish; but Edward took it into grave consideration, and finally decided on marrying the heiress of Ulster to his son, instead of to his nephew. The petition of the Irish was also promoted by the warm intercession of the Countess MAUDE, who did not wish her child to marry a foreigner, and who had probably no objection to see her a PRINCESS. King EDWARD therefore granted the request, as soon as the parties should have attained a proper age.

The parties, according to the modern view of things, were a long way off the proper age; for though the bride had reached the ripe maturity of *ten* years old, the years of the bridegroom were restricted to *three*, when, in the summer of 1342, it pleased King

* Longman's *Edw. III.* i., 143. † *Rot. Erit. Pasc.* 25 Edw. III., etc.

§ *Rot. Cust. Liberorum Domini Regis.* 94, 7.

‡ The scribe has mistaken the name of the heiress, calling her Margaret in this entry, as in another memorandum he has called her ISABELL. That Elizabeth was her name the proofs are irrefragable; nor could any other person have been styled "al' et her, Will'i de Burgo, nuper Com' Ulton."

|| *Bymer's Fodera*, v. 247; dat. May 5.

EDWARD to consider that a suitable period had arrived. Preparations were therefore made for the wedding. The masons were ordered to hasten the work at the Tower of London, in the new chapel of which palace (that of St. Peter ad Vincula) the ceremony was to take place. The stone required cost £16. The hall of the Tower was splendidly hung, and a special chamber was adorned for the accommodation of the bridal pair. These decorations cost no less than a hundred pounds.*

The day of the marriage is much disputed. Some writers give June 27th as the date; others, July 27th: and either may be true, for the *Issue Roll* decides this matter only so far as to state that the event had already taken place on the 9th of September. But if the day be a disputed question, the year has hitherto been far more so.† Several have been suggested, but the popular favour appears about equally distributed between 1352 and 1361. The question of year is, however, set completely at rest by the testimony of the *Issue Roll* for 1342, given below.

No record remains to tell who were present on this occasion. The bride's grandmother and namesake, ELIZABETH de Burgh, was in England at this time, and was very likely in the chapel of St. Peter, when the heiress of Ulster was made a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. But one very interesting document remains, which may be called the jeweller's bill for the attire of the bride. She was decked, we thence learn, with a golden circlet, set with gems, a jewelled head-dress, brooch, and girdle, and her wedding ring was of gold, set with a single ruby. A literal translation of this part of the record may not be uninteresting:—

"Monday, the 9th day of September, [1342.]

To BARTHOLOMEW DE BOURGHASSH, into his own hands, in settlement of every penny which the said Bartholomew lately paid to certain men of London, for divers jewels from them bought for the use of ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM, Earl of Ulster, for the espousal, between LIONEL, our Lord the King's son, and the aforesaid ELIZABETH, lately solemnized at the Tower of London, viz.:—

For a golden coronet, set with stones, for a gold girdle mounted with pearls, a brooch and a head-dress similarly garnished, and a ring mounted with a ruby,—all which jewels were presented to the said Elizabeth by our Lord the King by grants under his privy seal.....ccclx li."§

* *Rot. Esc.*, Michs., 16 Edw. III., dat. July 22.

† All previous notices of this Princess are full of contradictions.

§ *Rot. Esc.*, Michs., 16 Edw. III.

Doubtless LIONEL was equally superb, but the style of his array is left to the imagination. Henceforward he was styled EARL OF ULSTER.

Five-and-twenty shillings, paid to William de Edyngdon (Bishop of Winchester) December 21st, 1343, for divers things bought by him for the marriage of LIONEL, completes the expenditure on this occasion.*

Nearly two years after this, the Countess MAUDE married a second time. She chose Ralph de Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, a bluff, blunt soldier, very different from the gentle and graceful WILLIAM DE BURGH. Sir Ralph is supposed to have been a widower. His marriage with MAUDE took place about April, 1344;† and the issue of it was one daughter, named Maude like her mother, whose future is a *crux* to genealogists. She was certainly affianced, May 28th, 1350,§ to Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford; but she was almost as certainly *not* that Maude who became his wife and was the mother of his heir, Robert, Duke of Ireland. The fact that the King speaks of her as Maude *de Ufford*, in his confirmation of Bruseyard Chantry, in 1364, and yet places her among souls to be prayed for, as then dead,‡ might be held to shew that she died unmarried, were not her half-sister named with her, as Elizabeth *de Burgh*. With this baby daughter was the Countess Maude once more left a widow. Sir Ralph died "not within the four seas of England,"|| 1346, at Kilmainham Castle, April 9th, and in the following June his widow was in England.^a The Countess MAUDE resolved to try the matrimonial lottery no further, but to retire from society, by burying herself in the Priory of Campsey, co. Suffolk. She took the veil between August 9th, 1347, and April 25th, 1348,^b and we only hear of her once or twice again.

The "profession" of the Countess, of course, necessitated some provision for her daughters, who had hitherto resided with her. What became of the baby Maude is not told us; but ELIZABETH, now in her seventeenth year, was transferred to the

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 17 Edw. III.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 18 Edw. III.

§ *Ibid.*, 24 Edw. III., Part 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, 38 Edw. III., Part 1.

|| *I. P. M. Radulphi de Ufford*, 20 Edw. III., 16.

(a) *Rot. Pat.*, 30 Edw. III., Part 1.

(b) *Ibid.*, 21 Edw. III., Part 3, and 22 *ib.*, Part 2.

guardianship of her mother-in-law, QUEEN PHILIPPA, into whose custody her lands had already been given, on the 1st of January, 1347,* probably in anticipation of MAUDE's intended seclusion.

Meanwhile the husband of ELIZABETH had risen to high eminence. During the absences of his father and brother in France, from 1345 to 1348, Lionel was constituted "Regent of England," the King being, as he says in the Patent, "well assured of his fidelity and trustworthiness."† This faithful and trustworthy statesman of seven to ten years old sat on the Throne during the Session of Parliament, and opened the Parliament of 1351 in person.§ His principal residence during his Regency was at Reading.‡

From 1348 to 1352, nothing is seen of ELIZABETH. She was probably engaged in the quiet perfecting of her education, under the motherly care of QUEEN PHILIPPA. When she comes before us again, it is in the attractive character of a peace-maker. On the 23rd of April, 1352, "at the intercession of the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, our dearest daughter," the King pardoned WILLIAM THORNTON, of BURTON IN LONSDALE, Lancashire: he does not appear, however, to have been a very worthy subject for the royal girl's compassion, seeing that he stood convicted of three murders, of breaking prison in CLITHEROE CASTLE, and of subsequently repeating the latter offence, when caught and lodged in the Marshalsea.||

In 1353, a separate household was formed for the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, who had now attained her majority. Her attendant ladies were Petronilla de Pageham, who had been in her mother's service;^a Alice Dantre, afterwards damsel of Queen Philippa;^b Margaret Dyneley,^c and Maude de Pudington.^d Nicholas Fladbury was her chaplain;^e and six persons are named at different times as her "varlets," of whom three are worthy to be noticed,—John de Hynton or Hylton, who remained in her service during her life;^f Reginald de Pypount, who had

* *Rot. Pat.*, 20 Edw. III., Part 3.

† *Ibid.*, 19 Edw. III., Part 1., dat. July 1; and 20 *ib.*, Part 2, dat. June 25.

§ *Rot. Parl.* ii., 225, a.

‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 20 and 21 Edw. III.

|| *Rot. Pat.*, 28 Edw. III., Part 1.

(a) *Rot. Exit.*, *Pasc.*, 9, Edw. III., and *Rot. Pat.* 28 *ib.*

(b) *Rot. Pat.*, 33 Edw. III., and *Rot. Exit.*, *Michs.*, 35 *ib.*

(c) *Rot. Pat.*, 39 Edw. III., Part 1.

(d) *Ibid.*, 31 Edw. III., Part 1. This latter name savours somewhat of Cheshire.

(e) *Rot. Exit.*, *Pasc.*, 33 *ib.* (f) *Ibid.*, 34 and 38 Edw. III.

been in her mother's household, and was afterwards in that of her daughter;* and GEOFFREY STUKELEY, who appears to have been ELIZABETH's personal attendant, as he is entrusted with her most important business; and follows his mistress in all her journies.† He had been transferred from the King's household, and returned thither on the death of ELIZABETH. On and after the 12th of March, 1353, the Princess's income was paid to herself, instead of being assigned to the Queen for her benefit; and it was apparently in this or the following year that ELIZABETH took up her residence with LIONEL.

The Princess was now twenty-two, the Prince sixteen years of age. As LIONEL was precocious both in mind and person, the difference was probably not very noticeable. LIONEL proved extremely tall—close upon seven feet in height—and his physical proportions were in keeping with his stature.§ In face he resembled his Flemish mother; his hair was light, his eyes blue. Barnes (in his *History of Edward III.*) tells us, in a shower of capitals, that the King “bore a particular Love for his Third Son born (but Second living), Prince Lionel,” who was “one of the Loveliest shape in the World.”‡ Of all the renowned sons of EDWARD III., LIONEL was considered the most graceful, most courteous, and most eloquent. His chief defect was—as defects often are—a good quality carried to excess. The very amiability of his disposition caused him to be rather deficient in moral courage. But in physical courage he was far from deficient; while to a nature of singular guilelessness and simplicity, he united the greatest gentleness.

In all the world was there no Prince hym like
Of his stature, and of all semelnesse;
Aboue all men within his hole kyngrike
By the shulders he might be seene doutlesse;
As a mayde in halle of gentilnesse,
And in all places sonne to Rotorike,
And in the feld a Lyon marmorike.”

—Harding's *Chronicle*, c. 328.

Lionel's name rarely occurs as a purchaser of anything on his father's *Issue Rolls*; but when it does, it is generally connected

* *Rot. Erit.*, Michs., 21 *ib.*; *Rot. Pat.*, 21 *ib.*, Part 2, etc.

† *Rot. Erit.*, Pasc., 28 *ib.*, etc.

§ Strickland's *Queens*, i., 556.

‡ Page 190.—Lionel was the fourth son in order of birth, William of Windsor and William of Hatfield, who both died young, having been second and third.

with silver plate; as, for instance, "for a silver-gilt cup £6 0s. 8d.;"* and again, "a seal and chain, £4 15s. 0d."†

Not long after her assumption of the religious habit, MAUDE OF LANCASTER founded two chantry chapels; the first in the Chapel of the Annunciation at CAMPSEY (where her second husband, Ralph de Ufford, lay buried),—the second, at ASHE—both in Suffolk. The chantry of five priests founded at Campsey was afterwards transferred to BRUSEYARD in the same county: which chantry at BRUSEYARD, known as Rockhall, was hereafter to be the last resting-place of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.§

No sooner was ELIZABETH'S purse resigned into her own hands than her thoughtless prodigality became manifest. Henceforth, to the close of her life, gifts of extra money, and loans which could never be returned, and so had to become gifts, figured on King EDWARD'S *Issue Rolls*.

The Princess spent the summer of 1355 at Eltham with the King and Queen; and in that Palace, on the 16th of August, she gave birth to a daughter.‡ A varlet named John Prior was rewarded with £20 for his arduous journey—down the stairs, probably, or into the next room—to inform King EDWARD of the birth of his first grandchild.|| The baby was baptized in Eltham Church, her sponsors being her grandmother, QUEEN PHILIPPA (whose name was given to the child), "Elizabeth, Countess of Clarence"—probably her great-grandmother, Elizabeth, Countess of Clare—and William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England.^a An interest in Protestant eyes attaches to the name of William de Edington, for Edington and Ashridge were the only two English houses of the "Boni-Homines," or monks of the Waldensian faith.^b The King's eldest daughter, the Lady Isabel, presented a christening gift to the little neophyte, consisting of two cups, the larger being gilt and enamelled.^c

* *Rot. Erit.*, Michs., 31 Edw. III., Part 1.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 38. Edw. III., Part 1.

§ *Probatio Etatis Philippæ Comitissæ Marchie*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

|| *Rot. Erit.*, Michs., 30 Edw. III.

(a) *Probatio Et.*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

(b) Edward II. and the Despensers patronised the "Boni-Homines," to the indignation of the more orthodox Queen, Isabel of France. The breach between the hapless Edward and the "She-wolf of France" had at least as much a religious as a personal origin.

(c) *Rot. Erit.*, Michs., 30 Edw. III. The scribe has let his pen slip at a most awkward point, for he writes "*primogenito*," thus inferring that the infant was a boy. As all evidence extant goes to show that Philippa never had a brother, we must conclude it to be a mere slip of the pen.

QUEEN PHILIPPA had sent her own midwife, Margaret de Gaunt, to attend her daughter-in-law; and the King his personal physician, Master Pascal; but notwithstanding all their care, the recovery of the Princess was very slow, and her life was for some time in danger. Margaret de Gaunt was still in attendance on the 30th of November,* when she received ten pounds for her services; and Master Pascal was not recompensed until December with a fee of £13 6s. 8d., "for the cure performed by him on ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER."†

When she was sufficiently recovered, the Princess removed to Westminster with the Queen. King EDWARD, with LIONEL and his brother JOHN, had sailed from Sandwich on Michaelmas Day, and was prosecuting his French war amid cruel hardships. At least, so thinks the chronicler (Robert Avesbury); who informs his readers that "the French King destroyed vitels in front of the English, so that the English for iij days togethar dranke nothyng but watar."§

At Westminster ELIZABETH was residing on the 19th of January, 1356, when the King's gift of £40 was paid "into her own hands." By March the poor Princess was destitute, and required the relief of another gift of £20.‡

For the little PHILIPPA separate provision was made. In February she was sent to the care of her grandmother at Campsey, and a distinct household was formed for her. Reginald de Pyrpount, before mentioned, was constituted her agent, to transact business with the outer world; John Massingham was her tailor and chamber-varlet, his wages being 13s. 4d.; Joan the Rockster, evidently a more important person, received 20s., while Joan the Lavender, and the luckless page of the chamber, were expected to content themselves with 6s. 8d. each.||

ELIZABETH's annual allowance was now about £300. During 1356, £150 in addition was given to her at intervals; and £16 to buy four horses from one "Litel Wat."^a

If we regard as indicative of his calling the terrible name of Jacob Tothdrasher, we shall conclude that our Princess was suffering from toothache in 1358, when this functionary was sent from London to Bristol on her business.^b

* *Rot. Exlt., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III. † *Ibid.* § *Harl. MS.* 545, fol. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*, 30, 46. || *Ibid.*, *Michs.*, 32 Edw. III.

(a) *Rot. Exlt., Michs.*, 30 & 31 Edw. III. (b) *Ibid.*, 32 46.

The little PHILIPPA finally quitted her grandmother's convent early in 1359. Poor baby of three years old! she left CAMPSEY to be married. Splendidly was she decorated at her wedding, for her jewels, and those of her aunt Margaret, married at the same time and place, cost £526 6s. 8d. Two thousand pearls formed part of their joint outfit. The triple ceremony—for JOHN OF GAUNT was also married to BLANCHE OF LANCASTER—took place in the Queen's Chapel, READING; but whether all were at precisely the same time is not so clear. If they were, PHILIPPA was married on the 19th of May, for the date of JOHN OF GAUNT's marriage is certain; but the entries on the *Rolls* sound rather as if the marriage of PHILIPPA had occurred in the preceding February. THOMAS DE THYNHAM, clerk of the Queen's Chapel, was the officiating priest in all three instances; and £10 was his fee for all.* The bridegroom of PHILIPPA was EDMUND MORTIMER, son and heir of ROGER, EARL OF MARCH; and so poor, or so parsimonious, was the Earl, that the King was obliged to give him £45 for the occasion. EDMUND was a gentleman of mature years in comparison with his bride, for he had attained the age of seven! A few months after this event, by the death of Earl Roger, PHILIPPA became COUNTESS OF MARCH: she remained, however, in the care of her mother.

From November, 1359, to the same month in 1360, LIONEL was absent at the French wars.† Within this period died the famous ELIZABETH DE BURGH (grandmother of our ELIZABETH), aged 63 years. She was buried in the Church of the Minoresses, Aldgate, London. To her grand-daughter and namesake she left "the debt which her father owed me at his death; also for seed-corn" in twenty different manors;§ beside which special bequest, ELIZABETH became heir-at-law of her vast inheritance, consisting of her ULSTER jointure, and her third share of the Gloucester lands. King EDWARD, "wishing to show special favour to his beloved kinswoman, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER," received her Irish lands into his protection, forgave her a debt of £25 owed by her great-grandfather to the Exchequer, and granted her for the future £500 a year, until she should receive the rents of her grandmother's estates.‡ But not on £500, nor any fixed sum whatever,

* *Rot. Erit.*, Pasc., 33 Edw. III.

§ *Test. Ricardi*, i., 58.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 3.

‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2.

could the extravagant Princess reasonably be expected to "make both ends meet." Six months had not elapsed before she was borrowing again.

In March, 1360, at Leicester Castle, was born the second grandchild of King EDWARD, PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER, afterwards Queen of Portugal. ELIZABETH journeyed to Leicester—at a cost of £11 16s. 11½*d.*—to be present at the ceremony of the DUCHESS BLANCHE's uprising,* and also, there appears every probability, to act as sponsor to the infant. QUEEN PHILIPPA was also there, on the same errand.

The year 1361 had only just opened when poor ELIZABETH found herself in her normal state of poverty. She borrowed (as usual) of King EDWARD, whose chief use to her was as an inexhaustible bank, to be drawn upon at pleasure. As usual, again, the £66 she borrowed she was unable to return; and also, as usual, it was forgiven her. She was then at the Savoy Palace, on another visit to her sister of Lancaster.† Only just before, she had received seisin of all her grandmother's lands, and she really ought not to have been in this lamentable state of exchequer.

On the first of July, 1361, LIONEL was created Viceroy of IRELAND.§ He quitted England immediately, leaving ELIZABETH behind him. Possibly the disturbed state of the country was the reason why she did not accompany him. She spent the time of his absence in replenishing her wardrobe, laying in a stock of splendour with which she probably meant to overawe her countrymen when she herself went over. Beside the usual set of Garter robes, provided every year for the ladies of the Royal Family, there were delivered to John Veisy, "tailor of the Countess of Ulster," a quantity of coloured cloths, ermine and other skins, for her use.‡

LIONEL came back to fetch his wife. During his absence, his brother EDWARD, the "Black Prince," and EARL OF CHESTER, had been married to JOAN of Kent. ELIZABETH sent a present to the bride;|| but apparently she was not among the brilliant throng who graced the ceremony. Before she left England a fresh consignment of millinery and finery in general was made to John

* *Rot. Ex., Pasc.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2. † *Ib.*, *Michs.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2.

§ *Rot. Pat.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2. ‡ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 6.

|| *Rot. Exch., Michs.*, 35 Edw. III.

Veisy, comprising cloths of all sorts, furs of ermine and other beasts, pieces of velvet, silk baudekyn, fine linen, &c.

For PHILIPPA a much smaller provision was made,—16 ells of blue cloth, one miniver cloak and hood, one fur of 160 miniver skins, and 30 ermine skins.

Before the Earl and Countess left England, sums of money were lent to both for the supply of their personal wants. To LIONEL was delivered the modest amount of £9 11s. 4d.; but into the fair hands of ELIZABETH was poured no less than £400 “in the presence of the King’s Council, at the hospitium near Pauleshroff.”* Beside her ladies, the Princess was attended by Geoffrey Stukeley and three other varlets. Thirty men-at-arms, and thirty horsed archers, formed their guard. The royal travellers passed through CHESTER, and embarked from LIVERPOOL in July, 1362.† With them went Sir William de Windsor as commander of the guard,—a man less famed for himself than for his wife, the much-reviled (and I believe much-calumniated) Alice Periers. He returned to England on the 22nd of September, having seen his charges safely landed in Ireland.

Thus far, the indications given by the *Rolls* have been followed; but on the *Issue Roll* for Michaelmas, 37th Edw. III., one entry appears, which it is very difficult to harmonise with the rest. It occurs December 12th, 1362—

“To Geoffrey de Stukeley sent on four occasions to accompany ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER, towards the parts of CHESTER, by ordinance of the King in Councillxviijs.

There is no evidence to shew that ELIZABETH ever went to Ireland until July, 1362, while it is hardly possible for her to have made four voyages thither between July and December. The entry may refer to this voyage in July, and to three previous visits to CHESTER, of which no trace remains.

LIONEL’s administration as Viceroy was extremely bad; yet it was not his fault, for he was merely carrying out his father’s instructions. His first order was that no man of Irish blood should be permitted to approach his camp. This style of govern-

* *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 36 Edw. III.

† Taking, probably, not the Eastham, but the Birkenhead route, and availing themselves of the Ferry-boat maintained there by the Monks of ST. MARY’S ABBEY,—embarking in fact from what is still familiar to the railway world as Monk’s Ferry.

ment rapidly brought him into a position of such "imminent peril"*—the words are the King's—that it was necessary to send him reinforcements from England with all possible speed. His archers had deserted him; and he was only saved by his cousin, JAMES BUTLER, EARL OF ORMONDE; who threw himself into the breach with his household troops and retainers, at the peril of his life, until the reinforcements arrived.†

On the 14th of November, 1362, in the "Chaumbre Blanche" of Westminster Palace, three of the King's sons were created peers:—LIONEL, Duke of Clarence; JOHN, Duke of Lancaster; and EDMUND, Earl of Cambridge. For some mysterious reason, while the titles of LIONEL and JOHN were limited to heirs male, that of EDMUND was made heritable by heirs general.‡ PHILIPPA, therefore, was never "Duchess of Clarence."

The account of expenditure on ELIZABETH's wardrobe, for the year 1362-3, remains extant; and be it remembered that its existence is owing to the fact, that her royal and indulgent father-in-law paid the bill.‡ It is too long to quote here.

The skirmishing, to call it by no harsher name, between the English and Irish, went on throughout 1363. It was in the close of that year, or in the opening days of the next, that the shadow of the Angel of Death darkened the halls of LIONEL.

When and how ELIZABETH died are unrecorded: we learn, however, from one MS. authority that the event occurred at DUBLIN.¶ All that we know more relates to the details of her funeral. All writers agree that she was deeply lamented; yet the circumstances of her interment show incomprehensible neglect. KING EDWARD was not at fault with respect to money; whatever else were his failings, he was no miser; and he meted out the cost of his daughter-in-law's burial with no niggard hand. Yet, when it came to the actual expenditure, things were shabbily done; and not one member of the Royal Family was present. LIONEL

* *Rot. Pat.*, 36 Edw. III., part 1.—It is remarkable to note how the very same spirit was prevalent 170 years later, as shown by the following extract from a letter dated January 17th, 1531:—"William Polle goeth into Ireland, and is Provost Marshal, and hath for the same iij s. and iiij d. by the day, and xij d. for his excensioner, and xij men in viij d. by the day to assist him: yet had he leyther tary at home for his wiffs sake."—John Huxee, English agent of Viscount Lisle, then Governor of Calais, to his master: Lisle Papers, iv., 85.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 37 Edw. III., part 1.

‡ *Rot. Parl.*, ii., 273.

¶ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 8 in verso.

|| *Harl. M.S.* 154, fol. 76, b.

himself was perhaps detained in Ireland by political necessity: but of all those who had loved ELIZABETH OF ULSTER in her life, the cloistered Mother was the only one who knelt beside her coffin.

Two officers of the Princess's household—JOHN DE NEUBORNE and her chaplain, NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY—attended the royal corpse in its transit to its final home. Fourteen days were consumed in the voyage to England.

They left GREAT NESTON, in Wirral, on the 1st of February, 1364. Here they were met by Thomas Fox, a solitary varlet of the Duke's English household, who had been sent from London, apparently as the representative of everybody else. The first intention seems to have been to bury the Princess by the side of her grandmother, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, in the Minoreesses Church, Aldgate; and possibly, the preparations were somewhat disarranged by—it may have been—the sudden resolve which changed the place of sepulture to BRUSEYARD.

The account of the progress shall be given as it stands in the Original Document—a soiled fragment of a *Wardrobe Roll*, ending with no total of expenditure, but by no means the least interesting illustration of the life of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER. The original is, of course, in Latin; but it will be more attractive perhaps if I clothe it in an English dress.

"Particulars of the Account of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, Knight, and JOHN DE NEUBORNE, officers of the Lord DUKE OF CLARENCE; appointed to superintend the expenses incurred touching the burial of the body of the Lady ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, namely from February 1st, 1364, to March 11th next ensuing:—

"Item, in account of £20 received of THOMAS *
Chamberlain of Receipts of the Exchequer, Jan. 31, Anno 38, touching the expenses incurred by them [i.e., Fladbury and Neuborne], in the matter of the corpse of ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE [travelling] from the town of NESTON, in Wirhale, to the Manor of BRUSEYARD.

"Item, in account for the custody of the body of the said DUCHESS at NESTON in WYRHALE, incurred from the beginning by the said Nicholas and John, namely, for 14 days.....18s.

"And for one cart (or chariot) with 4 horses, conducted, from the said town of NESTON, conveying the aforesaid corpse to CHESTER4s.

"And for one cart (or chariot) with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from CHESTER to COVENTRY, whence the cart came, for 6 days, at 6s. 8d. a day44s.

* Surname illegible.

"And for one other cart, with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from COVENTRY to BRUSEYARD, in the county of SUFFOLK, whence the cart came, for 10 days, at 10s. a day.....100s.

"And for the journey of THOMAS FFOC [qr., Fox or Fowke], varlet of the DUKE OF CLARENCE, going from London, the first day of February, in the same year, to NESTON in WYREHALL aforesaid, to meet the aforesaid corpse, and following it with the vehicle, from NESTON aforesaid to BRUSEYARD aforesaid for 29 days, at 12d. for each day.....29s.

"And for his journey from the said town of BRUSEYARD, bearing the letters of our Lord the KING to the BISHOP OF NORWICH, touching the celebration of burial for the said corpse,—going and returning, and until . . . the day of burial, namely, the eleventh day of March, staying at BRUSEYARD, to help in divers respects, for eleven days, at 12d. per day.....11s.

"Item, for 3 ells of linen cloth of Rennes, bought by JOHN NEUBORNE, for the coffin of the aforesaid corpse, at 22d. per ell.....5s.

"For two ells of red sinden [lawn] similarly bought by the said JOHN, to make a cross upon the said coffin.....2s.

"Item, for the boat-hire and carriage of one hall [i.e., the tapestry hangings for a hall], and one black bed, from Westminster to London, to the Duke of Clarence's house near Aldgate... ..6d.

"And for return carriage and boat-hire for the same from the said house to Westminster aforesaid6d.

"And for the journey of a varlet on horseback, conveying the said hall, and the said black bed, from London to BRUSEYARD aforesaid,—going, staying, and returning with them, for 15 days, at 12d. per day15s.

"And for the purchase of 20 iron hooks for the said hall and chamber.....6d.

"And for the journey of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, from the first day of February to the 11th day of March, assigned in payment of money expended by him during the period of this account at 3s. 4d. per day, for 40 days.....£6 13s. 4d.

"Item, for the journey of JOHN NEUBORNE in like manner, similarly assigned in payment of money as aforesaid, for 40 days at 3s. 4d. per day, during the period of this account.....£6 13s. 4d."

It is to an entry on the *Issue Roll* that we owe the additional fact that the body also rested at CAMPSEY Abbey, Suffolk, on its way to BRUSEYARD.*

The total expenses incurred by FLADBURY and NEUBORNE were £24 16s. 2d; but £200 more were paid to JOHN DE HYLTON and HENRY PALMER for further costs of the funeral. Four cloths of

* *Rot. Erit.*, *Miche.*, 38 Edw. III.—A Collegiate Chapel in honour of "the Annunciation" was founded at CAMPSEY for a Warden and four secular priests, by MAUDIE, Countess of ULSTER, in 1347. Seven years after, this establishment was removed to BRUSEYARD, the old site and possessions being resigned to an abbess and nuns of the order of St. Clare.—*Editor*.

foreign gold baudekyn, and nine of Lucca baudekyn, were offered at the ceremony on behalf of the KING, the QUEEN, and the LADY ISABEL.* Black cloth also was issued for the burial.

PHILIPPA, now eight years old, was brought from Ireland with the damsels of her dead mother,† and consigned to the care of her grandmother, the QUEEN (by whom her expenses were reduced to £100 a year), until the death of the Queen in August, 1369. She was then, at the age of 13, delivered to her husband, the EARL OF MARCH, with whom she was residing in England in 1370. PHILIPPA was the mother of five children, all born between 1371 and 1377 inclusive; and it was not improbably at the birth of the youngest that she died, in December, 1377.§ She was buried at Wigmore.

LIONEL visited England twice during 1364. When he came over is doubtful; but he was at Westminster in July, and in Ireland in November, having sailed from LIVERPOOL with a suite of 80 ships. He came back—a flying visit of a few days only—in December, perhaps to be present at that Anniversary of ELIZABETH to which I shall allude again. He seems invariably to have embarked at LIVERPOOL. Until July, 1365, he remained in Ireland: another visit to England followed; and he was at his post during nearly the whole of 1366. In July, 1367, we find him again at Westminster; and in April, 1368, he set off on that triumphal progress to Milan, in anticipation of his second marriage, from which he returned only in his coffin. His marriage with VIOLANTE VISCONTI, daughter of GALEAZZO, Duke of Milan, was celebrated in that city, April 25th, 1368: he took possession, as governor, of the city and province of Pavia, in which city he died, on the 17th of October, 1368. His suite suspected poison, the circumstances of his death appearing to them extraordinary; but there does not seem to have been any real foundation for the supposition. In his will he left several bequests to VIOLANTE; he made no mention of ELIZABETH.

I alluded before to ELIZABETH's Anniversary. There was but one celebration of it, viz: in 1364, and the two entries on the *Rolls*

* *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 13.

† *Rot. Erit.*, *Michs.*, 38 Edw. III., and *Federa*, vi., 435.

§ *Rot. Erit.*, *Michs.*, 1 Rich. II.—Geoffrey Stukeley was sent with the news to John of Gaunt, January 7th, 1378. Her husband was made Viceroy of Ireland in 1378 (*ib.*, *Michs.*, 3 Ric. II.), where by his affability and eloquence he was very popular, and died from cold taken in fording the Lee, December 27th, 1381.

—one the mandate for its celebration, the other the refunding of its costs—show that it was held, and therefore that she had died, between November 6th and December 12th.* If LIONEL came over to be present at it, the day must have been much nearer the latter date than the former, for on the 5th of December he had apparently not arrived. It may, therefore, perhaps, be inferred that the date of ELIZABETH's death was about the 10th of December. For this ceremony 200 yards of cloth were issued from Candelwykstrete (the peculiar undertakers' quarter of London), and four cloths of golden baudekyn of Lucca were offered by the King. Furred mourning robes were provided for the Queen and the young COUNTESS OF MARCH;† so possibly they were present. The expenses were 66*s.* 8*d.*§

After this date, not another word is to be found concerning ELIZABETH. The Royal Family were busied in preparing for VIOLANTE; whom they were so anxious not to lose, that a proviso was inserted in the contract that, if anything occurred to prevent her marriage with LIONEL, his brother EDMUND should be substituted in his place. So, in the beams of the rising sun, the lost Pleiad was no more remembered. One brief year before, the Royal Family had mourned her—it is said—as rarely *any* Princess was mourned; but now only the mother's true heart, nun though she were, retained loving and sorrowing memory of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.

In the words of "L. E. L.," I conclude:—

"Thou art forgotten—thou, whose feet
Were listened to like song!
They used to call thy voice so sweet,—
It did not haunt them long.
Thou, with thy fond and fairy mirth,—
How could they bear their lonely hearth?"


* The death was 1363 and the Anniversary in 1364. It will be misleading to give the date of year.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 13 in *dorso*.

§ *Rot. Erit.*, 39 Edw. III.

ON
THE ASSOCIATIONS OF MILTON
WITH
THE RIVER DEE AND CHESHIRE.

BY
THE VERY REV. J. S. HOWSON, D.D.,
DEAN OF CHESTER.

OME years ago I was spending a quiet evening at CAMBRIDGE, in rooms at Trinity College, with two distinguished classical scholars. In a pause of the conversation one of them suddenly said to the other, "That was a very ingenious thought of yours which led you to conjecture, from those lines of MILTON's concerning the Rivers of England, that he must have had a college friend named RIVERS!"

My attention was naturally arrested by the remark; and I asked how far there was any confirmation of the guess that, in fact, the poet's exclamation, "Rivers, arise!" was, in the first instance, a pun. I was told that there was a very fair amount of evidence in favour of the view; and, if I remember rightly, I went the next day to Christ's College, MILTON's own College, and there I saw, in the book of entries for the year 1625, JOHN MILTON's own name and this name of RIVERS in very near proximity. I have often thought of this incident since; and recently having had my attention turned to the antiquarian interest of the River DEE, and having observed (or perhaps fancied) in MILTON a high appreciation of the value of Rivers, both in their poetical aspect and in regard to their geographical importance; and knowing, as we all know, that he uses some very warm and reverential expressions in reference to our own river, I have written to one of the two scholars, to whom allusion was made above, that I might ascertain the exact state of the case, and I now read his answer:—"You will remember that

MILTON's own admission here was on February 12, 1624-5, *i.e.*, 1625, as we reckon now. Three years later (May 10, 1628) occurs the admission of two brothers, named GEORGE and NIGEL RIVERS, from the county of Kent. It is not said that either of the two admitted on this day is the *eldest* son, a fact which is usually specified in our Admission Books. I suspect the eldest son was admitted some time before, and is not found in our book, which begins with March 25, 1623. In those days families seem to have been more exclusively attached to particular Colleges than is the case now, and I suspect the RIVERS family (clearly one of some position and repute) patronised CHRIST's. I mention this because, according to Todd, MILTON's exercise is of the year 1627, *i.e.*, before the younger RIVERS were admitted. The correctness of —'s guess is not proved, but rendered very probable by this consideration."

There is, therefore, a high probability that among MILTON's friends at College was one bearing this name; and so far the ingenuity of a critical scholar has received some confirmation. But the subject grows very much in interest when we consider the circumstances under which these familiar lines were written :—

Rivers, arise: whether thou be the son
Of utmost Tweed, or Oose, or gulphy Dun,
Or Trent, who, like some earth-born giant, spreads
His thirty arms along the indented meads;
Or sullen Mole, that runneth underneath:
Or Severn swift, guilty of maiden's death:
Or rocky Avon, or of sedgy Lee,
Or coaly Tine, or ancient hallowed DRE:
Or Humber loud, that keeps the Scythian's name,
Or Medway smooth, or royal-towered Thame!

I suppose the general impression concerning these lines is simply this, that they are quoted in geography-books, and taught to our children; but at what time of MILTON's life they were written, and under what circumstances, probably very few people know.

Certainly I did not know these things myself until very lately. The lines were written when MILTON was a young man at CAMBRIDGE, only twenty years old: and they are a mere fragment, occurring abruptly in a strange medley of fun and frolic, partly prose and partly verse, recited in the College Hall before the fellows and

students of the College. This is the "exercise" referred to in the Cambridge letter quoted above. It was not till late in MILTON's life that this medley was published. Some parts of it are said to be very coarse; so that Professor MASSON, in his biography of the poet, does not give the whole of it. Coarseness in MILTON seems somewhat strange—for we have the best proof that his life and mind were pure—but I attribute this feature of the composition in question to the defective taste of the times. That MILTON had abundant humour we can infer from *Comus* and *L'Allegro*: and the manner in which these lines are introduced is very comical. Various metaphysical personages come forward in turns; and after Quantity and Quality have spoken in prose, then Relation is called by his name and speaks these lines. Wharton remarks that it is very hard to see how the lines were applicable to the subject in hand. But, as Grainger says, it was common then, in compositions of this kind, to have "perplexed allegories, the personages of which were fantastic to the last degree." If we knew the whole case of this entertainment at CHRIST's College, we might probably see that the fellows and students of the College were satirised in some way bymeans of the Rivers here enumerated, while the mention of the first word, understood immediately, would excite immoderate laughter.

It would certainly be very curious if a pun in early life led to a characteristic feature of MILTON's poetry; but such a thing is quite possible. It ought perhaps to be added, in reference to the correct geographical instinct exhibited in the fragment, that Drayton's *Polyolbion* had then not long been published, and that it was doubtless very familiar to MILTON. I know no book which exhibits so forcibly the great part played by Rivers in regard both to scenery and history. There is no end to the ingenuity and perversity which may be called into play by the use of a single pun; and under the shelter of this remark I venture, by the way, to call attention to the fact that among MILTON's Minor Poems is an epitaph on the MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER, who was a daughter of THOMAS, Viscount SAVAGE, of ROCK SAVAGE in CHESHIRE, and nearly related by blood to Earl RIVERS, and that this epitaph, to quote one of its own lines, is "sent from the banks of CAM." It would be difficult to imagine any influence over MILTON arising

from this remote connection with the name **RIVERS**; but we have here already a slight link of connection between the poet and **CHESHIRE**, and I invite particular attention to the mention of the **CAM**.

That **MILTON** had, from whatever cause, this peculiar feeling in regard to the significance of **Rivers** I think there cannot be a doubt. The proofs will accumulate as we proceed. And, of all the **Rivers** of England, no two could be so worthy of this feeling as the two border-streams of Wales, "the smooth **Severn stream**," which has given "**Sabrina fair**" to *Comus*, and our own "**Sacred Hallowed DEE**." Without attempting to determine which of the two has the greater claim, we cannot forget that the early histories,—which had not then been cruelly analysed by the critics,—connected the legend of **King Arthur** with the source of the **DEE**; that **Spenser** had already sung of the **DEE**; that this river was deemed to exercise prophetic powers by the shifting of the waters in its bed; that **CHESTER** had great historical recollections; that the **Druids** had then, as they have now, a charm for poets, and that the **Welsh mountains** were a mystery not yet penetrated by **TELFORD** and worse than **Telford**.

But from these general thoughts I turn to something more specific. There are two circumstances of a personal and very affecting kind, which connect **MILTON** with **CHESHIRE** and the **DEE**. One of **MILTON**'s dearest **CAMBRIDGE** friends, **EDWARD KING**, himself a very distinguished member of the University, was early in the autumn of 1639 bound for **DUBLIN**. **CHESTER** and the **DEE** were then, for those who were on their way to **IRELAND**, what **LIVERPOOL** and the **MERSEY** became afterwards. **EDWARD KING** passed through **CHESTER**—passed through the estuary of the **DEE**—in safety; but the ship, while sailing along the **WELSH** coast, struck a rock and foundered, and nearly all on board, he among them, were lost. A circumstance connected with the date is worthy of note, as we are among the associations of the poets. It was the very day after **Ben Jonson**'s funeral. Probably the news of the old Laureate's death had not reached young **EDWARD KING** before he sailed.

This sad shipwreck seems to have created a profound sensation. A volume was published with three-and-twenty Latin and Greek,

and thirteen English, poems *in memoriam*. Such collections of poems seem very strange to us now, in consequence of their odd conceits and fancies. Some of these would be, for this reason, well worth quoting. In one of them occur these two lines:—

The Muses are not mermaids: though upon
His death the Ocean might turn Helicon.

The point, however, for us to observe now is that the last poem in this collection was MILTON's *Lycidas*. MILTON's grief was very great; and in this poem it is recorded. The poem is wild and irregular, and in some parts obscure; but it is most carefully composed and is wondrously beautiful! It is not, however, criticism with which we are concerned here; but the illustrations afforded of the connection of MILTON with the DEE. The quotation of a few lines will show how strong this connection became, and how impossible it would be afterwards for MILTON to think of this part of the coast without emotion:—

Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.

* * * * *

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas?
For neither were ye playing on the steep,
Where your old Bards, the famous Druids, lie,
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where *Deva* spreads her wizard stream.

Near the close it seems to us most curious to see the poet, after a truly Christian allusion to "the dear might of HIM that walked the waves," passing on to a thoroughly heathen image, and converting his friend into a guardian spirit of the coast:—

Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more;
Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
In thy large recompence, and shalt be good
To all that wander in that perilous flood.

But in consistency with our present train of thought one thing more must be noticed in this poem of *Lycidas*. I allude to the mention of *rivers* which it incidentally contains. Besides *Arethusa* and the *Alpheus*, we find here (and what epithets could be more

true to the facts?) the "swift Hebrus," the "smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds;" and finally the river of his own college-days and EDWARD KING's college-days, "slow-footing Camus,"

His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge,
Like to that sanguine flower, inscribed with woe.
"Ah! who hath reft," quoth he, "my dearest pledge?"

But EDWARD KING was not the only friend of MILTON, or the dearest friend, whose early death formed an affecting link between the poet and the county of CHESHIRE. EDWARD KING was his college-friend: but CHARLES DIÓDATI was his school-fellow. The name Diódati (so it ought to be pronounced) is obviously Italian: and in more ways than one it is a distinguished name. Two brothers came westward from Lucca, in that exciting time when religious reform and literary revival were both fermenting throughout Europe. One was John Diódati, who settled at Geneva as a professor of Theology, was the friend of Father Sarpi, became famous both as a translator of Holy Scripture, and as a commentator on its contents; and in 1618 was sent to the Synod of Dort, where it is perhaps worth our while, on this occasion, to remember that he met the father of GEORGE HALL, one of the Bishops of CHESTER. The other brother, Theodore, was a physician in London: and his son Charles studied and played with JOHN MILTON at St. Paul's School. CHARLES DIÓDATI went to Trinity College, Oxford, when MILTON went to CHRIST's, Cambridge. So far they were separated: but such separation was not likely to disturb a close friendship. They met frequently, and frequently corresponded by letter: and memorials of those communications remain. In MILTON's prose writings are two letters, written apparently about the time of KING's death, from London to DIÓDATI, when he must have been somewhere in the North: for we find in one of them these words:—"Are there in those parts any learned folk, or so, with whom you can willingly associate or chat, as we were wont together? How long do you intend to dwell among those Hyperboreans?" The first and sixth elegies, written in Latin, and the fourth sonnet, written in Italian, are all addressed to DIÓDATI. But the interest of this subject is, for

us, concentrated on the first elegy: and for this reason, because *DIÓDATI* was then in *CHESHIRE*. He had written to *MILTON* two letters in Greek, the originals of which, with some corrections by *MILTON*, are in the British Museum. Of the poet's reply, written in the style of *Ovid*, I give a short extract from the translation by Professor *MASSON*:—"At length, dear Friend, your letter has reached me, and the messenger-paper has brought me your words—brought me them from the western shore of *CHESTER'S DEE*, where with prone stream it seeks the *Vergivian* wave . . . Me at present that city contains which the *Thames* washes with its ebbing wave . . . At present it is not my care to revisit the reedy *CAM*."

Here I may make three remarks by the way,—first that the word "*Vergivian*," whatever its derivation may be, is used by *Drayton* to describe the *Irish Sea*—secondly, that we should mark here the mention of *CHESTER* as well as of the *DEE*,—and thirdly, that *MILTON*'s love of *rivers* seems in this passage very apparent. *London*, where he is writing, is designated by the tidal river which passes through it: his friend is in *CHESHIRE*, and the *DEE*, on its course to the western sea, is used to define the district; while *Cambridge* is described by the characteristic reeds on its sluggish stream: to all which must be added the concluding words of this elegy, where the poet says it is his intention sometime to travel back again to the "*rushy marshes of the Cam*" and once more to listen to the "*hoarse disputations of the Schools*." Our chief business is with *CHESTER* and the *DEE*; and we have enough here to connect *MILTON*, in a very interesting way, with our City and our River.

But a sad occurrence afterwards deepened whatever feeling he might have in reference to the *DEE*. Soon after this time he travelled in *Italy*, paying a visit on his way, at *Geneva*, to the uncle of his friend. During this tour *CHARLES DIÓDATI* died; and the shock to *MILTON* when he returned, and went to the old Physician's house in *London*, was very great. A passionate grief seems, for the time, to have thrown a shade over all the poet's thoughts and words. There is a tradition that *DIÓDATI* had settled and practised as a Physician in *CHESTER*, and that he died there: but I have not been able to ascertain that this is authenticated.

The date of his death appears to have been in the summer autumn of 1638. Of MILTON's feelings we have a permanent record in the Latin poem entitled "Epitaphium Damonis." It is very curious to see him finding consolation in composing a pastoral ingeniously constructed after the style of Virgil. But the point which I ask special attention is again one of minute criticism. The mention of several English Rivers is interwoven among the Latin Hexameters, and apparently with a very accurate description of their aspect, as if he knew what they were like. Thus the Ouse is described as yellow, the Tamar in Cornwall is said to be discoloured by its metal-workings. Very obscure rivers too have place here, as well as those which are more famous. We find in this poem, not only the Thames and the Trent, but the Essex river Chelmer, and the Colne of his own county of Buckingham. It appears to me that the evidence accumulates as we proceed in favour of the position I have ventured to lay down, that MILTON had a great love for Rivers, and was deeply conscious of both their poetical and their geographical value. Of his feeling towards the DEE there cannot be a doubt; and we have no difficulty in accounting for it, whether on the ground of the fame and hoary dignity of this stream itself, or those tender personal associations, which have been described above.

Whether MILTON was ever himself in CHESHIRE, I am not able in my present state of information, to say. It is, however, not a little curious that, in later life, he was connected with this county by a very close personal link. I fear I am now descending from poetry into prose. My illustrations now are a walking-stick [which by some mistake I was not able at to exhibit at my Lecture], and a coffee-pot, the presence of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. WILBRAHAM TOLLEMACHE, of NANTWICH. But even poets may be lame, as well as blind. Even poets must sit by the fire, and poets marry; some of them more than once. Stories have been told of MILTON's third wife, to the effect that she was unkind to her husband. I believe these stories to be quite untrue, and believe most stories regarding the unkindness of wives towards their husbands to be untrue. There is another mistake as to a matter of fact, the recent correction of which it may be desirable to mention. It was asserted very confidently by Pennant, in his

Journey from Chester to London—and the assertion is repeated in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*—that the third Mrs. MILTON was a daughter of one of the MINSHULLS of STOKE. This appears to be undoubtedly an error. The matter is investigated in the first volume of the *Chetham Miscellanies*; and the result is compactly stated in a communication by the late Mr. FITCHETT MARSH, of Warrington, to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, at their meeting in Liverpool on Feb. 22, 1855. It is regarded now as certain that this lady was "the daughter of RANDULPH MINSHULL, of WISTASTON, near NANTWICH, where she was baptized on the 30th December, 1638: and consequently, if baptized shortly after birth, she was in her 26th year at the time of her marriage with MILTON in 1664, and in her 89th year at her death."

That she lived at NANTWICH during her widowhood is certain; and various relics of the poet are traced up to her possession with more or less certainty. Her Will, and the Inventory attached, were exhibited to our Members by the great kindness of Mr. Parry. The two most interesting articles in this list are the two portraits, one taken by Janssen when MILTON was a boy, the other belonging to the time when he was a young man, and when, from his beauty, he was called the "Lady of CHRIST'S COLLEGE." One of these pictures became the property of Speaker Onslow, the other was in the possession of Mr. Hollis; of whom this anecdote is told, that, when his house in London was burnt down, he calmly walked out at the door with this treasure in his hands, regardless of anything else! That these two pictures were authentic there cannot be a doubt; for when Vertue the engraver took some prints to DEBORAH CLARKE, MILTON'S youngest daughter, she at once recognised the likeness, and referred to the two pictures possessed by her mother in CHESHIRE. This question of the portraits of MILTON is very large and intricate, and has been dealt with at length by the same Mr. MARSH in a communication to the Historic Society dated May 3, 1860. I venture only to touch on those parts of the subject which have some reference to CHESHIRE; and I may add that this gentleman mentions one portrait, which he considers spurious, as having belonged to Mr. FALCONER, formerly Recorder of CHESTER; and another, with considerable claims to confidence, as in the possession of Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, of CAPESTHORNE.

We seem to be brought very near to **MILTON**, both in time and place, when we read this in Bishop Newton's *Life* of him, as edited in 1824 by Dr. Hawkins, the present Provost of Oriel*:—"MILTON's widow died very old, about twenty years ago, at NANTWICH, in CHESHIRE; and, from the accounts of those who have seen her, I have heard that she confirmed several things which have been related above; and particularly that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. On being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil? she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness that he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was? replied that it was the grace of God's HOLY SPIRIT!" These appear to me the words not only of a good loyal CHESHIRE wife, but of a religious woman, as well as a testimony to the religious character of **MILTON** himself.

I cannot close without reverting once more to **MILTON**'s early days and to the Banks of the CAM. One remarkable characteristic of CAMBRIDGE is that it is the University of the English Poets. Here, in the early part of this century, were Coleridge, Wordsworth and Byron. Here at an earlier time was Dryden. We have already seen how closely and affectionately **MILTON** was connected with that University. Let me remind you in conclusion, that the praises of the DEE are sung not only by the Cambridge Laureate of Queen ELIZABETH's reign, but by the Cambridge Laureate of our own Queen VICTORIA, in lines which I dare say most of you have read in the "Idylls of the King." May I, in conclusion, be allowed, in a spirit of loyalty to my own University, to offer this slight contribution as a crown of reeds and rushes from the CAM to the Druid of the DEE?

* This eminent and venerable man has passed to his rest since this Paper was written.

THE CITY AGAINST THE ABBEY,—
DISPUTES BETWEEN THE CORPORATION AND
CATHEDRAL AUTHORITIES OF CHESTER.

BY

THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.,

ONE OF THE SOCIETY'S HONORARY SECRETARIES.*

HISTORY abounds with instances where the Church and the State have competed with each other for social status,—for material wealth, and,—it must unfortunately be added, for political power also. It would be easy to adduce cases, down even to our own day, where rivalries of this kind have imperilled the proudest dynasties, and laid nations and states almost level with the dust.

I propose to offer, however, no such painful catalogue in my present Paper. Religious and party politics have, and very properly so, no place whatever in the discussions of this SOCIETY. Burning questions of the day, too, or of the unknown future, are clearly no concern of ours as Members; and we may calmly leave them to be settled or unsettled, as the case may be, at the bar of public opinion, and by the collective wisdom or folly of the nation. It is, on the other hand, our privilege and province, as Archaeologists, to hark back to the sacred past, and to recall from the dust of centuries gone by any long-forgotten incident, any curious historic fact, tending, however slightly, to illustrate the social life and habits of our forefathers. In this way, we may try to realise how, and to what extent, they differed from ourselves in their aspirations and aims,—in their virtues, their failings, their personal character,—and in their influences for good or for evil on their own or on later times.

* Read before a Meeting of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society, Dec. 14th, 1874.

To me it is a pleasant thing, when peering into these local records of the past, to throw myself back as it were into those "good old times" of poesy and romance; and, forgetful awhile of the 19th century, its cares and its worries, try to live with, and in my mind's eye to study, the actors in those scenes which rise up before me; to judge of them, moreover, by the standard of the age in which they lived, rather than of that boasted, and, perhaps, boastful one in which our own lot is cast. Thus much, alone, by way of preface.

CHESTER has, probably, from the very earliest historic times, had its civil and ecclesiastical jealousies, in common with other ancient centres of English life. There is an inkling, indeed, of this in that portion of the great *Domesday Book* which relates to this city. In that priceless national treasure—almost the earliest that now remains of all our written Records,—the rights of the EARL, on the one side, and the rights of the BISHOP on the other, are each insisted upon and fully recognised.

The EARL and the BISHOP respectively were the only Cheshire subjects who held their lands directly from the KING. In the words of the *Domesday Survey*, as accurately translated by our brother antiquary, Mr. BEAMONT, "In Chester, the Bishop of the the said City holds of the King what belongs to his bishopric. And all the rest of the county Earl Hugh, with his men under him, holds of the King."

Practically, the BISHOP was supreme within his peculiar borough or bailiwick, and over his own clergy and tenantry; while the EARL, through his ministers, was undisputed lord over the rest of the City. On Sundays and high festivals, the BISHOP held the lash of authority alike over his own and the EARL's dependents; fining indiscriminately merchants or freemen, serfs or maidservants, who dared to do trade on, or otherwise dishonour the Lord's Day, or the great holidays of the Church. His tenants were free from all service in the EARL's courts, and from most of the taxes imposed locally on other citizens: so far, indeed, as any liability to maintain the city's poor was concerned,—that exemption remained to them to very late in our own day. Bearing this in mind, we can easily imagine how, in process of time, jealousies would spring up, and

strifes ensue, between two estates existing side by side, having few interests in common, and being wholly, or nearly so, independent of each other. Of this, however, more anon.

The barons, knights, esquires, and other free men of the county, were mere tenants of the EARL; by whose help he was enabled, in pursuance of his original grant, "to hold his earldom by the sword, as freely as the King held England by his Crown." The EARL'S City of CHESTER, except those portions under the dominion of the BISHOP, was pretty much in the same condition. It was not as yet strictly a municipality. No mention of a MAYOR or Borough-reeve is to be found in *Domesday*; but there are several distinct references to the two Prefects or SHERIFFS—the KING'S SHERIFF and the EARL'S SHERIFF—and the duties those officials had in that early day to perform were analogous to those for which our CITY SHERIFF is still personally responsible. It is 200 years after this before we fall in with a MAYOR OF CHESTER; and when he does appear, he comes as the Freeman's nominee, in their corporate capacity, under powers delegated to them by the EARL. It was the same with the EARL'S, or CITY SHERIFF.

The KING'S SHERIFF* on the contrary, owned no such minor authority. He was the King's own servant and official substitute within the City; executing all the King's writs, aye, and executing the King's criminals too, sometimes in wholesale fashion, without accounting either to the City or to the EARL. In the main duties appertaining to his office, the KING'S SHERIFF, now as of old, acts quite independently of the Mayor and Corporation, of which latter he is, though not of necessity, a member. With plenary power, fortified by the Crown's writ, and with the assistance of his under-sheriff and bailiffs, he pounces upon a refractory debtor, provided he be a resident citizen, and in the most summary manner he turns the goods and chattels of his victim into current coin for the satisfaction of the debt.

In the Conqueror's days, the SHERIFF, in common with almost his modern successor, had charge of all Crown prisoners within the City. It was in his own court that they were tried,—he hanged all, without distinction, favour, or remorse, who were condemned to die: but if he chanced to hang the wrong man, or one beyond his

* And therefore called, in some writs of the Crown, the *Justitarius* or *Justiciarius*.

special jurisdiction,—woe betide him! for he had to forfeit, says *Domesday*, twenty shillings for every such accident or offence! The SHERIFF of to-day is happily relieved, by a recent statute, from attendance on the public hangman; but if in matters of debt he attaches the wrong man now, he is liable to the more serious and uncertain penalty of an action at law. But all that is by the way. This digression into matters Shrieval, having in 1874 personally served the Office, was one into which I naturally, but perhaps, all too readily, fell, and we will, therefore, at once return to our more immediate subject.

We have seen two great powers, largely independent of each other,—the Secular and the Religious,—firmly planted side by side by the Norman Conqueror. True, they had subsisted together, in comparative amity, certainly with little of absolute discord, for some centuries previously: but forward from that date the Church grew in wealth and social status; until at length a full half of the entire kingdom was under the finger and thumb of one Religious Order or another.

This state of things had gone on almost unchecked, except by such statutes as those of Mortmain, Præmunire, &c. Vast possessions and increasing power brought with them pretensions and assumptions, which continually placed the State and the Church in collision: until, as we all know, the whole ecclesiastical edifice crumbled to its base under the harsh and mercenary grasp of King HENRY VIII. To some two or three of these strifes in our own city and neighbourhood, it will be my province now more particularly to allude.

I conceive that in the first instance the authority of the Church, as represented by the BISHOP at his Norman CATHEDRAL of St. JOHN's, and by the Abbot at his Benedictine MONASTERY of St. WERBURGH, was intended to be exercised through the temporal arm of the State, as represented by the Sheriffs and officers of the Earldom. Be that as it may, however, it is clear that a century had not elapsed, before the ecclesiastical arm was openly displayed, aye and felt, too,—to the exclusion, almost, of the secular element, as we shall presently see.

The first Abbots were apparently nominated with the previous knowledge and assent of the Norman Earls; but ROBERT DE

HASTINGS, the 6th Abbot, elected in 1186, had no such secular sanction. He was probably, if we may gather anything from his name, a Sussex or Kentish man; certainly he was a friend and favourite of BALDWIN, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and received the appointment to this Abbey, along with his patron's benediction, at the Altar of Canterbury Cathedral.

But RANDLE BLUNDEVILLE was wielding the sword of the Earldom at this date, and was not the man to brook insult or contempt from any one, not even from an Archbishop. Little of stature, but mighty of stomach;—one of the foremost men of England in his day,—he not only knew his own mind, but could speak and maintain it too; even though HENRY II., his liege lord, or even the Pope himself, were at issue with him in his controversies.

A busy man and a notable was this Norman Earl RANDLE. The story of his life, well and truthfully told by such a chronicler as Mr. FREEMAN, would be a treat to read, but it must not be attempted here. He was the founder of our Cheshire Castle of BEESTON; he built the Staffordshire Castle of Chartley; and the proud Abbey of Dieulacresse, in the same county, owes its existence immediately to him.

To give you an idea of the mettle this good Earl was made of, it will suffice to say that, when King HENRY was weak enough to authorise the collection of Peter's Pence for the Pope, this Earl not only refused to pay the tax himself but threatened the collectors with untold penalties, if they dared to touch a single penny within the range of his proud County of CHESTER. And he carried his point, in spite of King and Ecclesiastics; for during his long rule over the towns and broad acres of CHESHIRE, this his tight little Palatinate was the one red spot of old England that said emphatically "nay" to the Vatican demand! History has not favoured us with any details of the struggle between the Earl and the Archbishop, as to the Abbey of ST. WERBURGH's; though we may be sure that, when BALDWIN came to CHESTER the next year, and paid a short visit of state to his favourite and nominee the new ABBOT, there was at least a sharp passage of words between the PRIMATE and

the EARL. But there was more than mere recrimination and debate. Each of the disputants had the courage of his opinions; and for years the war of words went fiercely on: until, on the death of BALDWIN, Earl RANDLE appealed at once to his successor, Archbishop HUBERT, by whom the unfortunate Abbot was finally deposed in favour of the Earl's nominee. And thus ended the first recorded local pitched battle between the Church and the State.

If ROBERT DE HASTINGS was of southern extraction,—and names were far more local then than now,—the next of his successors with whom we have to do, Abbot THOMAS CAPENHURST, was as certainly a CHESHIRE man born, and was most likely a monk of CHESTER Abbey prior to his elevation. Either his lot had fallen on specially troublous times, or he was known to be a man of weak and vacillating mind; for no sooner was he settled in his new dignity, than a brace of cormorants, ROGER MONTALT, Justice of Chester, and ROGER VENABLES, Baron of Kinderton, started up to pillage him and his fraternity.

The ancestors of each of these lordly robbers had given manors and other property to ST. WERBURGH'S Abbey; and these estates, improved no doubt in the interim by the industry of the Monks, the "worthies" named at once set themselves at all risks to recover. Fair means and foul were indifferently resorted to; military force even was used to intimidate the poor Abbot, who,—to buy peace,—had to give up some of the Monastery's most cherished possessions to those mercenary wretches! The story goes, however,—it is a monkish story, I grant,—that the vengeance of Heaven was poured out on those two spoilers of churches, and visited each of them with sudden and violent deaths. All we can positively say is, that their deaths did follow quickly upon the wrongs of which they are here accused. Similar acts of plunder were committed by WILLIAM LA ZOUCH, another Justice of CHESTER, a few years afterwards; and finally Abbot CAPENHURST, worn out and broken-hearted, laid down his weary bones in the Chapter House of the Abbey.

Of a different stamp, and of a brighter career, was CAPENHURST's successor, Abbot SIMON OF WHITCHURCH; who was elected by his brother monks during the usurpation of the Earldom by the

more celebrated namesake, SIMON DE MONTFORD. LUKE DE TANET, another Justice of CHESTER, taking advantage of MONTFORD's temporary absence, took military and forced possession of the Abbey, and, says the record, "wasted the revenues by the most scandalous profligacy." What was the sort of justice meted out to the poor by these law-defying lawyers, who could thus openly pounce like vultures upon such lofty prey, is a question that must be left to the dark region of conjecture. Thank God! we can point to no such enormities as this in our own day,—on the contrary, if there be one thing more than another in which England stands pre-eminent among the nations of modern Europe, it is in the dignified lives and spotless integrity of her honoured bench of Judges.

MONTFORD no sooner heard of this outrage of TANET's than, usurper though he was, he made the Judge disgorge his ill-gotten plunder, and at once ratified the Abbot's election. PRINCE EDWARD, however, the *true* Earl, having soon after this regained possession of CHESTER Castle, deprived the new Abbot of his position. But in a short time, peace and friendship were established between them; and we find recorded that two casks of curious old wine were sent by the Prince's orders, from the Castle to the Abbey, to replace two that had been emptied out of the cellars there by the armed servitors of the Prince! Efforts were again made, as in the last abbacy, to recover possession of lands conveyed in previous reigns to ST. WEBBURGH's Monastery; but the verdict went against the conspirators in the King's Court at Westminster.

SIMON DE WHITCHURCH was lucky in his law-suits: but with power comes pride, and with success comes too frequently arrogance or something worse. Accordingly we find my lord Abbot, probably misliking, and not it must be admitted without cause, the specimens of justice he had met with in the early Judges, set up an opposition Court of his own.

In the year 1848, when the late learned antiquary, Mr. W. H. BLACK, was poring over the parchments at that time preserved in the Castle of CHESTER, he found a roll of pleas from the City of CHESTER, dated in 1288 (17th EDWARD I.), nearly six hundred years ago. Foremost amongst the complaints put forth in that roll

was one, that "the Abbot of CHESTER had lately set up a *new Court* among his tenants, without the Northgate at CHESTER, to the nuisance of our lord the King's Court." Here we get our first peep at the Court of ST. THOMAS, to which, even now, the tenants of our DEAN and CHAPTER owe suit and service, and before which many yet living have been summoned, and have personally appeared.

In 1388, just a century after the date of the roll here referred to, an incident occurred, curiously illustrative of the newly-fledged Court of ST. WERBURGH, or ST. THOMAS, as it was in later times indifferently called. Abbot HENRY DE SUTTON, who was the 19th of the 27 Abbots of St. WERBURGH, and who ruled there from 1386 to 1413, united in his own person the double character of lawyer and divine. Wonderful fellows, men of versatile powers, coupled at times with great capacity for command, were these mediæval Churchmen. Soldier bishops, abbot lawyers, mitred princes, clerical statesmen, prelatical chancellors, meet the eye on many a page of early English history. Combinations of this sort were perhaps necessities *then*, but they could scarcely exist, or indeed be tolerated, now.

Abbot SUTTON, then, was one of the King's Justices of CHESTER; and whatever may be said of him as a clerical ruler, he certainly shone forth in his legal character. We find him winning, and that against odds in no way to be despised, the only two law-suits in which I have thus far traced him as being engaged. He was summoned, in 1390, before DUKE HUMPHREY OF GLOUCESTER, the "good Duke Humphrey," who was at that time Chief Justice of CHESHIRE, to answer for his contempt in placing JOHN DE GREY in the Cheshire Rectory of ASTBURY, and this in the teeth of the manorial lord, VENABLES, Baron of KINDERTON. This dispute had been angrily seething for nearly 200 years, and had grown warmer as it advanced; each lapse of the living, and each new presentation, adding fuel to the fire. It was the old struggle between the lay and clerical powers, which is even yet agitating some countries of Europe.

Previous Abbots had perhaps coquetted with the foe, for these Barons of KINDERTON were not, from some points of view,

undesirable men to keep as *quasi* friends; but the Church of ST. WERBURGH had a man at the helm, at last, in stern HENRY DE SUTTON. Donning his legal over his clerical armour, he threw himself unreservedly into the fray: he ransacked the Abbey chest and the muniment room of the Palatinate for musty parchments and, until then, unheard of grants: and with subtle arguments striking dumb his opponents, he soon satisfied the DUKE that he and his monks were the true Simon Pures, and that the VENABLESES were the rankest of impostors and usurpers. And so Master JOHN DE GREY became and remained, in spite of the lay patron and of all comers, Rector of ASTBURY.

Twenty years more roll by over the Abbot's head, and, in 1410, he comes again to the front, and again, oddly enough, in connection with this same Rector, JOHN DE GREY. In the interim, it appears, the reverend JOHN had died, leaving behind him a nuncupative will, a class of document always open to question, and not now admissible in law. In this Will he had left £10 to his old patrons, the Abbot and Convent of ST. WERBURGH, expressly towards building a stone bridge over the *Gow*y at TRAFFORD, on the eastern outer borders of our City. The *Domesday Book* gives *Trogford* and *Traford* as the names of this and the next township; and we may pretty safely assume that the River *Gow*y was there crossed by a trogh- or tree-ford (called a "clapper" in the county Devon), which the stone bridge alluded to in the Will was then intended to supersede.

RICHARD DE MANLEY appears as Counsel for the Abbot and Convent of CHESTER, the plaintiffs in this suit: he was a native of the county, being a son of JOHN MANLEY, Esquire, Lord of the Manor of MANLEY, near FRODSHAM. He occurs in our local records as Escheator of CHESHIRE, in the very year of the trial, 1410, when with my lord the Abbot at his back he maintained the curious action at law, of which we are now about to speak. We may be quite sure that, as he was knighted soon after this trial, RICHARD DE MANLEY was a lawyer of considerable reputation; indeed, his being selected to support this Cause is good evidence of the fact: but it is almost equally certain that another and more clerkly hand still, behind the scenes, cast the bullets which it was his duty simply to fire.

I have seen the pleadings at this trial, which was in fact a legal duel between Church and State,—the Corporation of CHESTER on the one side, and the Abbey on the other, contesting the rights and jurisdiction of the new Court of ST. THOMAS. The proceedings are quaint, to say the least of them; and deserve to some-day see the light through the press, in which case, doubtless, the original Latin text and a good English translation of the Trial will be given side by side. Meanwhile the SOCIETY shall have the story put before it in a simpler and more modern dress. It appears from the pleadings that one JOHN DE PODINGTON, the quondam servant but now Executor of the deceased Rector, JOHN DE GREY, had neglected to pay the said legacy of £10 to the Abbey in conformity with his master's Will,—a piece of contempt not likely to be tamely submitted to by one of Abbot HENRY's litigious temperament and high calibre.

Accordingly, the Court of St. THOMAS was solemnly opened in due form, in the then court-house, situate over the great ABBEY GATE (now the Bishop's Registry); and thither a jury was, on the 23rd of June, summoned and forthwith sworn before NICHOLAS, the Abbot's seneschal. No doubt, the Will itself, in charge of an apparitor from either LICHFIELD or YORK, for we had no Wills Court in CHESTER then, was produced at the trial. Of course, too, PODINGTON, the unjust steward and defendant, was a prominent figure in the group assembled in that then noble room. Ominously near him stood JOHN DENTITH, the Abbot's gaoler, with the keys of the adjacent Prison dangling from his girdle. Lawyer MANLEY also would be there, with the proctors, clerks, ushers, tipstaves, and other officers common to such gatherings; and at the rear of all a motley crowd of citizens, friends or otherwise of the Court and its intended victim. The witnesses probably were few, for the case would need little evidence and less argument from the prosecuting counsel in that, the Abbot's own Court; and, indeed, so far as can be seen, the only possible defence was a mere sullen defiance. The offending executor was soon convicted by the jury; and by the fiat of the seneschal, he was in a few minutes safely lodged in Master DENTITH's custody in the Prison (the cell occupied in after-days by MARSH the Martyr) close to the Court, until he should satisfy the plaintiff's just demands under the Will.

Luckily or unluckily for the prisoner, he happened to be a sworn Freeman of CHESTER City; and as such his person was sacred, in the eyes of that city at all events, against attachment by either the Abbot or his myrmidons.

Ill news travels fast, and the distance was not great between the Court-house of St. THOMAS and the then COMMON HALL of the City, which adorned that not now very aristocratic thoroughfare known as COMMONHALL LANE. A messenger brings the news to His Worship the Mayor,—(then, it may be, sitting with his brother Aldermen and Justices in their ancient City Hall)—that the franchises of CHESTER had been insolently invaded by the high-handed Abbot; and that a Freeman of CHESTER was actually at that moment a prisoner in the clutches of that proud son of the Church!

Reprisals were at once determined on. Accordingly, during the night of that same 23rd of June, 1410, being the third day of the Abbot's great Fair, JOHN DE EWLOE, then Mayor of CHESTER, with JOHN TORPORLEIGH and HUGH MULTON, his two Sheriffs, and three Aldermen at his heels, sallied forth from their Common Hall. Thence, in solemn form, supported by the visible emblems of civic authority, the Sword and Mace, they came with many citizens to the gate of the said Monastery, and demanded and took away the body of the prisoner from the custody of the Abbot's gaoler. Not that poor PODINGTON was much the better for the rescue; for he was forthwith marched behind the two City Sheriffs, in the charge of their Sergeants-at-Mace, and safely lodged in perhaps less agreeable quarters in the City Prison at the NORTHGATE; and there he remained, in deeper durance vile, pending the issues of the conflict. This was the first scene of the drama.

And now, acting again by their proctor or counsel, RICHARD DE MANLEY, the Abbot and Convent re-enter the arena, but this time in the superior court, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. To this high tribunal, the Mayor, two Sheriffs, and Aldermen were duly cited, and did actually appear before the full Bench, the Cause being again in open court reheard. No doubt there was an abundance of swearing *pro* and *con*, some of it true, some false; but the Judges finally decided that St.

WERBURGH was entitled to have her Courts and prison, with right of execution, in like manner with the older courts of the EARL and of the CITY.

In accordance with this decision, and under the orders of SIR HENRY HULSE and the rest of the King's Judges, on the 9th of March following, ROGER POTTER having in the interim become Mayor of CHESTER, there was another solemn conclave of the MAYOR and CORPORATION in Commonhall Lane. This time, however, they met, not as belligerents, but as soldiers on parole, honourably beaten in the fray, and loyally accepting their defeat.

The SHERIFF repaired to the NORTHGATE Prison a second time with his officers, and brought forth the wretched executor. And then, not as previously in the night time, but in the full light of day, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Commonalty conducted him back to the ABBEY GATE, and surrendered him to the keeping of his ecclesiastical gaoler. There he remained a prisoner until the 4th of April following, when he was freed by the bail or main-prize of one JOHN BRAYNE, of Bridgenorth, "out of reverence," says the record, "for the Feast of Passover." This seems to indicate that there was at that date a sort of annual gaol delivery at Easter, at all events for debt,—an echo perhaps of the Romano-Jewish custom referred to by Pilate previous to the Crucifixion,—“Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover.” But however that may be, it is certain our CHESTER Freeman was so released; and thus fell the curtain on the final act of a local drama that was no doubt the whole town's talk for many a long day.

Passing over the somewhat ugly revelations in the City Portmote Court in the days of Abbot OLDHAM about 1485, we move three years forward to the year 1488, when further ill-blood between the City and the Abbey enlivens our local records.

The Monks had recently completed their new Church of ST. NICHOLAS, partially visible to us of to-day in the outer shell of the MUSIC HALL; and had allotted its use to the parish of ST. OSWALD, intending to absorb the old Parish Church into their newly edified ABBEY. But the parishioners were thoroughly adverse to the change, and they enlisted the aid of the MAYOR and CORPORATION, who were always quite ready to try a lance

with their great clerical rivals. Between them they kept up a harassing fire at the new Abbot, SIMON RIPLEY, which ended in his retracing his steps, and in the return of the parishioners to their old house of prayer. This they continued to occupy without challenge for nearly 400 years, or until 1880, when ST. OSWALD's, as a distinct Parish Church within the Walls of the CATHEDRAL ceased so to be, and it now forms the newly arranged parish of ST. OSWALD with ST. THOMAS'.

During the ten years that followed, the rebuilding of the ABBEY went slowly on. The old Norman central Tower had meanwhile vanished; and, by 1507, the ground was cleared away for the erection of the new Tower. The MAYOR and CORPORATION were present in state at the laying of the Foundation Stone; and a new official Mace, bought evidently in honour of this important ceremony, was first used on the occasion. And this enables me to record a curious fact which transpired, bearing upon this very subject, just while Sir GILBERT SCOTT's workmen were engaged under the base of this 1507 Tower, during the great Restoration of 1868-76,—of which the decorations in the North Aisle of the Nave are even yet (1883) still in progress, thanks to the munificence of Mrs. ROBERT PLATT, of STALEYBRIDGE.

The workmen were, at the time I refer to, sinking for a base for the new Organ Screen under the northern arch of this great Tower, when the clerk of the works, the late Mr. JAMES FRATER, came upon the foundations of the two northern piers supporting the Tower. And what did we find here? I say *we*, for Mr. FRATER was good enough always to keep me well posted up in each of his discoveries, and I was thus present almost at the moment when this one was made. What did we find? Why, that, in order to form solid foundations for the 16th century Tower, the wicked monks of that day had actually gone to their graveyard close by, had taken up the freshest, most massive, and best of the coped stones that covered their sacred dead, and carried them bodily to the new works!

And what then? Why, first chipping down the beautiful raised crosses with which loving hands had adorned those chaste memorials, they laid them down side by side,—deep down upon the virgin rock,—four or five in a row, head to foot; placing

another similar row again at right angles upon the first, and repeating the process until the foundations of the two piers had been well and truly laid. I don't find it recorded that there was any actual remonstrance made, on the City's part, against this sacrilege and spoliation; but most people will agree that there ought to have been. And I may go further and say, that the belief, heretofore warm within me,—that greater sanctity for the dead was shown in mediæval days than in our own,—thereby sustained a shock from which it will not very readily recover. Let me just parenthetically add that, in proof of the foregoing statements, Mr. FRATER was good enough to take out two or three of the more accessible of these ancient slabs, replacing them with other masonry; and that these slabs have now been placed in a position within the Precincts where they may be seen and studied by present and future enquirers.

Come we now to the year 1511, at which date JOHN BIRCHENSHAW was Abbot and THOMAS SMITH was Mayor of CHESTER. In this year, says WEBB in the *Vale Royal*, "there was great debate between the Citizens and the Abbot;" but I have not been able to discover the ground of the quarrel. It lasted, though, for several years, and the Abbot stood suspended from his office until the trouble was ended, as it ultimately seems to have been, in his favour.

Great changes were at hand. Towards the close of that century, the Reformation having transpired in the interval, and the ancient Abbey having developed into a CATHEDRAL, I find, in our Municipal Records, traces of ill-will peeping out between the Corporation and the new ecclesiastical *regime*. The dispute was mainly about the frontage to NORTHGATE STREET between the Great and Little Abbey Gates, and in front of the Abbey wall westward. The City Archives are silent as to the final issue of the feud. I conclude, therefore, that the clerics again had the best of it. It was probably to this, and other previous triumphs, that we may ascribe, in some degree, the daring and overt act of war to which attention must now be called.

From apparently the earliest days of our Local Municipal life, it had been the custom, as it still most properly continues to be, for the MAYOR and CORPORATION, accompanied by the

emblems of their official dignity, to attend divine service at the CATHEDRAL on days of state and civic ceremonial. And not only so: it had also been the rule to bear the City Sword *erect*, point upwards, as well as the City Mace, in front of Mr. Mayor, conformably with the great Charter of King HENRY VII. But the CATHEDRAL and its precincts formed with their other property in BOUGHTON and UPPER NORTHGATE the manor of the DEAN and CHAPTER, as in the DOMESDAY BOOK it was shown to be the bailiwick of the Bishop; and even Mayors and Sheriffs must be made to refrain from acts inimical to Chapter rights. Possibly, though evidence of the fact is wanting, the practice of our civic rulers in this regard had beforetime given rise both to question and remonstrance. But in 1606, the Chapter authorities could contain themselves no longer, and so, war to the knife was suddenly proclaimed.

The *Vale Royal*, written by WILLIAM WEBB, a clerk in the Mayor's Court, and probably an eye-witness of the whole affair, says, "In the moneth of January, the Sword being carried before the Maior through the MINSTER CHURCH, it was put down by one of the Prebends, which was the cause of some controversy, but the same was presently appeased by the Bishop." Thus far the *Vale Royal*. I have, in my own library, a manuscript chronology of CHESTER events down to the year 1625, when the compiler probably died. He says, "In the year (1606) controversies betwixte the Citizens and the Prebys in the Cathedrall Church, as concerninge their Authoritye in the Church, which afterwards was qualified."

Turning now to the MS. Records at the TOWN HALL, which I have myself read and in a large sense transcribed *verbatim*, I find, in the Assembly Book for January, 1606, the following entry:—"It is ordered that a letter from the Maior, thaldermen, and others of this citie shal be written vnto the right hon'ble the lo: Chauncelour of England, for intimation to his lope. of Mr. Sharpe's late abvse in pullinge downe the sworde w'ch was carryed before the said Maior in the churche of St. WERBURGH. And to beseeche his Ho'r's favour towards this citie therein, And that afterwarde such further course shalbe devysed, And that alsoe a l're shalbe written to the same p'pose vnto S'r PREETER

WARBURTON, Knighte, to geve him adu'tizemente of the p'misses, and to desier his favour and aduise therein."

There was no *Chester Courant* or *Chester Chronicle* in those days, so the anonymous scribblers had rather a poor time of it, and had some difficulty it may well be supposed in airing their respective crotchets either on one side or the other. There were, however, one or two irrepressibles, who would have their say in spite of every obstacle, as the following entry from the Corporation Books pretty clearly proves:—"Alsoe it is ordered, that warninge and admonition shalbe given publickly that noe free citizen, nor other p'son whatsoever, at any tyme hereafter shall make, write, divulge, p'nownce, nor sett oute anie scandalous libells or ignominious writings, nor geve oute nor vtter anie vndecente speeches tendinge to the defamation, slaunder, or exprobaton of the said Mr. Sharpe, under paine of severe punishmente.

"And further that all freemen and inhabbitants in the same citie shall doe their beste to learne and fynde oute by what p'son a carde written vpon and caste into the vtter Pentice within the said Citie, which did conteigne words of disgrace againste the said Mr. Sharpe, was soe written and caste into the pentice, to thende such p'son maie condingly be punished for the same."

The CORPORATION having put their case formally before the Lord Chancellor, it came on for hearing in due course before Sir Richard Lewkenor and Sir H. Townshend, two of the Judges of Assize, in the ancient Exchequer Court at the Castle of CHESTER, when the whole question was gone into in presence of all the parties. Whatever may have been the exact line of defence set up by the Dean and Chapter, it altogether failed, as we shall at once see.

The Award of the Judges is a curious document, and has never been printed, or perhaps even read by any soul now living, until it was turned out for the purposes of this Paper. I give it therefore in their lordships' own words, under date 17th April, 1607.

After stating the Cause to be between the Mayor and Citizens of CHESTER, on the ons part, and PEETER SHARPE and ROGER

RAVENSCROFT, two of the Prebendaries of CHESTER CATHEDRAL, on the other, My Lords proceed:—

“Upon letters from the right honourable the lord Chauncelour of England, to us directed and deliured, for the hearinge, apprasinge and endinge of some variaunces and questions latelie arisen and growne between the said p'ties, concerning the puttinge down of the Swoorde, (carried before the said Maior in the cathedrall Church within the said citie of Chester), by the said Peeter Sharpe, the xiiijth daie of January laste paste (1606), And for the shuttinge of the west doore in the said cathedrall church upon the feast daie of the Purification of the Virgine Mary laste paste, by the said Roger Ravenscroft, againste the said Maior and Citizens, at their repaire to the said church the same daie, attendinge the Corps of Nicholas Massie, late Sword-bearer [and formerley Sheriff] in the said Cittie, Wee accordingly called the said p'ties before us this daie in the CASTLE OF CHESTER, for the hearinge their Allegations in the said Cause.

At which daie the Recorder of the said Citie and diu'se others, Aldermen and Citizens of the said Citie (PHILLIP PHILLIPS now Maior of the said Citie beinge then sicke),—And the said Peter Sharpe, Roger Ravenscrofte, and David Yale, Doctor of the Civill Lawe, three of the Prebendaries of the said Cathedrall Church, app'ed before us.

Whereupon, and upon openinge of the dislikes and Complaintes of the said Cittizens againste the said Mr. Peter Sharpe and Maister Roger Ravenscrofte, for wronges alleged to be by them offered unto the said Maior and cittizens, by puttinge downe the said swoorde, and shuttinge the Church doore of the said Church as aforesaid; and upon hearinge of some witnesses examyned concerninge the same causes, It most clearly app'ed unto us to be true that the said Peeter Sharpe, the said xiiijth daie of January, did putt downe with his hand the swoorde Carryed before the said Maior in the said Cathedral church, And that the said Roger Ravenscrofte did likewyse cause the said Churchdoore of the same Cathedrall church to be shutt againste the said Maior and Cittizens vpon the said feaste daie of the Purification last paste, as aforesaid.

And it also app'ed vnto vs, that it hath bene vsed that the Maior of Chester for the tyme beinge hath had the swoorde Carried before him in the said cathedrall church at his Cominge into the same church to hear diuine Service and Sermon, or vpon other necessarie and iuste occasions, and at his goinge oute of and from the same. And that the same west church doore hath likewise been vsed to be open for the said Maior and Cittizens at such tyme as they have accompanied anie funerall or dead bodies into and out off the said Church.

And wee have alsoe seene and perused an order made in the said Cause, sithence the said swoorde putt downe and church doore shutt, as aforesaid, by the righte Reu'ende father in god, GEORGE lo. Bushoppe of CHESTER, and others the Kinges Ma'ties Commissioners in Causes Eccles'iall for appeasing of the said controu'sies, to p'vente further troubles, disorders, and breaches of the peace, in or towchinge the said Cause.

Therefore, and to that ende that unitie, love, and peace betweene the said Maior and Cittizens, Prebendaries and others the members of the said Church, maie be kepte and p'served, and that all occasions of further disturbance, or misdemenor to be hereafter attempted or Committed, may be staied and p'vented for the tyme to come. We doe order that the said Maior and cittizens and their successors, at all tymes hereafter, shall freelie and quietlie passe and repasse and goe through the said great weste church doore into the said Church, at the tyme of anie funerall or attendance vpon any dead corps to be buried in the same church.

And we doe furthermore strictly order that when, and that as often as, the Maior of the same citie for the tyme beinge shall hereafter repaier to the said church for the heringe of diuine Service or Sermon, or vpon anie other iuste occasion, havinge his swoorde carried before him in the said church or p'cintes or lib'ties of the same, That then and soe often, neither the said Prebendaries nor anie other officer or Minister of the said Church shall by themselves or anie other by their or anie of their means, Concente, or p'curement, stoppe, staie, or hinder the said Maior or his swoorde-bearer, or either of them, in or for the carryinge up of the said swoorde, in the said Church at anie tyme hereafter; but shall p'mitte and Sufferr the said Maior and swordbearer quietlie to carrie the

swoorde of the said Citie, with the pointe upp, in the said Church, as hereto fore hath bene vsed and accustomed, until it shalbe otherwise ordered, adiudged, or decreed between the said p'ties or their Successors, vpon some Judiciall hearinge, or by ordinarie Course of Lawe, &c., &c.

R. LEWKENOR.

H. TOWNSHEND."

The right here claimed, and solemnly established in a court of law before the two Judges of CHESTER, whose names are hereto attached, 270 years ago, is still an appanage of, and a distinction exercised by, the MAYOR and CORPORATION of CHESTER. And it is worthy of remark that, when the coat of arms was confirmed to the city in the reign of ELIZABETH, the crest allotted to it was "the sword of state, erect, and with the point upwards," exactly as it was set forth in the foregoing Award.

We see clearly enough from all this how greatly the Mayor and Commonalty esteemed the prerogative conferred upon them of old by the Dignity of the Sword—viz.: to pass through the body of the CATHEDRAL, as doubtless their predecessors had usually aforetime done through the Nave of St. WERBURGH's Abbey, without lawful let or hindrance of either the Abbot and his Monks, or of their Reformed successors, the Dean and Chapter. It was a prescriptive right the Citizens of CHESTER had no disposition to surrender,—not even to so powerful and august a body as they found themselves confronted with in the persons of the two prebendaries, Maisters SHARPE and RAVENSCROFT. They, the CORPORATION, and the whole City with them, had come to regard the great West Door and Nave of the CATHEDRAL as a sort of King's highway, so far as their being the State or official entrance to the QUIRE and St. OSWALD's Church. And thus, when the gordian knot was tied with so high a hand by the Dean and Prebends, and the fathers of the City found the West Door barred against them and their honoured Sword, CHESTER determined, in the person of its Mayor, boldly to cut the knot again, and to determine once for all the unseemly quarrel. Appeal was made to the High Court of Chancery,—the Cause was tried,—and the result proved that the City was well within its right, and that their clerical friends were altogether in the wrong,—a Judgment that holds good on that particular point down to our own day.

Whether the "unitie, love, and peace," so naively suggested to the disputants by the Judges, actually at once resulted or not, we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that, since then, no very serious bitterness or conflict has occurred between the leaders Ecclesiastical and leaders Civil of our good old City. Contrasting, too, the struggles of those days with the almost absolute "unitie, love, and peace" now animating alike the Cathedral Body and the City, we may feel abundantly thankful that our lot has, after all, not fallen on very unpleasant places. Instead of bickering and contending with each other, in courts of law or in personal encounter, as of old, jealousies and feuds of this nature have passed away, we may hope, for ever.

Where the Abbot's Court, with its attendant Prison and gaoler's lodge, in those days stood, a broader CHURCH and more earnest STATE, moving locally hand in hand, have now planted a handsome and appropriate block of building, to be known to present and future generations of CESTRIANS as the Royal GRAMMAR SCHOOL of KING HENRY the EIGHTH!

And who shall say no to such a change? Surely not we who, as members of an ARCHITECTURAL, HISTORIC, and (shall I add?) Learned SOCIETY, have an eye to the adornment, as well as to the intellectual growth of this old-world City. Rather let us wish "God Speed!" to the Movement, praying that the good and true men at the helm therein may live to reap the fruit of their loyal, zealous, and self-denying labours!



A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. III., page 242).

1864.

Dec. 14. The last Ordinary Meeting for the year was held in the Old City Library, where a large gathering of Members and Friends assembled to hear Dr. BRUSHFIELD read a scholarly and interesting *first* Paper on "The Roman Remains of CHESTER, with a particular description of those discovered in Bridge Street, in July, 1863." This Paper, as well as the subsequent one from the Doctor's pen, will be found printed in full in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 1-106.

The Lecture was illustrated with large Cartoon Drawings by Dr. Brushfield's own facile pencil; and the fine series of Roman Relics found during 1863 on the site treated of in the Lecture, &c., were placed for inspection on the table, and examined with unusual interest by the Members present.

The LECTURER explained that the subject had so grown upon his hands that, at the solicitation of the Secretaries, he had divided the Paper into two parts: and by this process he would be able, at the next Meeting, to bring his remarks to a more complete and systematic termination.

A number of small Abbey Counters (otherwise known as Nuremberg Tokens) recently found during alterations at Saughton Grange, were, by the favour of Lord Westminster, exhibited at the Meeting.

The lateness of the hour prevented any discussion; but a vote of thanks was cordially passed to the enthusiastic Lecturer.

1865.

Jan. 25. Dr. BRUSHFIELD delivered the *second* portion of his valuable Lecture on "The Roman Remains of Chester."

The Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD occupied the chair, and there was again an exceptionally large attendance. This Paper was fully given in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 1-106, and may be safely referred to and trusted by all who were not able to be present at this and the previous Meeting of the Society.

The LECTURER referred gratefully to the help he had received from Mr. Thomas Hodgkinson, the architect for the new buildings in Bridge Street east; and from Mr. John PEACOCK and Mr. Lockwood, the former of whom had contributed several telling sketches and models of that most fruitful of all Chester archaeological sites.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN, alluding to what he called the "tight" passage of arms between the Lecturer and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Tite, observed that the result of the controversy was that the latter gentleman had, since the Doctor's Lecture, seen fit to change his former opinions on the subject; and had announced through him (the Canon) that he had come round to Dr. BRUSHFIELD'S views.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer terminated the proceedings.

Feb. 14. The fourth monthly Meeting of the Session was held at the Society's Rooms, St Peter's Churchyard, on the evening named, when the Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD occupied the chair. Mr. ELLIS A. DAVIDSON (head master of the Government Schools of Science and Art) read the first portion of a Paper on "The History of Books and their Engravings," and exhibited a large number of Ancient MSS. and Books in illustration of his Paper. Amongst them was an original Hebrew Sacred Scroll of the Law, written on 23 yards of parchment (*circa* 1034), lent for the purpose by A. Goldsmid, Esq., London.

Mr. DAVIDSON said:—"When we reflect on the influence Books have had on the whole history of the human mind; when we consider that by means of Books knowledge acquired in one age is

left to another to be added to and improved upon ; and, above all, when we reflect how by the means of Books, and our power of multiplying them, we are enabled to spread the WORD OF GOD over the entire face of the earth, we cannot but feel that the art of Printing, taken as one grand whole, has done more for the progress of civilization and education than any other invention." After describing the various substances used in past ages in the manufacture of paper, as explained by Pliny and other writers ; and shewing that the Chinese were acquainted with the art long prior to the 10th century, Mr. DAVIDSON explained that the most ancient of all Books—the Hebrew Scrolls of the Law—have always been written on the skins of animals or parchment, and are written on the latter to this day ; nor is there any information of Hebrew written Books having existed in any other form than Scrolls. The complete Book, such as the Pentateuch, would be called " Sepher," whilst a separate portion such as Esther, Lamentations, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes, are called " Megillah," from " golal " to roll ; and similarly we have the word volume, from " volvo " to roll. Mr. DAVIDSON then spoke of the supply of Books in the middle ages before the introduction of Printing, which were written by clerical scholars. The invention of Printing was next touched upon. It was a most difficult thing to say who invented that Art. The first name they met with as associated with the printing art was Laurence Coster, who was the son of the Custos of the Cathedral at Haerlem. The account given by Hadrian Junius was that, walking in a wood near the city, he began to cut some letters upon the rind of a beech tree, which, for fancy sake, having impressed on paper he printed one or two lines as specimens for his grandchildren, the sons of his daughter, to follow. Types of wood were made, but Coster carried his invention no further than the separate wooden types. Metal ones were afterwards made by John Guttenberg, who, with his brother, established a printing-house in Mentz. The honour of completing the discovery was due to Peter Schoeffer, a workman employed by Fust and Guttenberg.

The Lecturer expatiated upon the progress of the art to the present day, and spoke in glowing terms of the wonders that were being wrought by that mighty engine—the Press.

Mr. W. W. FROULKES, M.A., said : Schœfflin (*Vindiciæ typographiæ*) divides the invention of printing into three stages—block printing, printing with chiselled type, and printing with moulded type, the two latter constituting typography, properly so called. The first stage Schœfflin asserts was invented by Laurens Coster, at Haerlem. The second by John Guttenberg, at Mentz, about 1436; and the third also at Mentz, by Peter Schœffer, between the years 1450 and 1455. The discovery of the art of Printing being kept profoundly secret for some years, might account for the obscurity in which its origin was involved; while the importance which it afterwards acquired was sufficient to arouse the numerous claims, which in later years had been advanced by various writers; to the honour of its invention. Schœfflin, in arriving at the conclusions above mentioned, seemed to have weighed very fully all the arguments *pro* and *con*.

Mr. DAVIDSON, after replying to some of Mr. Froulkes' remarks, said that he had lately seen in London a copy of a rare local work, *Chester's Triumph in Honour of her Prince*, of which original work he believed not more than one or two copies were known. On a flyleaf in a copy of the first edition of the Welsh Bible, sent to him for exhibition, he noticed the statement that it was printed by a Nonconformist Bookseller of Chester, one Peter Bodvel. He hoped some member of the SOCIETY might be able to throw some further light on both these subjects.

Mr. T. HUGHES said he would accept the Lecturer's challenge, by glancing at some of the more local phases of his interesting subject. He had brought with him from his own Library specimens of the earliest CHESTER Printing known; one being a handbill of WILLIAM THORP, a Bookseller of Chester, during the time of the Protectorate,—and this was, so far as he knew and believed, the very earliest relic extant of the printer's art in Chester. He also exhibited a fine copy of Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury*, a quaint work in folio, printed and published in Chester in 1688, the year of William III.'s accession to the Throne. Another special curiosity he had to bring forward was a Document more than 200 years earlier in date than the oldest effort of Caxton or his contemporaries. This was a MS. Commission of Assize held at Chester, apparently in March, 1256, (17th Edward I.) a Document which

he presumed had at one time belonged to the Exchequer Court of the County. It referred, among other matters, to some disturbance at Poynton, near Stockport, some ecclesiastical disputes at Astbury, &c., &c.; and among the names of early Cheshire men recorded were the following:—The Bishop of Chester, the Abbot of Chester, Richard de Stockport, John de Mottram, Geoffrey de Bredbury, William de Mainwaring, Jordan de Titherington, Richard le Grosvenor, &c., &c. The book referred to by the Lecturer, *Chester's Triumph in Honour of her Prince*, had been reprinted by the Chetham Society, and a copy was in his (Mr. Hughes') possession. PETER BODVEL, the CHESTER Bookseller who published the Welsh Bible referred to by Mr. DAVIDSON, was not a Chester man, but an interloper in 1676 from some other place, who commenced business in this city in defiance of the then law. After numerous expensive trials, Bodvel had finally to make his peace with the local trade by purchasing his freedom as a member of the Stationers' Company, of which Guild he became the Alderman a few years afterwards.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN, in an appropriate speech, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. DAVIDSON for his able Paper, which was cordially received, and the meeting separated.

Feb. 20. The second portion of the Paper was read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY held this evening.

MR. DAVIDSON, after speaking of the numerous means by which Books have been illustrated, gave a rapid sketch of the history of Illumination from the earliest known period to its decline, after which he said:—In our own day there is a tendency to revive it, and to-night two of the finest illustrated works on the subject are on the table. Even at this early period of the evening I feel warned that every word I say is detaining you from examining these wonderful books. Those who are engaging in this delightful study, I would urge to bear in mind that every period has had its distinct style, and that the mere purchase of printed outlines and filling them up with colour is *not Illumination*. The whole thing is an absolute historic study; and you might as well introduce the characters of one reign in a work describing the events of another, as commit similar errors in art. The

letters of each period have their characteristics, so have the ornaments, whilst the treatment of the whole subject has varied with time, race, and country.

The LECTURER then passed on to review the early history of Wood Engraving, giving a detailed account of the two earliest woodcuts bearing dates that are known, facsimiles of which he passed round the room. The reason why the illustrations in the books of early date are so much inferior to the larger separate woodcuts, Mr. DAVIDSON explained to be that the Formschneiders, before the introduction of printing from types, had formed themselves into a sort of "trade union" for mutual protection. The engravers looked with contempt on the men who punched and cast their figures, but still feared that the growing art would injure their trade. The Printers wished to show the Artists that they could do without them; so that on the whole there must have been an absolute state of antagonism, and the book printers seem to have employed their type cutters, who were mere artizans, to execute their wood blocks as well as their letters. In proof of this, Mr. DAVIDSON referred to that wonderful book, the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed at Nuremberg in 1494; in which he said the type is excellent, whilst the cuts, of which there are vast numbers, are coarse to a degree. Another feature in this book, as indeed of most of the mediæval works, is the representation of the events of one period with the architectural features of another. Thus, Adam and Eve are driven out of Eden through a gateway having the ogee arch, crockets, and finial of the Decorated period of Gothic, the gate or door itself having handsome mediæval iron hinges!

A running commentary followed on the numerous books of art on the table, including Caxton's *Book of Chesse*, as reprinted by Figgins. The Lecturer touched on the various cuts and styles of Engraving, both on copper and wood, and concluded as follows:—In the 16th century the demand for wood-cuts reached its height, and it became for the time as popular as it has again become in our own day,—Bibles and classics, chronicles and romances, books of prayer and books of travels, calendars and caricatures, were adorned with cuts, which up to that period formed the only mode of illustration available for books. But in the midst of this popularity Copper

plate Engraving arose, and owing to the refinement and softness of tone obtainable, that style won the hearts of all, and at once became a serious antagonist. Wood engraving began to be rapidly lowered from the high position it had attained, being now again executed by workmen; all the Artists of the day,—excepting Albert Durer and some of his school,—having deserted it in favour of the new art. It was only at the beginning of the present century, when Copperplate Engraving had not only reached its height, but had in its turn met with a rival in Steel Engraving,—and when Lithography had become well known,—that in the very face of all these, Wood Engraving was revived as the great medium for book illustration; and this renaissance took place in our own happy country.

Mr. DAVIDSON related the story and described the style of Thomas Bewick, whom he designated the “father of the revival.” But, he continued, “Bewick’s success, as an engraver of objects in natural history, was in the main owing to his perfect knowledge of his subject.” “Hence,” said he, “it is that the finest works on both wood and metal are those drawn if not actually engraved by the Artists themselves, who knew and felt their subject, instead of leaving the reproduction of their designs to the hands of others. This, too, is my reason for endeavouring to show practically the processes of Engraving and the mode of taking impressions, for some of these operations are easily acquired by amateurs; and if an Archæologist can with his own hand illustrate his Paper it adds a hundred-fold to its value.”

Mr. DAVIDSON next proceeded to show how printing from wood blocks is accomplished, and circulated the printing he had then and there done,—some pretty views of places of interest in Chester,—amongst the audience. He then related the history of Copperplate Engraving, including line engraving, etching, mezzotint, stippled, and aquatint, giving brief biographies of their exponents, and detailing the processes employed in each; and then in a small copper-plate press printed a piece of etching of his own designing,—one of the subjects being the Hebrew Scroll he had exhibited at the previous Lecture. He gave the history and Processes of Lithography, and printed some very pretty views

from stone: next followed an account of glyphography and the then newly-discovered process of photo-lithography; for information concerning which, and for specimens, he rendered his thanks to Colonel Sir Henry James, the inventor. He also thanked Mr. A. Goldsmid, for his kind loan of the Hebrew Scroll; Messrs. Figgins for loan of specimens, and Mrs. Major Payne for some beautiful Chinese books; and so concluded his remarks, amid much applause.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN pronounced a high eulogium upon Mr. Davidson for the able way in which he had handled his Lecture, and the clever specimens of art he had produced in the room;—for shewing them, too, as he had done, the various methods and processes by which they were attained.

The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to Mr. Davidson and the exhibitors, which was cordially received.

Nov. 7. The closing Meeting of the year was held as usual, when Mr. WILLIAM BEAMONT, of Warrington, an old friend and warm supporter of the SOCIETY, read the first division of a learned Paper, entitled "HENRY IV.,—being an attempt to connect some CHESHIRE Persons, Circumstances, and Places, with SHAKSPERE's Drama of that name."

This most interesting introductory Paper will be found *verbatim* in the SOCIETY's *Journal*, Vol. iii., pp. 215-46; as will also the concluding portion at pp. 343-64 of the same volume.

It was a complete epitome of the events enacted in the first years of Henry IV.'s unsettled reign, ending in the defeat and death of Harry Hotspur on the bloody field of Shrewsbury. CHESHIRE, in that, as in every great battle fought between the various competitors for the kingly power, was largely represented, for among the killed or prisoners taken that day scarcely a single county name or family is absent.

After a short discussion upon the Paper, the SECRETARIES introduced the rubbing of a beautiful Monumental Brass just erected by Mr. H. Ff. Taylor, in Chester Cathedral, to the memory of his father, the Rev. Mascie Damville Taylor, formerly of this

city. The Brass is the work of Messrs. Hardman, of Birmingham, and is considered to be a very elegant specimen both in design and execution.

Feb. 22. JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq. (Old Bank), in the chair.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD read an especially piquant and interesting Paper, entitled "Puritanism in Chester in 1637: An account of the Reception of William Prynne, by certain inhabitants of the City of Chester, when on his way to be imprisoned in Caernarvon Castle."—See Vol. III., pp. 271-88.

Mr. T. HUGHES would supply an omission of the Lecturer's, by stating that the original portrait on panel of Bishop Bridgeman, exhibited at this meeting, had been lent for the occasion from the Bishop's Palace at Chester. It was the earliest of the series of episcopal portraits preserved at Chester, and had, he believed, never yet been engraved; but it might hereafter form an illustration to the Rev. Canon's Paper, when it came on for publication in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*. The three Chester men prominently associated with Prynne, viz.:—Ince, Bruen, and Leigh, were citizens of influence and repute; the first named, PETER INCE, served the corporate office of Leavelooker in 1635; and appears, like Prynne himself, to have conformed to Church rule prior to his death in 1658; for he left by will 52 shillings yearly to the poor churchgoers of Holy Trinity Parish, charged on his house in Watergate Street. He was a member of the Stationers' Company for 35 years. His cousin WILLIAM INCE was Mayor of Chester in 1642, and was afterwards M.P. for the city. CALVIN BRUEN was Sheriff of Chester in 1635, and his elder brother JONATHAN BRUEN was one of the Barons of the Exchequer. PETER LEIGH (or LEE) was an ironmonger (as was also his fellow sufferer Bruen);—was Leavelooker at the very time of his political martyrdom, and Mayor in 1656. He issued a small copper trade token, a copy of which he (the speaker) had in his cabinet. His shop was in Eastgate Street, and it was clear that he was one of the chief and wealthiest of the Chester tradesmen of his day.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS sent for exhibition a set of fine views of CREWE HALL, the once splendid mansion of LORD CREWE, destroyed by fire on the 3rd of January last. Mr. Morris was unable to

attend owing to indisposition; or, having been the officer in command of the Fire Brigade in attendance at the Fire, he would have personally pointed out the various points of the mansion that had been sacrificed.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES drew attention to the proof sheets of Mr. Green's very elegant and learned reprint of Geoffrey Whitney's *Book of Emblems*. The work was well and elaborately illustrated; and many of the Cheshire subjects were wholly new to the county collector, and would no doubt be generally appreciated and admired. The subject was in a degree familiar to the Members of this SOCIETY, inasmuch as Mr. Green had in previous Sessions read two valuable Papers on Whitney, the chief of our Cheshire Tudor poets.

Mr. W. WILSON exhibited, by the courtesy of the owner, Mr. THOMAS DAY, a copy of the Black-letter Bible of 1573, from the press of the celebrated Elizabethan printer, JOHN DAY. This particular copy was once the property of Mr. PETER DAY, of Newton-cum-Larton, near West Kirby, who was probably a son or near relative of the great printer of 1573; and it was remarkable that that estate had continued in the possession of the Day family down to the present time.

Mr. HUGHES exhibited from his own stores two choice little black letter treasures—one "*The Hope of the Faithful*," and the other "*An Exhortacion to the Carienge of Chrytes Crosse*," both being from the pen of the renowned Miles Coverdale, and, in the form exhibited, he believed, now all but unique.

SIR PHILIP GREY EGERTON, M.P., presented to the SOCIETY's Library a copy of the "*Oulton Catalogue*," recently printed by him for private distribution. The volume contains a list and full description of the oil paintings, enamels, porcelain, and other articles of *vertu* adorning the mansion at Oulton Park.

March 15. Meadows Frost, Esq., in the chair.

Mr. E. A. DAVIDSON read a Paper devoted to the subject of "Early Landmarks in the Highway of Time."

A vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman closed the proceedings.

Nov. 22. Mr. ROBERT G. KELLY, Artist, of Birkenhead, delivered an able Lecture "On the Enjoyment and Application of Art,"—at which Meeting Dr. McEWEN presided.

The Lecture treated of nearly every department of Art, and displayed considerable knowledge of the subjects touched. During its delivery Mr. Kelly was frequently applauded. He occasionally illustrated his remarks by a series of crayon drawings on the black-board (done in the presence of the audience), with remarkable skill and facility.

The CHAIRMAN having inquired if any of the members present had any remarks to make upon the Lecture,

After a slight pause, Mr. T. HUGHES said, as the only Secretary present, he would take the earliest opportunity to propose a vote of thanks to their esteemed Lecturer, Mr. KELLY, for his kindness in coming forward to serve them (the SOCIETY) in a time of difficulty—a time when the Secretaries had found it especially difficult to get a Lecturer to open the Session. Mr. KELLY had come a considerable distance on a wintry day to oblige the SOCIETY, and they were all deeply indebted to him for his courtesy. He hoped that his remarks would induce other fellow-members to come into the "field" to help them to keep up the *prestige* of the SOCIETY, by reading Papers upon any subject of antiquarian interest they might think suitable to bring before them. As the hour was getting late, he would say but a few words respecting the able Lecture that had been delivered that evening. In the course of Mr. KELLY's remarks he felt reminded of two of our 16th century county men who were eminent for their skill in two of the Arts, namely, DANIEL KING, an Engraver, and RANDLE HOLME, a painter, both Citizens of Chester. Mr. KELLY had spoken about Music and beautiful Bells. The large Bell in Chester Cathedral, whose "curfew" tones they used to hear every night, was now no more, it having met with its death-blow while ringing on the Prince of Wales' birthday, on the 9th inst. For more than a century that Bell had, with its deep musical tones, been one of the glories of our venerable Cathedral; and he hoped but a short time would elapse before they (the Citizens) would again hear it, or rather its successor, in all its grandeur and power.

The Rev. W. B. MARSDEN, in a humorous speech, seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. KELLY for the able Lecture he had delivered.

Mr. KELLY briefly acknowledged the compliment, and the proceedings terminated.

Dec. 16. The Rev. W. WORTH HOARE, Incumbent of Stalybridge, read a Paper on "The Manor and District of Staley, in this County."—See pp. 107-24 of our present volume.

The LECTURER gave a short prefatory sketch of the geological features of the district; and, while tracing the descent of this particular Manor of Staley from the earliest period of our history, explained the original meaning of the ancient privileges attaching to an old English Manor. From a mere hamlet fifty years ago, Stalybridge, as it is now called, has developed, within living memory, into an important centre of manufactures and a busy hive of industry. This was both an interesting and instructive Lecture, and the more so as Mr. HOARE had resided on the spot as its pastor for nearly thirty years, and had thus been a personal witness of its rapid progress from obscurity to fame.

1867.

Jan. 31. The fourth monthly Meeting of the Session was held this evening, when there was an excellent attendance of members and friends.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD took the chair, and introduced the Lecturer of the evening as a gentleman well known among the agriculturists of the county as an able writer and speaker.

Mr. THOMAS RIGBY (of Over) then read a very interesting and well-constructed Paper "On DELAMERE FOREST and some of its Associations; with a short account of the Ancient City of EDISBURY."

After some preliminary remarks upon the Roman occupation of Britain, the Lecturer proceeded to speak of the system of enclosing immense tracts of land as forests,—instancing the New Forest; and then remarking that HUGH LUPUS, nephew to the Conqueror, and first Earl of Chester,—or, to speak almost more

correctly, first King of Cheshire,—having the county given to him by his Royal uncle to “hold as freely by the sword as he himself held the kingdom of England by the Crown,”—appears to have done a very similar thing in regard to the Forest of DELAMERE. “The Earl’s forest,” says ORMEROD, “is noticed in *Domesday* in several instances, and it likewise appears that it was not only formed of lands then found waste, but that villas had been afforested for the express purpose of adding to its limits; and he instances KINGSLEY and WEAVERHAM among others as being so afforested. This passion for forest sports seems to have prevailed also with his successors. What is now known as the Hundred of WIRRAL was formed into a Forest by Randle Meschines, the third Earl of Chester, and the timber in it was at one time so dense and so thick that an old couplet says:—

“From Blacon Point to Hilbre
A squirrel may leap from tree to tree.”

And up to the time of Edward III. it was said to be a “desolate forest and uninhabited.” MACCLESFIELD Forest, or Lyme Forest, according to Lucian the monk, was afforested by Ranulph de Blundeville, the fifth Earl of Chester. It is described as the boundary between Cheshire and Derbyshire, and contained as much land as is now divided into twenty-three townships.

The first of these three Cheshire Forests, DELAMERE,—the one we have to do with now more especially,—was originally called the Forest of Mara and Mondrem, and comprised not less than 62 townships, extending over a great part of the Hundred of NANTWICH, and nearly all the Hundred of EDISBURY. That part of the forest called Mara was situate in the latter Hundred, while Mondrem chiefly embraced the townships nearer to NANTWICH. “The districts in which it was situated,” says a modern writer, “was originally inhabited by the British tribe, the *Cornavii*, who seem to have been somewhat less fierce and more tractable than the rest of the painted savages who were once masters of our island.”

The first written Forest Laws on record were made in the year 1016, by Canute, the Danish King, who suffered himself to be seated on the sea shore by his courtiers when the tide was rising, to try the effect of his word upon the advancing wave, which they assured him would retire at his bidding! These laws were very

voluminous, and as a rule most arbitrary. They gave the King unlimited power to take possession of any tract of country and use it for his own benefit. They appointed Foresters or Verdurers to look after the deer, and their persons were held so sacred that if any man offered force to one of them he was, if a Freeman, to lose all his property and his freedom; if a villain his right hand was to be struck off; and if he repeated the offence he had to atone for his hardihood with the loss of his life. It was death to kill a deer in the Royal Forest: sometimes the offender had his eyes destroyed; and if any one through sport or malice even chased a deer until it panted, the lowest penalty was a fine of ten shillings!—a larger sum much in those days than we consider it now.

Of the objects of chase to these early huntsmen we have little information; but it is probable that the wolf, the bear, the wild boar, the roebuck, and the deer had their lairs in the Forest of Mara and Mondrem as in other Forests and parts of the kingdom. Even so late as the end of the 13th century, a writ was issued to all bailiffs, &c., in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, commanding them to aid and assist the Wolf Hunter General in destroying and exterminating all wolves in those counties; and many lands in various parts of the country were held by the service of keeping adjoining districts free from wolves. The brown bear also reigned contemporaneously with the wolf, and had its dens in our Forests so late as the 14th century. The wild boar, and also the wild bull, are said to have inhabited the New Forest in the reign of Charles I. The roebuck retained its place here among wild animals until within the last hundred years, when it became extinct; but the red deer and the fallow deer still remain to us, although confined to the enclosures and parks of "the stately homes of England."

It is probable therefore that the Forest of DELAMERE has often resounded to the roars and cries of wild beasts, and often in days of yore, as now, to the exciting music of the huntsman's horn. But as the ancient Forest Laws apply chiefly to deer, we may suppose they were its chief occupants as subjects of the chase. Although originally held by HUGH LUPUS, the first Earl of Chester, as "the Earl's Forest," yet we have no formal appointment of Forester until the reign of his nephew, Randle the First, who

came into its possession by heirship in the year 1120, and appointed **RALPH DE KINGSLEY**, of Kingsley, his Forester. With the tenure of his office he received a Horn, hooped with gold in three places, that he was to use in direction of the hunts of his Royal master, and which identical Horn still exists. One hundred years after its institution the office of Forester passed from the **KINGSLEYS** to the **DONES** of Utkinton, but there was a long and angry contention between them and the **GROSVENORS** of Budworth as to which was best entitled to the chief office; subsequently, however, it came into the exclusive possession of the **DONES**.

Edward I. was passionately fond of hunting, as were his successors, Henry IV. and Edward III. "The latter," it is said, "took so much delight in hunting that even at the time he was at war with France, and resident in that country, he had with him in his army sixty couple of stag hounds, and every day he amused himself with hunting or hawking. The great lords in his army had also their hounds and their hawks." Our good Queen Bess was also extremely fond of the Chase, and several accounts tell of the interest she took in it, sometimes as a spectator only, and at others as a cunning and bold huntress. "Even, by and by," wrote Earl Leicester on the 28th June, 1575, "Her Majesty is going to the Forest to kyll some bucks with her bow, as she hath done this morning." The severe Forest Laws I have quoted were much modified during the reigns of these Princes, but were still decisive enough in all conscience to check the growth of a taste for venison. "No man," willed Henry III. towards the close of his reign, "no man from henceforth shall lose life or limb for killing of our deer; but if any man be taken therewith and convicted for taking our venison he shall make a greivous fine, if he have anything on which to levy a fine; and if he have not he shall be imprisoned for a year and a day, and after the year and a day have expired he shall be liberated if he can find sureties; and if not, he shall abjure the realm." And the quaintness and consideration of the following concession gives us a glimpse into the social life and state of the times:—"Whatsoever Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron, in coming to us at our commandment, should happen to pass by one of our Forests, it shall be lawful to him to take and kill one or two of our deer by the view of the Forester, if he be

present,—or else he shall cause one to blow an horn for him, that he seem not to steal our deer; and likewise it shall be lawful to do the same in returning."

James I. rather augmented than lessened the severity of these enactments. "I dare boldly say," writes Osborn with great bitterness, "that one man in his reign might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer: but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and the author fled, a proclamation, with the description of the party, had been presently penned by the Attorney-General, and the penalty of His Majesty's high displeasure threatened against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him." We can easily credit our Cheshire historian WEBB's statement, therefore, that in his reign "The Forest of Delamere was well stocked with deer, both red and fallow, and with great store of fish and fowl in the meres." His Majesty seems to have been fond of display, and made many progresses through the kingdom. Among others, it is recorded that on the 21st August, 1617, he came to CHESTER with a great retinue, and was received by the Citizens with all the magnificence they could devise, and entertained with a sumptuous banquet at the Pentice. At which time, says the record, after a learned speech from the Recorder, the Mayor (Mr. EDWARD BUTTON) presented to the King a fair standing cup, with a cover double gilt, and therein a hundred jacobins of gold." No mean gift in those days!—and James was not ungrateful, for he offered to make a knight of Mr. Button on his departure, but that gentleman declined the honour.

The same night the King went to VALE ROYAL, and the Register of the Parish of Whitegate records that on "the 21st day of August, A.D. 1617, the same daye being Thursdays, King James came to Vale Royal and there held his Court until Monday next after." During this time, says Webb, "He solaced himself and took pleasing contentment in his disports in his Forest of DELAMERE, where Mr. JOHN DONE, Chief Forester and Keeper, did order His Highness sports so wisely and contentedly that he freely honoured him with knighthood, and graced his house of Utkinton, near unto, with his Royal presence." "It was the joy and gladness of our hearts," adds the old man, "to behold how graciously His Highness spent there the King of Heaven his own

day in the service of his God; and where he was pleased to hear our Reverend the Dean of Chester preach unto him God's truth; and could at his dinner recount the heads and chief points of his sermon as punctually as if His Highness had been acquainted with the preacher's;" and where His Majesty the day following had such successful pleasure in the hunting of his own hounds of a stag to death, as it pleased him graciously to calculate the hours, and confer with the keepers and his honourable attendants, and to question them whether they ever saw or heard of the like expedition and true performance of hounds well hunting."

There is not much mention made of DELAMERE FOREST in the stormy days of the Civil Wars, which for some years afterwards disturbed the peace of the country; but in Burghall's *Diary*, entitled "Providence Improved," there is an entry, from which it appears that it was once at least the theatre of some contention between the Royalist and Parliamentary Forces. "The same day," says his journal, January 24th, 1644, "General Fairfax and many other commanders, and the Lancashire Forces to the number of 3,550 horse and 5,000 foot, marched towards Nantwich to raise the siege; and coming over DELAMERE FOREST they met with some of the Royalists, and in the skirmish took forty prisoners and killed some."

Mr. RIGBY then spoke of the reclamation of patches of the Forest for various purposes, and the growth of *quasi* rights of pasturage here and there upon it. As to the planting of the Forest with Oak by the Crown, he said it was thought to be a most politic and prudent thing to do, "because of the great and increasing difficulties," said the preamble to the Act, "of procuring a supply of timber from foreign countries and from the estates of private individuals." It was also thought by some, and not very long since, to be a prudential move towards providing a suitable supply of timber for the dock-yards of our Navy. "Nor is it beyond the reach of hope," says one, as he looked upon the newly planted trees, "that during the reign of our gracious Sovereign (whose reign may Heaven prolong!) some of these infant monarchs of the Forest may become monarchs of the main, and, sailing under the flag of Queen Victoria, may bear the intelligence, the civilisation, and the religion of Britain to the remotest portion of the globe."

"Behold in the soil of our Forest once more
 The sapling takes root as in ages of yore;
 The Oak of old England with branches outspread,
 The Pine tree above them uprearing its head!"

But how far from realisation have these predictions been, as indeed are most of our predictions or plans for the future! Timber in abundance still comes to hand from the immense Forests of the United States and Canada, and iron has almost superseded the use of "hearts of Oak" in both the Naval and Merchant Service; while half at least of the plantations then formed have been cleared away already, to allow of the land on which they grew being cultivated by the plough. This demolition was effected by the Crown in the years 1860 and 1861: and after the roots had been eradicated, and the clearing spread over with marl, which was conveyed from under the Hill of EDISBURY by a locomotive steam engine, tenders were invited for its tenancy for farming purposes; and it is now in the occupation of three enterprising farmers, and contributing its fair quota of animal and vegetable produce, for the sustenance of the teeming populations of our manufacturing towns.

The LECTURER then noticed the farms of the three tenants, Mr. Leather, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Archer. In a direct line between Mr. Thompson's house and farm-yard is a spring of water called "Hind's Well;" which is said to have had the property of redeeming that part of the curse which was passed upon our first parents in regard to labour, and the bare fact of the tradition lingering in the tales of the old people hereabout is at least remarkable. "If you wash your hands in 'Hind's Well' you will never need to work again," is the saying. Spare me the incredulous smile, if you please, and come and try it some day in early summer! Every honest lawyer and miller has a tuft of hair growing in the ball of his hand, it is said; and because there are few who have seen this peculiar growth, men begin to say that honest lawyers and honest millers are rare, forgetting that it may be equally true that it can only be seen by honest men. So the charm of "Hind's Well" may depend for its efficacy upon the faith of the operator, as much as do the old renowned and long-tried charms by which blood-running is stopped and tooth-ache cured.

Mr. RIGBY then proceeded to notice the Ancient City of EDISBURY, raised during the Heptarchy by Queen Ethelfleda, on the top of the Hill of EDISBURY, near the Old Pale farm-house. For his materials he relied chiefly upon a Paper read before the British Archaeological Association by Mr. Beamont, of Warrington. Noticing the peculiar natural advantage of this hill, she built a fortress here first, and afterwards one at Runcorn, as a check on the advance of the Danes. Ethelfleda died in 920, and after a lapse of some years the city, or camp, would seem to have gone gradually to decay—probably in consequence of the subsidence of Danish insurrections and the want of a neighbouring river, always essential to the prosperity of an inland town. Mr. RIGBY then described the city from Mr. Beamont's account, and dwelt at length upon the traditions connected with it. The Lake of Oakmere, near here, is one of the largest meres or pools on the Forest, covering about 110 acres of land, and being probably one of the chief preserves of fish for the Monks of Vale Royal.

In the year 1815 a poor woman, whose appearance bespoke great poverty, but whose manners and language were evidently very much above her present wretchedness, requested the sanction of Lord DELAMERE to live upon the banks of this Lake; which being granted, she set to work to make herself a permanent abode. Upon a rising bank near the Mere, sheltered by a few Scotch firs, there stood two ribs of a whale, which had been placed there by PHILIP EGERTON, Esq., of Oulton. Between these ribs Maria Hollingsworth (the name of the poor woman), formed a kind of dwelling, making a wall of sods and a roof of boughs; and obtaining her chief subsistence from the milk of two goats which she had brought with her, and the eggs of a few fowls given by the neighbours. She continued to reside here thus for three or four years, when some difference arising between her and her neighbours, repeated quarrels ensued, and in 1820 she left her habitation as suddenly and mysteriously as she arrived there; but before doing so she took a German Prayer Book to Vale Royal, and begged Lady DELAMERE to accept it as a tribute of her gratitude, and likewise sent her ladyship the last of her family of goats. Mr. Warburton, in his *Hunting Songs*, refers to this eccentric dame in this verse—

"Where 'twixt the whalebones the widow sat down,
Who forsook the black forest to dwell in the brown."

VALE ROYAL, the seat of Lord DELAMERE, and Utkinton Hall were next noticed, and the Lecturer concluded with the following remarks on St. Stephens Well:—The last association of DELAMERE FOREST which I must notice is St. Stephen's Well, a very fluent spring of beautiful water on Mr. Newport's farm of the "Rock," and near to Fishpool and the Seven Lowes marked on the map, which are supposed to be the burial places of warriors either in the British or Saxon times. This spring is said to have possessed rare medical qualities, and a pamphlet entitled "News out of Cheshire," a transcript of which I have here, kindly lent me by the Rev. W. D. Fox, of Delamere, beautifully written by Miss Fox, details with much speciousness upwards of 40 Cases of cures effected by it, which almost border on the miraculous.

Commending this spring to the notice of all hydropathists, and very thankful to you for the patience you have exercised in listening to my wandering dissertations, I here draw them to a close, fancying I hear some such mental exclamation as that first uttered by the great philosopher of old,—“Better is the end of a thing than its beginning!”

At the close of the Lecture, the CHAIRMAN rose, as usual, to invite discussion, when

Mr. T. HUGHES said that independently of the merits of the Lecture itself, he wished to offer a few remarks on the foundress of the town or city of Edisbury,—the Princess Ethelflæda,—who also built the original Church of St. John's at Chester. She it was who in honour of her favourite saint, refounded the Abbey of St. Werburgh (now the Cathedral); and to her we owed the repair of the old Roman Walls of the city, which were at that time in sad decay, and might, but for her, have altogether perished. The Lecturer was a little wrong when he described Ethelflæda as a Queen; for although she was the daughter of one of England's Kings, Alfred, she and her husband were never more than the chief lieutenants or deputies in Mercia under her brother, King Edward. With respect to old Mrs. Hollingsworth's cottage on the Forest, referred to by Mr. Rigby, he had at home a curious pamphlet

describing the old lady, and having a frontispiece by Crane, of the good dame sitting in her hut "built between the two bones of a whale." In the "Diary of a Lady of Quality," written by the late Miss Wynn, of Wynnstay, aunt of the present Sir Watkin W. Wynn, was a long and interesting article, continuing the memoir of Mrs. Hollingsworth to the date of her death. He would like to direct the attention of the meeting to the beautiful series of illustrations hanging on the walls, and among them to the large Map of the Forest, prepared for Mr. Rigby, by Mr. Astbury, of the Forests Schools; and to three drawings of Edisbury Camp, considerably forwarded by their old friend Mr. Beaumont of Warrington. Lord Binning, too, who had been unable to send the "Tenure Horn" of the Forest in time for the meeting, had very considerably sent that very evening, by special messenger from Tarporley, an ancient painting of the Horn, and the charter of the Forestry, painted upon panel, and this lay then upon the table for Exhibition. It was his duty also to point out the fine series of cartoons of Merton, Vale Royal, EDISBURY, &c., &c.; and to dwell for a moment on the services rendered to the SOCIETY, by their invalid but faithful friend, Mr. JOHN PEACOCK. That gentleman had unfortunately been laid up with illness for a year or two past; but although unable to be present at their meetings, his heart was still with them; and he (Mr. Hughes) had never to ask him a second time to do a favour for the SOCIETY. He had, then, a very pleasing task to perform, viz.:—to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. PEACOCK for this, only one out of many acts of kindness and friendship rendered by him to the SOCIETY. With this vote he would connect the names of Lord BINNING and Mr. BEAMONT.

Mr. R. MORRIS seconded the motion, observing that the Horn had not always been in the hands of the Ardens and Kingsleys, but that it was once in the possession of the Crewes; from whom, through the Dones of Utkinton, it had descended to the present Lord BINNING, as representative by marriage of the Cheshire family of Arden, now almost extinct.

The CHAIRMAN would like to know whence came the name of "Delamere," as, up to the time of George III., it was called the Forest of Mara and Mondrem?

Mr. RIGBY said he could not answer the question, but he supposed that the new title must have been given to it when the Act of Parliament was passed in the time of George III.

Mr. HUGHES said that it might have taken the name of "Delamere" from that of the original Lord DELAMERE, a creation long previous to that of the present family at Vale Royal. DELAMERE had, he believed for centuries, been its popular name, though in Official Documents it would and did long after bear the old name, *Mara and Mondrem*.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN said that he had no more remarks to make upon the Lecture; but had to ask those present to accord their cordial thanks to Mr. RIGBY for the very able and lucid Paper he had given them that evening, respecting a district in Cheshire that abounded with interest. It was a very large and central area of land, and was at one time the necessary medium of passage to many parts of the county. He could well recollect the traditions that were told of highway robbers, and people being terrified when passing over the Forest, even to the Abbey Arms. Mr. RIGBY was well known as a talented Lecturer, and his production that evening was characterised by great ability and knowledge of archaeology. He entirely concurred in what Mr. HUGHES had said respecting Mr. PEACOCK, who was a good archaeologist, and was more than ordinarily gifted with his pencil. He (the Rev. Chairman) was glad to say that he called at Mr. PEACOCK's house the other day; and ascertained that he was then in a better state of health than he had been for a considerable time.

The vote of thanks to Mr. RIGBY was given with much cordiality.

Mr. RIGBY having acknowledged the compliment, the proceedings terminated.

Feb 22. The usual Monthly Meeting of this SOCIETY was arranged to have been held on Friday evening. Owing, however, to the receipt, on Thursday afternoon, of a telegram from India announcing the sudden decease of Captain C. J. Blomfield, eldest son of the intended Lecturer—the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD—the meeting was of necessity postponed. The worthy Canon, we

believe, left Chester for Stevenage on the 28th, his usual term of residence here having expired. Before leaving, however, he placed the MS. of his Lecture "On Church Bells" in the hands of the Officials of the SOCIETY; but it was considered respectful and advisable to hold the Paper over until the following Winter Session.

Dec. 16. At this, the first, meeting of the SOCIETY for the Winter Session the Rev. Canon Blomfield brought forward his Lecture on "CHURCH BELLS," unavoidably postponed, through a family bereavement, from the previous Spring's programme.

Major EGERTON LEIGH, of Jodrell Hall and High Leigh, an old Member and an occasional Lecturer, was unanimously voted to the chair. In a speech full of humour he avowed his continued interest in the welfare of the SOCIETY, and his pleasure at again meeting the reverend Lecturer and his brother Members in that room.

From the Paper read by the Rev. CANON we make the following extracts:—

"The observations which I now propose to offer to you on the subject of "BELLS" will be the substance of a Lecture, which was intended to be read at a meeting of this SOCIETY held in February last. If it had been delivered then, it would perhaps have met with a more favourable reception than I can hope for it now; because, at that time, there was a lively interest awakened in the subject by the accident which had just before befallen the Curfew Bell of the Cathedral, and had deprived the City of its accustomed evening toll. At first, that long familiar sound, 'swinging loud with solemn soar' over the City, was greatly missed; but, now that more than a year has passed by, the ear has got accustomed to the silence, and the interest felt in the project for restoring the Bell may have in some measure abated. Probably at no time since the Conquest has the ringing of that Curfew Bell been so long suspended. I hope, however, that the inhabitants of the City have not begun to think that they can do as well without it. I hope that many ears are yet open in anxious expectation of its revival. I know that I meet with many enquiries into the progress of the work going on in the great Tower; and I assume from that

fact that the first sound of the new 'Curfew Bell,' and of all the new peal, will be hailed with delight when it first breaks forth from its new chamber in the Tower; and that the temporary suspension of it will only have served to sharpen the sense of interest and pleasure which has for a while been in abeyance. Before I enter upon any of the details in connection with these new Bells, let me attempt to exonerate myself from the appearance of presumption in thus taking up a subject which has already been brought before this SOCIETY about three years ago, in two very able and exhaustive Lectures by Mr. R. MORRIS. He has kindly allowed me to inspect what he then delivered here, and I perceive that it embraced the whole subject of Bells—their origin, their history, and various uses—and it appears to contain the substance of the best information on it. After so complete a treatise on the subject, which I doubt not most here present heard and will remember, I should not have thought of recurring to it again but for the cause to which I have referred,—the fracture of our great Cathedral Bell! This, as you know, has led to an entire reconstruction and expansion of our Bell system. Like most misfortunes that befall us through life, the sudden loss of that old accustomed sound, which 'told the knell of every parting day,' awakened a new sense of the value it was to us while we had it. It had been for ages an established institution of the City. The rich sonorous note of that old Bell had become a thing of course; and as it rolled over the City nightly at nine o'clock, it called up many associations of thought;—some perhaps going back to old historic times, some connected with incidents, treasured in the memory, of the past private history of individuals—some with mere common-place details of time and place, and household duties. When the first stroke of that Bell was heard at night, almost in every household someone would say to another, "There is the nine o'clock bell;" and many a tale its music told—whether the simple reminder of some duties to be done at that hour; some busy housewife to ply her evening care; some evening meal to be got ready; some husband to be looked for returning from his day's labour; some children to be put to bed; or the sadder memorial of the weariness and slowness of time, as it seems to measure itself out during the sleepless days and nights of sickness; and giving the poorly balanced comfort of thinking that another day is gone, but another night of wakefulness

and suffering is begun. No wonder, then, that when this grand teller of so many tales was suddenly found to have lost its tongue, and no toll was heard at the accustomed hour, the attention of the public was aroused. The ear of the City was all alive and acute on the next day at the hour of nine, but not a sound was heard. And even those who had scarcely noticed its familiar voice, as long as it spoke with unfailing regularity, at once observed the silence, and started up with the question—"What has happened to the Cathedral Curfew Bell?" The melancholy fact was soon made known. It was on the day of the Election of the Mayors and the Birth-day of the Prince of Wales. To celebrate those two important events, the Curfew Bell had been raised to join a peal; when, after the first few strokes, it ceased to give its wonted sound, and it was found on examination that a large piece had been broken out of it. By what cause, soon became apparent! The clapper of the Bell had been inadequately lengthened by the blacksmith who had lately repaired it; and consequently the hammer fell, *not* on the sound bow, where it ought to fall, but an inch below it. This produced an irregular discord in the vibrations of the metal,—loosened the continuity of its particles, and rendered it so brittle that the third or fourth stroke broke the large piece out of it which now *lies on the table!* A little knowledge of the principle upon which Bells are constructed would have prevented this accident. But this was hardly to be expected in a country (or even a city) blacksmith. I am not sure that even the Canons, or the Dean himself, possessed the knowledge!—the want of which has often produced a like result elsewhere, and ruined many Bells besides that of the Cathedral. We have now *bought* our experience, and must take care to preserve it, and hand it down to succeeding generations of our bell ringers.

I may now with all propriety recall to your recollection how general and how strong was the feeling which was awakened throughout the City amongst all classes of people by the deprivation of the accustomed toll of the old Bell. It was not so much the loss of its sound on *other* occasions, for ringing joyful peals, or funeral knells, that affected the popular mind; but simply that the *daily note* had ceased to peal from the Old Church Tower

at the close of day; and so the City seemed to have lost a daily memorial of time, and to have parted with a dear old friend! As this affected more or less all the inhabitants of the City, irrespective of all questions of class, or rank, or religious opinion, so did we find that all were willing to combine in a quick and generous effort to repair the loss, and find the means of giving back to the City once more that much-missed sound of the Evening Bell. I am speaking now of what was felt and done a year ago. Since that time many changes have passed over the Cathedral and the City, and, perhaps, as I have said, to some extent over the mind of the inhabitants.

You will remember that the effort to raise the funds necessary for the re-casting of the Bell was, with great delicacy and kindness of feeling, put forth as an expression of regard and respect to the good old Dean, who had lived among us for near 30 years, and had done such good service in many ways to the Cathedral. It was hoped that he might live to hear the sound of the *new* Curfew:—but though this was not to be, he did live to hear of the kind and generous act of the citizens; and I may say that it helped to give him some cheerful and happy thoughts in the midst of the suffering which marked the latter period of his life. I have spoken hitherto as if it were only the Curfew Bell which was to engage our attention,—and no doubt to the public at large it is the most interesting, because it is *the one* Bell which speaks to them every day. And it is in itself the most important Bell,—the chief spokesman of the Tower,—the head and leader of the Peal,—the great functionary who presides over and governs the rest. But we must not treat the other Bells with disrespect, though they have hitherto held a very inferior position, and have never been allowed to exercise their full powers in a noble Bob Major. You know that there were only five Bells in our Cathedral Tower: and I suppose that the ears of all who have heard their discordant notes for the last twenty years will have told them that the third Bell was cracked; and that four out of the five were never rung at all, but only struck, by pulling the clappers against the Bells. Indeed no provision was made for raising those four Bells for the purpose of ringing, because there was no place below from which any but the Great Bell could be rung. So that while that Bell gave out its full volume of sound

and the other four were only struck, there arose that unequal and inharmonious combination of cracked sounds, which was erroneously called 'a merry peal' from the Cathedral Tower. You will be aware of what is now being done to remedy these defects. In the first place we have the Great Bell and the third, which was cracked, replaced by their equivalents, exact reproductions in size and weight, and, as we hope, in quality of tone. Then we have added three entirely new Bells, so as to complete the octave, and constitute a perfect peal. The whole are placed in a new cage or framework, of great strength, constructed in part out of the material of the old one; and this is raised up to 15 feet higher in the Tower, and rests on a new floor supported on massive timbers. By this arrangement not only is a good and capacious ringing chamber, 30 feet square, obtained in the Tower, so that all the eight Bells can be raised and rung as a peal; but it is expected that from their being placed at a greater elevation, the sound will pass more freely through the belfry windows, and be thrown with greater clearness and power over the City. I may add that a mechanical contrivance, invented by Messrs. Warner, and exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1861, is to be placed in the ringing chamber, by which all the Bells may be chimed for service by one man. The entire cost of this reconstruction will exceed £700."

After speaking of matters connected with Church Bells in general, the LECTURER proceeded:—

"I may introduce a word or two here on the subject of the 'Curfew,' which has been rung in our Cathedral Tower, as in many others, probably from the earliest date which we can ascribe to the building. It is commonly supposed to have had its origin in a tyrannical edict of William the Conqueror, who is said to have compelled his Saxon subjects to put out all fires and lights at sunset, to prevent secret meetings of disaffected people. It is clear, however, that it was a general edict, and was obligatory on Normans as well as Saxons, and therefore could be no special mark of subjugation. The fact is that he merely adopted or enforced a rule which had prevailed long before, not only in England, but on the Continent, for the preservation from fire of the wooden buildings in which the people then lived. The

ringing of the Bell itself was an ecclesiastical rule found in the early statutes of Lichfield and elsewhere, prior to the Conquest. It had been applied to civil and secular uses also; because the hour of sunset, or more commonly of seven, at which it was rung for the evening service of the Church, was the same hour at which the fires were to be extinguished. It acquired very early the name of curfew, or "couvrefeu"; and it is curious to find it called by this name both in Latin and its semi-English form, '*cover fu*,' in an edict of an Archbishop of Upsal, in Sweden, as early as 1290 A.D., who directs that no one should go out of his doors after the '*ignitegium, seu cover fu*.' The ordinance which required the extinction of fires and lights at the sound of the Curfew was abolished by Henry I., but the practice of ringing the Bell at night remained:—probably on account of its general convenience, as well to give note of time, as to guide those who were out at night towards their homes across the wide heaths and vast open fields, which lay adjacent to the villages in mediæval times, about which there are many legendary tales. As the practice was continued, so was the name, which we trace down from the earliest date of English literature to our own. In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, and Chaucer lived in the 14th century, we read—'The dead sleep fell on the miller about Curfew time.' Shakspeare dates the night from 'the time the Curfew rung.' And Milton says—

"On a plot of rising ground,
I hear the far-off Curfew sound;
Over some wide-watered shore,
Surging slow with sullen roar."

The ringing of the Curfew had become extinct in most country churches at the beginning of this century, but has been revived in a great many in this county."

Having given a description of the method of Change Ringing, the following remarks occurred:—

"I have not been able to ascertain the exact number and date of Bells in our City Churches: but I believe that the best peal is that of St. John's, which consists of eight fine Bells, not now rung on account of the unsafe condition of the Tower. I may observe that the correct use of Bells for Church purposes is often mis-

understood at the present day. It is expressed in the following rhymes:—

“To call the folks to Church in time,
 We chime;
 When mirth and joy are on the wing,
 We ring;
 When we lament a departed soul,
 We toll.

The singular effect produced on one memorable occasion—the victory of TRAFALGAR and the death of NELSON, 1805—by the combination of the two latter in the Churches of CHESTER, is well described in a private letter written from Chester soon after that date. “I was in the venerable City of *Chester*, ill in bed, and had not heard of the victory of Trafalgar (October, 1805). Suddenly there arose a joyous and deafening peal from the eleven Churches: then came a dead stop, and one deep toll from the Cathedral sounded solemnly over the old City. Then there burst forth the joyous peal again; then came the pause, and the knell for England’s darling hero! These contrasts of sound alternating one with the other produced an effect that was, beyond expression, striking and overpowering!” The Bells of a Church ought only to be *rung* on festive occasions; and they usually are so rung: but the occasion is not always of such a character as ought to call forth the music of a Church Tower, sacred in a measure to ecclesiastical uses, or at least to purposes of general rejoicing. It is quite consonant with the fitness of things that the Birthday of the Sovereign and of the Heir to the Throne, and the election of a Mayor as the Queen’s Representative in the City, should be so celebrated; but it is hardly right that the Church Bells should ring in honour of the triumph of a political party at a contested Election, as has been done in this City,—still less for a victory at the Races,—or even for the result of a hard fought battle in the Cockpit! A story is told in connection with this use of the Bells, which is worth repeating. There was a literary blacksmith residing some years ago near Windsor, who used to read to his neighbours in an evening by the light of his fire. He read to them on successive evenings the story of “*Pamela*,” by Fielding. They became deeply interested in the fate of the heroine: and when at last, after all her troubles, it came to her marriage with the hero, they were in such extacies of delight,

that they rushed off to the Church Belfry and rang a merry peal in honour of the happy pair!"

The following were the concluding sentences of the Lecturer:—

"I would only, in drawing this Lecture to a close, remark upon the fact that the sound of a Bell which is rung can be heard at a greater distance than any other sound of equal volume. This arises probably from the continuance of the vibrations, each succeeding one impelling forward those which preceded it, so as to drive them further into the distance. I have myself heard the ringing of our Curfew Bell at TATTENHALL, distant eight miles from CHESTER, and it has, I believe, been heard ten miles on a still evening. You will remember the story of the sentinel at Windsor Castle, who was charged with being asleep on his post at midnight; and really escaped death by asserting that he had heard the clock of St. Paul's, London, strike the hour of midnight, and that it struck thirteen. It was afterwards proved that it had so struck, and had been heard by one or two others besides himself. WHITTINGTON is said to have heard the Bells of Bow Church from the top of Highgate Hill, which is about four miles distant, and their sound came to him with such distinctness, that he could not mistake the purport of the message which they conveyed to him,—*"Turn again, Whittington, Lord Mayor of London town!"*—from which bit of authentic history we may gather the interesting information that Bow Church had then only six Bells,—because there are six syllables in each sentence which the Bells conveyed to him. Bow Church has now twelve Bells, which do honour to the Lord Mayor on the 9th of November. And now I must ask your indulgence for the very imperfect manner in which I have put together these rudiments of the *Belles Lettres*, and I thank you for the patience with which you have submitted to the somewhat prosy details. My only desire is to make them the humble means of introducing to your favourable notice the new Bells of St. WERBURGH'S Tower. I know that *belles* are always received with courtesy and attention in Chester society. These I am sure will have agreeable voices, and will not speak unkindly to any one; and their position will prevent all causes of anxiety, for it will be so lofty as to make it quite impossible to run away with any one of them! May they long survive in their elevated sphere, marking

the progress of time, reminding the citizens of their responsibilities, sounding the note of sympathy with those that rejoice and with those that weep, carrying on the solemn call of the Church from generation to generation!"

The CHAIRMAN remarked that every one who had heard that Lecture, even if he did not belong to CHESTER, could not have listened to it without feeling gratified, and without walking away from that place more educated about Bells than he was before. He remembered when at Eton his tutor pointing out Nola as the place where Bells were first made. They did not believe the tutor then; but it was a curious thing that in many counties in England they did not say toll for half an hour, but noll for half an hour. Their thanks were due to the Rev. Canon for his entertaining Lecture. It was not the first time they had had to thank him for this sort of thing, and he hoped it might not be the last.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD read some of the mottoes on some of the older Chester Bells.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that it was a very curious thing that when there were no roads, no means of communication, the firm of Rudhall should have made Bells for a place in Gloucestershire and for Knutsford in Cheshire.

Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A. (Hon. Sec.), supported the vote of thanks to the Rev. CANON, and hoped that they of the SOCIETY might regard his annual appearance as a Lecturer in the light of an institution for many years to come. Mr. BLOMFIELD had referred to one Irish Bell, the ancient one known as St. Patrick's; but there was another Bell in the Sister Isle perhaps still more interesting to them locally—the Bell of Trinity College, Dublin. The note of that Bell, he believed, was precisely that of the old Curfew Bell of Chester; it was cast about the same date, possibly in the very mould that produced the broken Bell of Chester Cathedral; at all events, he was assured by Chester men, students of Dublin University, that on hearing Trinity College Bell for the first time they had been forcibly reminded of the "Great Bell" of their own native City. The Rev. CANON had spoken of hearing the old Bell at, and when a resident of, Tattenhall, 40 years ago; but he (the speaker) had the other day received a letter from a lady residing nine miles away, stating that she and her neighbours sadly missed

the sound of the Chester Curfew Bell, and enclosing a handsome donation in aid of its restoration. He noticed upon the table the fragment broken originally out of the old Cathedral Bell, and he trusted it would be suffered to remain in the SOCIETY'S Museum as a permanent record of the untoward event. There was an incident connected with the broken Bell that was, he thought, well worth recording. The Bell, dated 1738, was cast at Gloucester, and on arriving at this City by way of Foregate Street, it was found to be too large to pass through the once splendid postern, the old Edwardian EASTGATE; and it had to be dragged round, he believed, to the Kaleyards, passing that way *over* the City Walls, and to its place in the old Cathedral Tower. Upon the walls were three large cartoons of Bells and the process of hanging them, contributed at short notice by Mr. A. H. DAVIES-COLLEY, a young member of the SOCIETY. This reminded him (Mr. Hughes) of the recent decease of an old friend of the SOCIETY, and a genuine antiquary, the late Mr. JOHN PEACOCK, whose facile and artistic pencil was always at the command of the SECRETARIES. He was an industrious collector of Local Antiquities; and it would be gratifying to all present to know that his collection had generously been presented by Mr. PEACOCK, Sen., to the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and would at once form part of its permanent Museum.

Mr. EDWIN SIDDALL, engraver, sent for exhibition some half-dozen little Bells, cast from fragmentary portions of the old Curfew Bell at Chester.

Mr. SHRUBSOLE exhibited four curious oak panels, taken out of one of the old houses of Chester, and from which he had removed a thick coating of dirt and paint. The panels were apparently of the 16th century, perhaps of about the reign of Henry VIII.: two contained human heads in profile, and one a wheat sheaf, the ancient symbol of Cheshire.

Mr. HUGHES passed round for inspection two handsome 4to volumes, in which were mounted some 140 pencil and sepia drawings, the original illustrations to "Ireland and the Irish," by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. HALL, published some twenty years ago.

A vote of thanks having been given by acclamation to the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD for his interesting Paper, a similar compliment was paid to the CHAIRMAN, and the meeting terminated.

1870.

March 5. A Paper entitled "SKETCHES OF OLD CHESTER," was read by Mr. W. F. AYRTON, before the members of the SOCIETY and their friends, at the Bishop's Old Palace, Abbey Square. The Right Worshipful the MAYOR presided. Several paintings, drawings, etchings, and prints, some of them lent for the occasion, were hung around the walls.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES, in opening the meeting, alluded to the fact of the meetings of the SOCIETY having been again resumed owing to the exertions of a few members; for it had to be borne in mind that, if they did not come forward with Papers, they could not have meetings. He also referred to the associations connected with that place (the Bishop's Palace) as being congenial to their antiquarian tastes.

Mr. AYRTON then proceeded to read his Paper, "SKETCHES OF OLD CHESTER," and, in his opening remarks, explained how he came to undertake it. Some months ago it was proposed to open the Session with an Archæological *Soirée*, a kind of tea drinking, at which everybody was expected to know something and somebody was expected to say it. Their worthy SECRETARY (Mr. Hughes), who, though a Volunteer himself, had no objection to pressed men—for if he could not enlist you with a good shilling he would with a bad one;—assured him (Mr. Ayrton) that *he* could do something, as he was like Balaam's ass, could talk if he liked: and so there he was—especially for the consideration of the ladies—a sad example of the consequences of the inability to say "no" at the last moment! The tea drinking fell through, and he, having a short sketch, which he thought might be the corollary to some more important Paper, was asked to convert this side-dish into more substantial food, as the SECRETARY thought if something were not done the SOCIETY would fail for want of sustenance; and so the Paper he had now to read had swelled into its present dimensions.

Though the Old Buildings to which he would call their attention belonged chiefly to the 18th century, he could not consistently neglect to notice the few remains of an earlier period. Those of Roman origin were, all of them, disconnected and fragmentary. Even the CITY WALLS, though unquestionably Roman in

their origin, had been so overlaid and replaced by buildings of a later date that traces of the Roman mason were scarce. At the **EASTGATE** there still remained the form of the ancient arch, though now filled up with masonry; and many might not be aware of the arch on the north side, which they could see when going up the steps, and which he believed to be a Roman arch. Northward, between Abbey Street and the Phoenix Tower, we had still the stone—which was noticed by Roach Smith in 1849—bearing the initials of a Centurion, under whom a certain number of stadii were completed, and which no doubt formed part of that work.

Between the Phoenix Tower and the Northgate the exterior of the wall still presented characteristics of Roman construction, and a portion of a cornice remaining near the latter was undoubtedly Roman. Proceeding westward, and then southward, we met with nothing decidedly Roman till we came to the **ROODEYE**; and there might be distinctly seen remains of the Roman Wall projecting further into the **ROODEYE** than its present boundary. He did not agree with *Hemingway*, who (Vol. I., p. 335) says that the present form of the Walls is strictly Roman; as if so, that would go a great way to negative the legend of the monkish chroniclers that they were enlarged by Ethelfreda. It was evident, as had appeared to archæologists years ago, that the Roman Wall ceased at this point, and then, according to the rule of castramentation, it would turn abruptly eastward, passing near Cuppin Street and Pepper Street in the direction of the Wishing Steps; and so the Wall, including the Nun's Gardens and the Castle would be a subsequent fortification. He did not agree with *Hemingway* in his opinion that the Shipgate was Roman: he (Mr. **AYRTON**) thought it was Norman. There was no doubt a Gate there connected with a Ferry leading to the Roman road, of which there were still traces at Eaton, but the ancient work taken down some years ago was decidedly Norman in character.

Before leaving the **CITY WALLS** he should glance cursorily at their remains, irrespective of date. Of the four Gates the most interesting was undoubtedly the **EASTGATE**, possessing very early records of its existence. The charge of it was confided to men of rank, holding immediately from the Earls of Chester as a post of

honour, and also of the profit from the tolls granted in connection with it. The Sergeantcy of the EASTGATE passed by inheritance or by purchase from one family to another; until, in 1662, JOHN CREWE, of Crewe, released the tolls to the City, but reserved the custody of the Gate and the nomination of its Sergeant to himself and his heirs. This appointment was now vested in Lord CREWE, but had probably become obsolete. The old Norman Gate, which partly hid, if it did not entirely hide, the Roman remains, was taken down in 1768, and the accounts given of the remains then exposed varied, but not in any essential particulars. The old NORTHGATE—of which he had no drawing, nor did he know of any—was described as a very inconvenient gateway, having a pointed arch; on the east side of which was a postern, and on the west an entrance to the City Gaol, which was erected over it. Beneath was a dreary dungeon, in which criminals under sentence of death were confined. The custody of the Gate was confided to the citizens, on condition of their seeing the sentence of the law executed on all malefactors. The present Gate, by far the most beautiful one, architecturally speaking, of the four, was built by Harrison in 1810. The WATERGATE was represented in Hollar's Map of Chester as a simple arch, without any towers or other additions. Originally the Sergeantcy of the Gate was in the Earl of Derby's family; but it was purchased by the citizens in 1778, and in 1788 the Gate was taken down and the present arch erected.

The Sergeantcy of the BRIDGEGATE in the reign of Edward III. was vested in the Raby and Norris families, but the moieties of both were purchased by the Corporation in the 17th century. The old Gate consisted of an arched gateway, flanked by two round towers. No doubt this Gateway, as it gave ingress from Wales, was subject to frequent attempts; and, being an important fortification, was strengthened by an outwork in another gateway at the south end of the Bridge, on which it opened. The old Gateway was disfigured in 1601 by a hideous erection to supply the City with water, and the whole was taken down and the present arch erected in 1781. In respect to the barbican, or outer Gate, he said he believed the name of Handbridge was derived from "Hunbridge," significant of the frequency with which that suburb was burned down during the incursions of the Welsh.

Several round Towers strengthened the defences of the CITY WALLS, some of which remained. The most interesting of them was the one now known as the WATER TOWER, consisting of two distinct buildings of different date—a square one in the west angle of the Wall, formerly called Bonewaldesthorpe's Tower; which leads by the curtain connecting it to the Round Tower, for centuries known by the name of the New Tower, and which was no doubt built at the later date of 1322. This was evidently intended for the greater protection of shipping; for in Fuller's time (1662) rings in the walls of the Tower used for mooring the vessels still remained, though, as he deplores, "they were now only for sight." The other Tower of interest was the PHOENIX TOWER, which derived its name from the crest belonging to the Painters' and Stationers' Company placed on its front. In connection with this, Mr. AYRTON related an amusing anecdote of the late Prothonotary JOHN LLOYD, an ardent Loyalist, who always took off his hat on passing this Tower.

Between this and the Eastgate was a postern, formerly called the "Caleyard Gate," which was granted to the Monks of St. Werburgh by Edward I., that they might have ready access to their "Cale yard," or cabbage garden. An old MS. (1701), quoted by *Hemingway*, stated that Henry VI. granted power to the Abbot of St. Werburgh to lock two gates upon the Walls and keep the keys, to secure the "Cale yards" from being robbed and the Monks from insult; and the same author said that the site of the second Gate could not be found. He (Mr. Ayrton) apprehended it was not in the CITY WALLS, but at the opposite side of the Kale Yard. Hence he regretted the change of old names for new ones, because old associations were better retained by preserving the old names. The *Gorse Stacks* meant something, but why it was changed to George-street he did not know. In referring to this early period in the history of Chester, he proceeded to notice the very great change which had gradually taken place in the levels of several of the present streets, some of them to an extent which it was difficult to realise or account for. In excavating for main sewers a few years ago, the former foundations were found at various depths. In Commonhall Street were found the remains of a Roman Temple, the bases and parts of the pillars in their original position indicating

a level 14ft. below the present pavement. The rise there from Bridge-street, and again at Whitefriars, enabled them to conceive a formerly even level: but it was difficult to understand a depression at the Eastgate, where two separate pavements were discovered when excavating for main sewers in December, 1848. These lay a few yards east of the present Gate; one at a depth of 3ft. from the present surface, and the other 9ft. below that. They had never been disturbed,—were similar to the paving of the present street, to which they ran exactly parallel,—and constituted the former level at two different periods. The Norman remains also indicated a level considerably below, though not so far below, the present one.

The CATHEDRAL was originally like most other buildings of a similar character, rather elevated above the surrounding surface than depressed below it as it now is. That Norman chamber adjoining the cloisters, which Mr. Ashpitel erroneously designated "*the Promptuarium*," was generally considered to be a crypt, but it was not. Originally it was on a level with the surrounding exterior; and was lighted by windows on its west side, now buried in the soil and hidden under the roots of trees of considerable size long since planted above them. We could only account for such a change in the general levels of the City, Mr. AYRTON thought, by reflecting on the vicissitudes it had undergone as a fortified place; and considering the pictures of ruin and desolation which our ancient records, meagre as they are, presented, we might almost wonder that CHESTER should have survived to rebuild her scattered habitations, rather than at the lasting marks of the terrible calamities which had overtaken her. Among Norman remains there were none except those of St. John's Church and the Cathedral: and it was worthy of note that the other Churches in Chester were of such comparatively slight structure that not a trace of any parts dating earlier than the 15th century was to be discovered.

Of the Early English era there were considerable remains, not only in the Churches of St. JOHN's and St. WERBURGH's, but in buildings which bore no evidence of an ecclesiastical character. Such were some of the vaults and cellars in the various parts of the City. There was a very interesting one on the south side of Watergate Street, now in the occupation of Messrs. Roberts, Wine

Merchants, in which there was a double row of Early English arches, in an excellent state of preservation. Another, though with only a single bay springing from corbels on each wall, was the Crypt in Eastgate Street, in Mr. AYRTON's own occupation, which gave the name to the present Crypt Buildings. He suggested that these were the basements of baronial residences, which served as cellars for the requirements of the period. The Crypt could only have served such a purpose, as there was an absence of any provision for religious ceremonies. At the period to which these remains belonged, storage of considerable extent was required for articles of home and foreign produce, and absolutely requisite for military equipments. In suggesting that it was for such a use that they were designed, he did not suppose that such important buildings were other than scattered here and there throughout the City, while the surrounding buildings were frail, mean, and miserable to an extent they would find it difficult to realise.

As he only undertook to refer to those buildings of Old Chester of which there were remains existing, or of which they possessed authentic illustrations, he would not say anything of the conventual buildings further than that, with two exceptions, St. Werburgh's and St. John's, they had all disappeared; leaving only the names of Whitefriars, Grayfriars, Blackfriars, &c., to the localities of their former sites. His next topic would be the vaulted chamber under Messrs. Powell and Edwards's, in Bridge Street, which was an exception to the style of these underground vaults, and bore marks of an ecclesiastical character. The extent of the Chapel, if it were such, was about 25ft. by 18ft., consisting of six bays resting on corbels placed in the original walls. The entrance was at the east end, and at the west end was a window of three compartments, which, being below the surface of the ground, no longer served the purpose of giving light. It was probable that an altar occupied the space immediately under the window. On the left was a doorway and stairs, which either communicated with an outer postern or with some recess behind the altar. The popular notion was that the chamber was built and made use of for clandestine worship, but that was without foundation, as there was no reason why the service for which it was adapted should have been conducted in secret at the date to which the building belongs.

Concerning those buildings of which they possessed some record, or were able to furnish some illustration, he remarked that there were no remains of the Old Common Hall which, up to the end of the 15th century, stood in or close to the street to which it gave a name; but, that it was on the site now occupied by the Almshouses or that they at any time formed part of it, had been, he thought, proved to be an error. (*Archæological Journal*, Vol. I., 472.) There was formerly a narrow street or lane running from Common Hall Street to Whitefriars, called Pierpoint Lane, in which the Common Hall apparently stood. Pierpoint Lane passed probably over the ground now occupied by Mr. Brittain's house, issuing on Whitefriars or the opening in front of it. In the cellar of the adjoining house, occupied by Mr. Bullin, was found, some years since, built into the wall, a Roman figure, in bas-relief. illustrated and commented upon in Vol. I. of the *Archæological Journal*. Probably the Hall was disused, and its business, or the principal part of it, transferred to St. Nicholas' Chapel soon after the year 1488, which chapel at that date was transferred by the Abbot of St. Werburgh to the Mayor of Chester and the Parishioners of St. Oswald's (Harl. MS., 2103, fo. 2511), as St. Nicholas's Chapel was used for municipal purposes, and a Council Chamber built on it in the 16th century. (*Chester Archæological Journal*, Vol. I., p. 471.) This chamber was a room in the upper storey, nearly 80ft. in length, but not lofty in proportion; and Webb says it was used for the "Court of Record of the City, called the Pentice Court, held before the Sheriffs of the City twice a week."

This led him to turn to another building, which never went by any other name than that of the "Pentice Court;" which disappeared, he supposed, when the late Town Hall was built, and which we had been accustomed to consider the seat of municipal justice. There could be no doubt it was so used, though the very meagre sketches which remained of it rendered it difficult to understand how such purposes could have been fulfilled in so confined a space. He believed the term "Pentice" or "Pent House" originated with the timber buildings, erected as temporary booths or shops for the wares of the merchants who formerly attended the Chester Fairs, which were of the first importance to the City. These were originally held before the Abbey Gates, and

tolls were paid to the Abbot and Monks of St. Werburgh, by right of a grant from Randal, seventh Earl of Chester. Indeed, so did the Monks carry their claims that they assumed the right exact toll of the citizens themselves: and it was only after strenuous resistance from the Mayor and citizens that a compromise was effected, and the citizens were allowed to build booths in the Abbey Square, so long as they did not in any way obstruct the passage to the Abbey. Henry Bradshaw described these Fairs as follows:-

"The Earle gave the place many great freedoms
Within Chester cite whiche ben known of olde
With singular privileges and ancient customs
Saynt Werburghe faire with profitis manifold,
That no merchandise should be bought ne solde
Duringe the faire dayes, in writing as we finde,
But afore the Abbaye Gate to have and to holde."

The booths, therefore, or pent-houses in which the Monks had interest, were erected in fair times against the wall of the Abbey premises, between the two Abbey Gates, in Northgate Street. In 1513 the Monks lost this right, which was transferred to the citizens: who apparently improved these privileges, for the party erecting booths in that spot eventually claimed the ground as freehold. So that when more substantial buildings came to be erected they stood upon two properties: and we had an example in the Town Clerk's present offices and other premises on the east side of Northgate Street, for which rent was partly paid to the Dean and Chapter and partly to a private freeholder.

Whether the term "Pentice" was derived from these booths or not, seeing that the Abbot had the privilege of arresting persons charged with felony, and committing them to his own prison: it was certain that it was conferred on the timber building in front of St. PETER'S CHURCH, of which they had a drawing by Randal Holme. There the Magistrates held their meetings, and the term "Pentice Court" continued to be its title long after the court was removed to another site. Assuming that drawing to be correct, he considered that part of it over the Church door belonged to the Church itself, and to be what was called the "Parvise," or "parson's chamber." This was confirmed by a print of later date, in which the "Pentice" had been removed, but the "Parvise" remained. Hemingway made the same distinction, but called the "Parvise" the "Parsonage."

House," which, clearly, it could not be. The entrance to the Pentice was at right angles with the Church door; and the building appeared to have consisted of two storeys—the upper chamber being no doubt the place where the Magistrates held their Court, the lower serving for offices and offenders. Small as the accommodation must have been, it sufficed for the courts held there. The Town Clerk of that day was known as "Clerk of the Pentice," and the Pentice Court became a title for the seat of jurisdiction of the City Magistrates, wherever that might be.

Of the TOWN HALL, to which the Pentice Court was removed in the 17th century, there was little to be said besides what was found in *Hemingway*. It was built in 1695-8, that is, in the latter part of the reign of William and Mary, and was fresh in the recollection of many present. It was by no means contemptible, although he could not speak of it in such glowing terms as *Hemingway* did. The buildings of that era found small favour either with the artist or the architect. They had neither the classic elegance of Grecian architecture, the picturesque beauty of Gothic design, nor the quaintness of our Timber Structures. They were generally brick piles of poor design; and were rather disfigured than relieved by arches and pillars,—which belonged to no style of architecture, indicated no era, and possessed no beauty of proportion nor propriety. Such as it was, however, the Old TOWN HALL,—or Exchange as it was generally called,—was spacious, and, for the population of the City at the date of its erection, amply sufficient. Associated as it was in the minds of the citizens with so many recollections, whether of a political, municipal, or festive character, its entire destruction by fire on the 30th December, 1862, was a matter of universal regret: and though we might look back with pride on the noble building which had been reared in its stead, the present generation would ever remember with a sense of sorrow and regard the building which had for so long been the centre of municipal life, and the scene of many varied events which are among the records of CHESTER during a period of two centuries.

To read a paper professing to treat of Old Chester without mention of her one unique characteristic, THE ROWS, would be a solecism somewhat similar to that of attempting to represent the play of *Hamlet*, "with the part of Hamlet left out." "But," said Mr.

AYRTON, "I bear in mind that I am addressing an audience to whom every thing relating to The Rows is as familiar as to myself, and there is nothing that I can say respecting them which would be either new or interesting. That they are Roman in their origin has been admitted, without controversy. They no doubt were introduced as the porticos, or outer buildings on arches or columns, with which the more wealthy Roman citizens so generally added to the comfort of their dwellings, and which they borrowed from the Greeks. We see some exactly similar porticos in the outer streets of CHESTER,—in Northgate Street and Foregate Street: the peculiarity in the Chester porticos, in the central and principal streets, being that they are *elevated to the first storey*, along which they form a continuous gallery. I was much struck,—on entering Italy by way of Domo d'Ossola,—by the porticos so exactly resembling those in Foregate Street; except, of course, that their style is Roman and not mediæval, like those of Chester. The nearest resemblance to The Chester Rows are the Colonnades at BERNE, which run the whole length of the principal streets: but these are on the ground floor; and in respect to their position The Rows of Chester are no doubt unique.

Among the noted and most interesting buildings remaining in The Rows is that of BISHOP LLORD'S, who was Bishop of Chester in 1615. The house is elaborately and characteristically ornate, having a great deal of rich carving from the roof to the balustrade of the Row beneath. The front of the first storey contains a number of panels, sunk so as to produce bas-reliefs of a singular mixture,—scriptural events being allegorised in a rather coarse manner; while the two centre panels are devoted to arms and initials, supposed to be those of the worthy Bishop. Higher up the street, on the same side, is that very interesting building, bearing the inscription, "God's providence is mine inheritance!" I am strongly disposed to credit the legend that, in one of those terrible visitations of the Plague, which in the 16th and 17th centuries devastated the City,—this house was the one which alone escaped that fearful pest,—and that the inscription was a grateful memorial of God's providence to the inhabitants. I cannot pass by this building without offering my tribute to the worthy Sheriff of the City, Mr. GREGG, for the good taste in which he has restored and

preserved this interesting record. Here I may, perhaps, be permitted to close this short sketch of Ancient CHESTER, so far as this Paper is concerned.

The illustrations which follow, in point of date, are of no historical value; they have no individual character to interest,—except, perhaps, that of LAMB ROW,—and have no legend that I am aware of connected with them worth preserving. Lamb Row certainly was in its construction somewhat unique, and afforded a favourite subject for many an artist in its day. The only interesting point in its history is that it was built by RANDLE HOLME, the historian, herald, and antiquary, who set the Corporation of the City at defiance in erecting it: for we are told that, in 1670, the Town Council ordered that “the nuisance erected by Randle Holme in his new building in Bridge Street (near the ‘two churches’), be taken down, as it annoys his neighbours, and hinders their prospect from their houses.” The following year he was fined £3 6s. 8d. “for contempt to the Mayor, in proceeding with his building in Bridge Street.” But the Town Council appear to have been either more lax, or less strong, than they are at present: for RANDLE HOLME’s building remained standing within my recollection, till it came down of itself,—luckily without hurting anyone,—and to the infinite vexation of an old woman who tenanted one of the upper rooms, and who refused to move out when the front of her room was gone, on the ground that she had had no proper notice to quit! At one time it became a tavern, with the sign of the Lamb, which gave it the name of the Lamb Row. In later times it was tenanted by a number of families who burrowed in its numerous apartments, very much like rabbits in a warren.

The building in Watergate Street (the MAINWARING HOUSE) will be in the recollection of most of us, having been only removed of late years. I have no doubt the present very clean, straight, formal erections of brick and mortar, are sufficiently paying to satisfy their proprietors as to the change; but I cannot of myself but regret the demolition of a building so interesting in its design, and so characteristic of the City! Lower down, on the opposite side of the street, are the buildings which formerly terminated NICHOLAS Street, and were in front of the DERBY HOUSE.

Northgate Street shows us the spot where the "Three Crowns Tavern" formerly stood, a site now occupied by the Commercial News Rooms.

I have been able to represent Eastgate Street as it was early in this century, having in my possession a sketch by Cuitt, every line of which I have not the slightest doubt is strictly faithful, though the change in so short a period is most striking. Still more extraordinary is the change in another of the principal streets, as we may see by referring to the cartoon of The Rows on the wall. The sketch from which it was taken I can trace to the date of about 1802; but it was long before I could satisfy myself as to the locality of this sketch,—as only one building remains to identify the spot, and a more striking instance of the changes experienced in the course of 70 years could not well be imagined. If some Cestrian Rip Van Winkle of the year 1800, after having slept peacefully under the shadow of St. John's Steeple, or slumbered unconsciously in the suburbs of the City, were now aroused from his trance, and permitted to wander through our streets, what would be his wonder, and how great his perplexity!

Enabled, then, by a reference to these sketches to comprehend the changes of not more than seventy years, do we not in some measure realise what must have been the change effected by the lapse of centuries? This consideration may give interest to buildings not in themselves notable,—and invest archaeological enquiry with a reality and charm, little understood or appreciated by those who have never engaged in such researches, or tasted the intellectual enjoyment they afford. What has struck me much in endeavouring to throw together the remarks I have here offered for consideration, is the fact that they are much more like the index to a volume than any realization of its contents. It is a deficiency which must attach to any cursory view of so extensive a subject. Scarcely a point in the annals of the City on which I have touched, but which suggests so much matter for interest and further consideration, that I feel more than ever deeply impressed with the meagreness of such a mere outline, as that I have been induced to place upon paper; and with the comparative insufficiency of an Archaeological Paper which does not combine with mere arrangement complete and extensive research."

The MAYOR said he was sure that all had been delighted and interested with the able Paper which had been read. In accordance with the Rules of the SOCIETY, he now invited any lady or gentleman to offer his or her critical remarks upon it.

THE Rev. CANON EATON said he did not presume to question any of the points to which the learned antiquary had referred, but there was one point on which he (the Rev. Canon Eaton) might give some information. Some years ago, when he was Rector of ST. MARY'S, they were making excavations against the north wall of the Rectory of ST. MARY'S, facing the Church-yard: there they came to the foundation of a great wall, some of the stones of which were very large; pointing, in his mind, to a period of architecture and style of masonry which carried them back to a rather remote age. They noticed that the stones were in a line with the wall which now exists, separating the garden of St. Mary's Rectory on the north side from the back of the house in Castle Street, and which was continued almost to Bridge Street. Now, if that were continued in a straight line, it would bring one to the Wishing Steps: so that, if this was the Ancient Wall of the City, and he conjectured it was, it made a perfect parallelogram, of which form the Ancient Roman Camps were said to be. The Old Wall did not include the Castle, but he thought, instead of going in the direction of Cuppin Street, it went in the direction he had described; and joined the present Wall near to where the Grosvenor Road cuts through the Walls. At the time they were making the excavations, of which he had spoken, they came upon the top of a well, two or three courses of the stonework of which were exposed, but they did not ascertain what was inside. With respect to the Crypt under Messrs. Powell and Edwards', there was a peculiarity in the window at the west end not often found in ecclesiastical buildings, which was, that the lancets had transoms; and so far as his knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture went, transoms were not usually found in Ecclesiastical Buildings, but more frequently in Castles and other Domestic Buildings. Then, again, it was not customary to have passages towards the altar end of the building; and he rather inclined to the opinion that the end next to the shop was modern,—that the altar was at the east end,—and the approach at the west end. As to The Rows, he had a very prosaic idea regarding their

origin, namely,—that the ancient level of the ground was not the level of the street, but of the yard behind them; that the streets were excavated for convenience, and that in that way they had two rows of shops instead of one.

Mr. AYRTON said he was much obliged for the remarks about the Chapel, as they solved a difficulty. No doubt the altar would be placed where the steps were; which seemed at first sight to be the more likely original entrance, but which was a subsequent one. As to the transoms, he could not think they would exist in an Early English window. Respecting the Canon's theory of the excavation of the streets, he asked how it would be accounted for that only a few yards up Commonhall Street remains were found at a depth of fourteen feet?

The Rev. Canon EATON had been told that the original level of the ground was not the level of the street, but the level of the street behind.

Mr. MEADOWS FROST agreed with Canon Eaton as to The Rows, and was of opinion that the streets were excavated not only for traffic but as a means of defence.

Mr. AYRTON again questioned this, and asked how it could be maintained in the face of such a fact as the finding of remains of a Roman temple below the old Feathers Hotel?

The CANON: That is a strong fact. Those temples are *in situ*?

Mr. AYRTON: Undoubtedly.

Mr. THOS. HUGHES, after expressing his satisfaction and pleasure with Mr. AYRTON's paper, said he should take the opportunity to refer to some points in which he differed from Mr. Ayrton, and he hoped at the same time to assist him by argument in his favour. First, he would take permission to follow out Canon EATON and Mr. FROST's notions with respect to the excavation of the streets. He entertained no doubt whatever that the main streets in the city, north, south, east, and west,—at all events at the Cross,—were excavations out of the parent rock. One fact was worth five thousand theories, and he had seen himself, *on the Row level*, immediately behind some of the shops, the rock *in situ*. He believed it was quite capable of proof that the streets of the city

were not in ancient times the narrow streets they were at the beginning of the present century; but that in the mediæval period, either from an increase of trade or the incursions of the Welsh, it became necessary to entrench upon the margin of the streets, and to that might be attributed the formation of The Rows. The Rows were an incrustation, if he might so speak, on the ancient streets, projecting beyond the original frontage. He was unable to see how there could be much argument upon this, because the fact of the rock remaining could not be controverted. Of course the level of a hill varied with its declivity, for there were often valleys on the tops of hills, and this would probably account for the finding of Roman temples at so low a level. In his opinion there could be little doubt about this, and several well-known antiquaries who had given due attention to the subject were of the same opinion. With regard to the SHIPGATE, it had always been understood by Chester people that it was Roman; but he had to plead guilty to not having seen it for some years, although it was within a hundred yards of the spot where they were assembled. In the garden of Mr. Finchett-Maddock, on the opposite side of the Square, this old SHIPGATE was deposited, as an ornament, in 1835. It was removed thither when the late Mr. Finchett-Maddock was Town Clerk. He had every stone marked, and it was now standing behind the present Clerk of the Peace's house. No doubt he would give any lady or gentleman present permission to inspect it, so as to judge whether it was a Roman or a Norman gate. He (Mr. HUGHES) inclined to the latter theory. In reference to the ABBEY GATE, adjoining that historical building, the Palace,—of which they had just obtained an annual tenancy,—in front of that old Gate had assembled for ages the ancient Fairs of the Abbots, under Royal charter. He had had, by the kind permission of the Dean, an opportunity of inspecting the Records of the Dean and Chapter from the time of their foundation, in 1541, almost to the present day; and in them, particularly in the time of Charles I., and just before the Siege, there were frequent notices of these Fairs. It seemed there was a niche outside one of the Gates in which there was once a statue of the first Earl, whom they were erroneously accustomed to call Hugh Lupus. When the Fair was held, the Cathedral authorities had this statue frequently painted and gilded; and among

the payments were items such as these:—"To painting Hugh Lupus, 2s. 6d.; to gilding him, 1s. 6d.,"—(laughter)—and so on.

Concerning the old NORTHGATE, he was glad to say he had several views showing the prison, on the top whereof the execution of criminals took place:—for we had the dubious privilege, not only in common with but superior to other cities,—of hanging the criminals for the County as well as for the City! It was only within the last two or three years that we had ceased to enjoy this very *proud* distinction! for in an Act passed affecting the execution of criminals, the present most worthy Recorder, Mr. HORATIO LORD, a native of CHESTER, had the good fortune to get a clause inserted, throwing the execution of criminals, condemned to death from the county, upon the proper county authorities.

With respect to the depression of the former level at the Eastgate, he considered that it might be explained in this way,—that around two sides of the city there was a fosse: and it was a curious fact that, when they were trying for a foundation for the "Eastgate Buildings," they had to go to the depth of 30 feet before they found rock, showing that the fosse did exist, although it had been lost sight of. A similar incident occurred in building the Wesleyan Chapel in St. John Street; and he cautioned every lady and gentleman against buying property outside the Walls between the Wishing Steps and the Phoenix Tower, otherwise they would have to put a lot of work underground before they could commence with their building!

With respect to the PENTICE COURT, he said that two of the most ancient volumes,—and most curious and interesting volumes, too,—in connection with the Corporation of CHESTER, had been missing for a full quarter of a century till the other week. They had been taken up to London 20 or 30 years ago, and were not returned. The then Town Clerk did not know where they were, and under these circumstances supposed they were lost. It was only within the last six months that they were recovered; and he (Mr. HUGHES) had had the satisfaction within the last few weeks of looking through them, and he found that they contained a perfect mine of antiquarian interest in connection with the City of Chester, from the time of Elizabeth down to the reign of Charles II., especially about the Siege and the visitation of the Plague. These books contained



the materials for a dozen good antiquarian lectures, which he trusted some of those he saw around him would give them the benefit of at some future time.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES mentioned in connection with the Roman origin of The Walls, that in the Wall near the Phoenix Tower was a Roman label, showing that the foundations there were erected by Roman soldiers; though probably the label was placed in that part of the Wall at some subsequent time, indicating the course it once took. At the Northgate there was a portion of the old Roman Wall existing, and it put to shame the mediæval work beside it, looking fresher and in better condition. At the Roodeye there were remains, showing large blocks of stone, no doubt so as to resist the action of the water when that part was washed by the tide; and any one walking in front of Nun's Gardens would see the deflection caused by the Roman ditch. He was inclined to agree with the CANON as to the direction the Wall took towards the Newgate, and expressed the belief that there was Roman work in the archway near the Square Tower in the CASTLE. There were certainly Roman tiles in between the stones, which were characteristic of Roman work, and there would be some protection needed for the ford. That this part was added subsequently there could not be a doubt: but still it was remarkable that a position so elevated as that of the CASTLE should have been left outside of the Roman camp, as from that point the enemy could command the City.

With regard to the Crypt under Messrs. Powell and Edwards', the learned gentleman proceeded to say that, if they examined it carefully, they would find a dais as they entered it from the shop, and which he had very little doubt was the foundation of the altar. DR. ROCK, a learned ecclesiologist, with whom he had the pleasure of visiting it, said it was a Mortuary Chapel,—not for the secret celebration of religious services,—but probably (said the speaker) a sort of private oratory. He did not think the vaults to which Mr. AYRTON had alluded were the cellars of baronial personages: he was rather of opinion that they were used (when CHESTER was the Great emporium of commerce in the North of England, and Liverpool only a hamlet), as warehouses of merchants who lived on the floors above them, and stored their light goods in the upper

room, which was like a granary without windows, but having shutters,—an example of which was still to be seen at the "Bear and Billet," in Lower Bridge Street.

As to the origin of The Rows, it was idle to speculate, unless as Mr. Micawber said, "something turned up." They would observe that in the three main streets, however, the Rows declined towards the Gates: and he was disposed to think that when the Romans founded the town they built their prætorium on the highest part, and that the surface of the streets was worn away.

That there had been a universal excavation through the length and breadth of the streets was contradicted by the fact that remains were found at so low a level as those in Commonhall Street and at "The Feathers." He went to look at the foundations of the Crypt Buildings, and there was a series of stratifications: first they found modern remains, then mediæval, and then Roman,—showing that at the back of the houses there was an accumulation of soil, and that the level there was the actual level of the street. When they dug down in Commonhall Street to the depth of seven or eight feet, they came upon a pavement; which was traced to the jambs of one of the doorways entering into Whitefriars Monastery, and those jambs showed that *that* must have been the level of the mediæval street. The conclusion, therefore, to which he came was that, if there were excavations, they must have been made long prior to the time when the place was occupied by the Romans, and he thought they should be content with dating from then. The Speaker then referred to the PENTICE COURT, which he said he had no doubt was so called from the building in which it was held. They would find in a Glossary of Architecture that it meant a "lean-to;" and though he did not know how the legal records referred to it, no matter how the nick-name got attached to this Court, it showed how early it was held in a "lean-to" building. Mr. FFOULKES concluded with some remarks on the jurisdiction of the Ancient Courts of the City.

Mr. R. MORRIS drew attention to the circumstance that at one time the Arms of the different Companies in the City used to be on the Phoenix Tower, but were removed in July, 1810. Regarding the position of the Pentice Court and shops at the Cross, Mr. AYRTON was mistaken in thinking that because of the

street being so narrow there could not have been any of the latter: for at an Assembly of the Corporation, held in January, 1781, it was determined to "remove all the shops and that part of the Pentice at the bottom of Northgate Street on the west side thereof as soon as practicable, so as to widen the said street and make the same lineable with St. Peter's Church." The Corporation were indemnified from loss by donations from Lord Grosvenor, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and other gentlemen.

The BISHOP then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. AYRTON for his instructive Paper; his Lordship adding that he was personally very much obliged, because, from circumstances which would occur to all, he entered the room that evening more ignorant of the antiquities of the City than most of them.

The Rev. CANON EATON seconded the same, and in reply,

Mr. AYRTON acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hughes, Mr. R. Morris, and Miss Jackson, for their assistance.

Mr. M. FROST moved, and Mr. AYRTON seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding, which was carried by acclamation, and his Worship having acknowledged the compliment, the meeting terminated.

May 4th. A Meeting of the SOCIETY was held in the Society's Room at the Old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square, on Wednesday evening, when a Paper was communicated by Dr. Robson, of Warrington, entitled "The Roman Roads and Occupation in North Cheshire." In this Paper it was endeavoured to fix the site of the Roman Station of *Condote*, which for a long time has been a *crux* and a subject of keen debate among Cheshire Antiquaries.

The Very Rev. the DEAN, having been voted to the chair, said: Archæology had always been one of his great amusements, and naturally the county in which one's lot was cast was the county of the greatest interest to one's self. He hoped that new life was coming to the SOCIETY, which had done, and was doing, so much in illustrating Local Antiquities. He might perhaps take this opportunity of mentioning that the representatives of the SOCIETY had been kind enough to allow him to co-operate with them in reference to a Lecture that would take place soon in

CHESTER. Mr. GILBERT SCOTT, the eminent Architect engaged in restoring the CATHEDRAL, had been good enough to promise to give an historical and descriptive Lecture on that venerable edifice, a short time thence. Mr. SCOTT was a man of great resources, and as the work of Restoration had some very singular characteristics about it, the Lecture in that point of view would be of very great interest. It had been agreed that the SOCIETY should throw its shield, so to speak, over this subject, which, he thought, did not need any protection. They would all be glad indeed to have this combination of forces. Mr. SCOTT would be in Chester next week, and no doubt the Secretaries of the SOCIETY would be able to give a little of their time, so that some arrangement for the Lecture might be made. As regarded the subject before them that evening, it took them back to an earlier period than any part of the Cathedral fabric, though not an earlier period than had been touched in the foundations, for they had come upon Roman remains. The Roman remains in Cheshire were numerous and full of interest. They had presented a great many problems of considerable interest and some perplexity. The author of the Paper about to be read, Dr. ROBSON, was unable to be present, and Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES had been kind enough to say that he would read the Paper, after which there would be a full opportunity for discussing the subject.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES remarked that, as THE DEAN had said, the Paper he was about to read was one which had been written and put together by Dr. ROBSON, assisted by Dr. KENDRICK, of Warrington, both of whom were eminent Archæologists; and he did not know two gentlemen who were better versed in the antiquities of which the Paper treated. It might be in the recollection of some present that he (Mr. Ffoulkes) read a Paper some time ago communicated by Mr. VAWDREY, of Kinderton, relative to the site of the Roman Station of *Condæ*, which had been fixed by Archdeacon Wood, many years ago, at Kinderton. On that occasion he (Mr. Ffoulkes) exhibited a number of Roman remains that had been dug up at Kinderton, and which led Archdeacon WOOD, who had seen many of them before they were exhibited, to come to the conclusion that Kinderton was the site of *Condæ*. He believed that, in some measure, it was that Paper,

or the discussion afterwards, that led Dr. ROBSON to write the present Paper, which contained a fair number of arguments for concluding that *Condote* was not at Kinderton, but at another place called WILDERSPOOL, not far from Warrington. The Roman topography of Cheshire and the adjoining counties was very interesting and highly important in an historical point of view; and if it could be accurately settled it ought to be so. It would be interesting if they could have—what had been done in Yorkshire and further northwards—a Roman Map of Cheshire! It would give one some idea of the way in which the country was divided in that early time, and by comparison with later maps they could see how places in the county had been altered in subsequent generations. The learned gentleman then read the Paper, which will be found printed at length in our SOCIETY'S *Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 183-92.

Mr. FROULKES exhibited some fragments of various kinds of Roman pottery that had been dug up at Wilderspool. Some of the pieces were as coarse as could be met with, and two of the rougher sort seemed to have formed part of a Mortarium, or speaking familiarly, a mortar. These specimens showed that the bottom of the mortar was all granulated with hard pieces of silica or quartz, or of some hard kind of stone, so that when the pestle was at work the vegetable or other matter in the mortar would be ground to a powder. Another piece represented the handle of a Roman amphora. There were also several descriptions of a finer quality of pottery, of which the Romans made very large and sometimes very small vessels. The interesting fact connected with the coarser ware was that it had been all, or most of it, made in this country, at Upchurch, or on the banks of the Medway. Other specimens answered to our china, and were called Samian ware. Some classical authors mentioned fabulous sums as having been given for pottery of this kind. This Samian ware was all made abroad, for no manufactory had ever been discovered in this country, probably for the very reason that they could not get the clay for making it. It was believed to have been manufactured in Italy and the South of France. Within the last ten years a mould for making it had been discovered at Wiesbaden. There were also a few iron nails of the Roman period that had been dug up. These were interesting,

owing to the fact that iron implements were not so common in those early times. They perished rapidly, too, but in the present instance one of the nails was so perfect that its original square form could easily be seen.

The DEAN said that whether the meeting would have the pleasure of listening to Mr. HUGHES' Paper that evening would depend upon the fulness with which the subject of Dr. ROBSON'S Paper might be discussed. He hoped it would not be considered indifference on his part if he vacated the chair after a while, and left the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY to take his place. (Applause.) He was obliged to attend the examination of certain candidates in the Chester School of Art. He gave up the chair with great regret, but he went to discharge a public duty on a small scale. He would, before going, make one or two remarks that came into his mind as he listened to the reading of the Paper. Some Papers of that sort were thought rather dry; but they must remember that these roads were part of a great system of Roman roads, and that an examination of them touched an important fact in the history of civilisation. What they had been listening to was not limited in interest to this locality, but connected with other parts of Britain. There was a Roman road with which he was well acquainted, that ran north through Lancashire, and so along the Valley of the Lune until it reached the Scotch border in Cumberland. That was a Roman road of extreme interest, and contained a good many difficult problems; but it was important to bear in mind that it was part of a great system. These roads of Cheshire were really parts of a communication with the whole of the country. The same thing was true as regarded North Wales. There was an important road leading from Chester to Caerleon in South Wales, and probably formed a direct communication between two great bodies of troops that guarded the troublesome Welsh frontier. Going westward, a memorandum which had reached him during the evening said that very recently, near Leeds, Roman remains have been discovered which may throw some light on the missing stations between York and other parts of Yorkshire, in the neighbourhood of Otley and Ilkley. He would hardly suppose, at first sight, that there could be any of the missing links of this line of road so far as the north-west of Leeds; still it was a question of some interest, and perhaps

some one in the room might take the topic up. The remains themselves were of considerable interest. As to the authorities upon which they ought to lay stress in inquiries of this kind it was always desirable to be clear. Three authorities had been mentioned in the Paper. The first was Ptolemy, Now Ptolemy's work was undoubtedly a very wonderful one, but he (the Dean) could never look upon his account of the Western Coast without feeling that it did not help them. Ptolemy never was there, and his description was so utterly vague and disconnected with subsequent history that he did not like it. The third authority was Roger of Cirencester, and he heartily hoped that the idea thrown out in the Paper might be the true one, namely, that Roger was nothing but a successful impostor who ought to be driven out of the field; and if he was driven away, many of the problems would be simplified. The second authority was the Itinerary of Antonine. He wished he had brought his edition of the work, for it was peculiarly clear, the distances being so plainly shown that to merely look at it was a help. He was inclined to agree with Dr. ROBSON that this was an authentic document, and he thought that their only starting point in documentary evidence must be the Itinerary of Antonine. Their object in these investigations was to fit in, if possible, the documentary evidence with visible traces of Roman occupation, and if they could do that they had solved the problem. As to the arguments of probability, it seemed to him exceedingly likely that a great place in Cheshire for obtaining salt would mark the line of communication of the Roman road. Salt was as important to the Romans as it was to us. It would be found in the same place then as now, and the Romans might have made a road to it. One great merit of the Paper was that it called their attention to facts, and took them away from mere theory. They were under a great obligation to Dr. ROBSON for writing it, and to Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES for his kindness in reading it to them.

The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY having taken the chair,

Mr. HUGHES said he was sure they would all regret that Dr. ROBSON had been prevented from delivering the Lecture, which in a sick room he had been good enough to compile, for their benefit. He felt that in missing him they would lose a great deal of interest in the Paper: for had Dr. ROBSON been present he would have

been able to tell them, *viva voce* probably, a great many things of great importance, and otherwise have elucidated the Paper he had so appropriately brought forward, and the position he had so apparently proved. He was fully with the Doctor in the opinion that the early road from MANCHESTER to CHESTER which had *Condute* upon it, was the northern road and not the southern one. Beyond question the distances were almost perfectly accurate upon the one side, whereas they were as thoroughly inaccurate on the other,—a difference of four miles in 40 on the one hand, and positive accuracy on the other. In addition, the Roman remains found at WILDERSPOOL were of far greater importance than those picked up over a much longer period at KINDERTON. There had been evidence of buildings found at Wilderspool, which the Doctor had not referred to, but which really existed. When the Canal was cut in 1803, they cut completely through what had apparently been the centre of a Roman station. The foundations were observable, and the buildings were of strong masonry. And when Wilderspool House, the seat of Mr. GREENALL, was built, towards the end of the last century, similar remains were discovered. Dr. ROBSON was of opinion that Wilderspool was the site of a Roman pottery, not only on account of the large quantity of fragments of vessels found there; but because a quantity of furnaces had been discovered which must have been used, as he (Dr. ROBSON) conceived, for the purpose of manufacturing and burning the pottery, which no doubt was used throughout the length and breadth of Cheshire and Lancashire. The distances between Wilderspool and the surrounding places were, as he had said, positively exact in their correspondence with the Itinerary, and the names of the places on the northern route were quite in favour of Wilderspool being the site of *Condute* on account of their Roman character. The name "street" occurred three times in the northern route, and that was indicative of Roman origin, especially when it occurred anywhere else than in a town. Whenever the term "street" occurred in the country they might expect to find underneath the sod some remains of our Roman predecessors. Another reason why he thought that *Condute* should be looked upon as a place of great importance was this: It lay on the direct north road from the South of Cheshire to the North of Lancashire. The Romans never went round corners if

they could go in a straight line. That was clearly exemplified in the Roman Wall of Northumberland, mentioned in a volume issued by the Duke of Northumberland, but compiled by Dr. BRUCE, who was considered to be a very great authority on Roman matters. It was Dr. ROBSON's opinion that *Condote* was a Station rather than a permanently fortified place,—in fact, that there ~~were~~ no stone fortifications between CHESTER and MANCHESTER,—and he was so confident of this that he quite expected before many years were over, from the extent of building going on at Wilderspool, one of the Roman mile-stones would be found there; and if so, it would be a confirmation of the position he had taken up. What he (Mr. HUGHES) had to say on another subject would not take the form of a Paper; indeed, he would rather allow his remarks thereon to stand over until another evening.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES said he remembered having a conversation once with Dr. ROBSON as to whether the Roman Roads in Britain were intended for military purposes,—or merely for the purpose of keeping up a communication with Rome, and carrying news from the extreme portions of the Empire to Rome as the seat of government. Dr. ROBSON's argument seemed to be that these roads were not intended for military purposes, though no doubt they were used for moving troops about. The Doctor's idea was, that they were roads made as soon as possible after the country was conquered; and on these roads were a certain number of Stations, where horses were kept for post services of the Empire, and by which letters were despatched and forwarded. That mode of carrying messages had been continued down to a recent period in this country, and he had heard anecdotes of letters so sent during the time of the French War at the beginning of the present century. He (Mr. FFOULKES) did not know that a mile-stone or anything else of the kind would bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, because milestones would be as common on military roads as post roads. With regard to there being no camp found at Wilderspool, he doubted whether any Roman station would be found without some sort of fortification. Mr. FFOULKES hoped it would be widely known that any gentleman might favour them with a Paper; and if he could not attend personally, he (Mr. FFOULKES) as Secretary, would be bound to read it for him. He

then showed the audience an arrowhead of iron, that had been dug up at Dodleston, and presented to the SOCIETY by the Rev. A. GORDON.

Mr. HUGHES said he had had some conversation with Mr. FFOULKES as to *Condate*,—and he wrote to Dr. ROBSON and Dr. KENDRICK on the subject, the latter of whom replied thus:—"Dr. ROBSON's health has not allowed him to visit Wilderspool more than two or three times during the past twelve months; but what he saw on those occasions, in the excavations, was sufficient in his opinion to confirm the view which he had so long entertained of its Roman occupation. He never argued that it was a fortified place, but merely one of the Imperial Post Stations." In like manner, he says, "We find no remains of Roman fortifications upon any of the towns named in the 10th Iter of Antonine, until we get to Lancaster. Kinderton, Wilderspool, Wigan, and Walton-le-Dale are all alike in this point." Dr. ROBSON thinks the traces of stone buildings found in cutting the Canal at Wilderspool, in 1803, taken along with the immense quantity of pottery now discovered there; together with the position of *Condate* (as is the case with Wilderspool), at the intersection of two roads running from the four points of the compass, are quite sufficient evidence of the site being long occupied by the Romans." Mr. HUGHES said the CHAIRMAN had incidentally asked him about the names of *Mamucium* and *Mancunium*, which he (the CHAIRMAN), in common with some other Antiquaries, thought were the same place. No doubt *Mamucium* was Manchester, but *Mancunium* was north-west of that, somewhere about Wigan, in Lancashire; and it was this fact of the similarity of names that had led so many Antiquaries astray in attempting to fix the correct distances between one place and another. Another evidence, which had not been quite distinctly enough spoken of, to his mind, with respect to Wilderspool being the positive *Condate* of the Romans was this:—The southern road would not give them *Mediolanum* at all within the distance required, namely, eighteen miles from *Condate*; but if they took the northern road, and Wilderspool as *Condate*, and came down southward, they would find that *Mediolanum* was at Middlewich. The distance between *Mediolanum* and *Condate* was required to be eighteen miles; the distance between Middlewich and Wilderspool was eighteen miles; the distance between *Condate* and *Deva* was

required to be twenty miles, the distance between Wilderspool and Chester *was* twenty miles; the distance between *Mamucium* and *Condate* was required to be eighteen miles; the distance between Manchester and Wilderspool *was* eighteen miles! There could scarcely be a spot on the habitable globe more likely to be *Condate* than the spot that Dr. ROBSON had put down as being the actual locality. He proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. ROBSON and Dr. KENDRICK, for their kindness in preparing and illustrating the former's Paper.

The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY remarked that no words of his were needed to impress upon them how well deserved was the proposal that had just been made, and which he would second from the Chair. He was glad to see by the large and attentive audience there that night that they attached real importance to disquisitions of this kind, which might be dry to some, but which were really valuable: every investigation of facts must be valuable, and the mere exercise of the human intellect in working out any problem, dependent upon fact, was one of the most wholesome employments to which the mind could be given. To learn to work out the actual position of a Roman Station from given data and given facts, would induce in their minds the condition which would enable them to work out for themselves, according to sound common sense and reason, far more important problems than the settling of a Roman Station or any simple physical fact in the world! What they all wanted was accuracy,—patient, careful induction from fact, and that habit of mind was gained by such archæological researches as they had heard pursued that evening in Dr. ROBSON's Paper,—not as they used to be in his boyhood, everyone carrying out some pre-conceived theory, but simply to get at the truth, careless what the truth might be! As an exceedingly good specimen of such a course, he could not do better than recommend to them the Paper that Dr. ROBSON had communicated and Mr. FFOULKES had read,—as well as the subsequent discussion, equally sound and wholesome in the same direction.

The vote having been agreed to,

ANCIENT CHESTER MANUSCRIPT.

Mr. HUGHES produced an old Manuscript, which he said was as interesting a Document, historically speaking, as any they now

had in private hands in the City. It contained a list of Mayors and Sheriffs of the City from the earliest times to the reign of JAMES I. in 1620. It also embraced some otherwise forgotten details of interesting events in each year. Probably the Manuscript in its entirety would be published ultimately, because the particulars given were so quaint and interesting with regard to the past history of the City.

There were accounts not only of military displays, but also of the plagues and pestilences that had invaded the City, and of the Royal visits that had from time to time been paid to it. He was sorry the Manuscript ended with the year 1620; for had it gone on until 1650, they would have had the history of the SIEGE told by an eye-witness, who would be in a position to speak of the privations which the citizens of Chester had then to experience while maintaining, as best they could, the Cause of their KING. That was a subject well worthy the attention of a SOCIETY like this, and if no one else undertook the task of bringing the matter before them, he hoped he might be spared to introduce it to their notice. The first item he would read from his old Tudor-Stuart MS. was of peculiar interest at that time; because in another week they would have an important carnival, perhaps not particularly interesting to Antiquaries, but interesting to a large body of Her Majesty's subjects—CHESTER RACES. Mr. HUGHES then quoted paragraphs from the Document, as subjoined:—

"1539.—In this yeare the Offering of balls and foote ball were in this Cittye put downe, and the horse, with Silver Bell and Silver Gleeves offered vp to Mr. Maior vpon Shrove Tuesday: the silver bell beinge wonne by the best Boninge horse.

"1561.—John Cooper, Iremonger. This mayor was A good man for the comon wealth of the Cittye: God increase the Number of the lyke!

"1567.—Richard Dutton, Maior. He kepte howse at the White Freeyes, and inth' all the twelve dayes of Christmas kepte open howse, for meate and drinke at meale tyme, for any that came. All the Christmas tyme was a Le: of Misrule.

"1573.—Richard Dutton, Esq., again Mayor, was a worthy stoute Maier who kepte good hospetallitye. He was a Citizin borne.

"1584.—On the 24 July, beinge St. James's Day, frome noone til Midnight there was contynuall thunder and Lighteninge, Raine, and hayle without intermission, Soe that the waters did arise upon the suddaine, as that they overflowed the streetes and Rann into the Cellars in greate aboundance,

Manye mills and waterworkes overthrowne, much Corne and haye destroyed, which caused a graet dearth through out this kingdome many yeares after. Also manye glasse windoes broken with the hayle, beinge some of them five ynches compasse, and manye Cattell slaine by lighteninge, the lyke was never seene by any that then lived.

"1598.—10th April.—The Earle of Essex came to this Cittye to go for Ireland, as Leutenannt to her Majestie. He was honorably received by the Cittizins; he was banqueted in the Pentice with his Attendants, and was presented in the name of the Cittye with a guilt bowl and 60 Angells, by Mr. Thomas Greene, the most auncient Alderman, Mr. Maior beinge sicke and absent.

The 26th September, Earle Essex returned out of Ireland, and dep'ted towards the Courte. The same day of the Earle's return, the funerall of Sr. Thomas Edgerton, knight, sonne and heire to Sr. Thomas Edgerton, knight, Lord Chauncelor of England, was solemnised in the Cathederall Church here, where the lord Bpp. Vaughan preached. He died in Ireland, and was interred at Doddelson. The funerall dynner kept in the Bishopp's Pallace. Mr. Maior, (Richard Baborne), did governe his place with greate discretion, and to his greate commendations from the Counsell at London, it beinge such a troublesome yeare for her Majestie's service, and he A man that coulde nether wryte nor reade.

"1599.—Theire was soe manye soldiers and straungers in Chester, that all the townes about the Cittye were taken up for lodginges, for horses and men. Manye soldiers unrulie and disordered, and many Run'e Awayes. Mr. Maior caused a Jebbett to be set vp at the high Crosse To terrefye them. Mr. Maior, (Hy. Hardware), would not suffer the Gyaunts to be sett forth at the Watch at midsomer, as they had bene before tymes accustomed. He kepte a worshippingfull howse, gyvinge enterteynem't vnto knights and gentl'n of good fashions, and kynd vnto his friends and neighbours.

"1601.—This year all corne measures were called in and reformed by proclamation, wherevpon the olde brasen hoope, formerly used here, was sent vp, and we re[ceiued] a new brasen gallon, q'art, and pint, and without any allowance for our brasse, there was payde in London for the other the some of viij*li* (£8).

"1602.—In the moneth of November, the monument of Mr. Offeley's, of London, was set up in St. Peter's Church, in this cittye.

"1603.—The Great Bell of the Abbey taken downe and new caste, and whereas before there was but three they were made five, and hong up in the great square steeple.

"1606.—In this year contraversies betwixt the citizens and the Prebys in the Cathedrall Church, as concerning their authoritye in the Church, which was afterwards qualified by agreement.—Mr. Hynks, butcher, did ride his horse about the walls of this cittye, before Jo. Tirer could gather up 60 litell stones which lay one yard in sunder, to be taken one after another, and put into a basket where the first stone lay, which wager or bett Mr. Hynks won.

"1607.—A gallery buylt at the Rode eye for Mr. Maior and the Alds (to view the Races).

"1608.—The speire of the steeple of the Blessed Trinity poynted by John Brooks, a stranger. In taking down of the weather cocke there found in the belly of the same a birdes nest, with nine eggs, which marvellous to the beholders. Mr. Robert Amerye, ironmonger, caused a to be made at the High Cross before the Maior by younge Ympes, who each one of them a speech in honour of St. George, and after, a Horse Race the Rode eye, and a runninge at the Ring, with other sports commendable. In this year the plague began in Thomas Tomlinson's house, in Goose-lane, did disperse it selfe in many parts of the cittye—the sick sent to the Cabins

"1612.—Mr. Maior, Robert Whitby, gentleman, caused the pottell p quarts, and pints to be brought unto him into the Pentice, and there to be measured. Such as wanted measure he caused Joseph Gilham to smite a g hole in the syde of them. Upon the 18th daye of March, beinge Thurs morninge, about seven of the clock did happen an earth quake in this ci that it made the foundation of the earth to shake and tremble, with chur and houses. Mr. Robert Amerye, iremonger, who had bene sheriffe in maioraltie of Mr. Wm. Gamul, merchant, in the year 1608, also he beinge only man which first caused the Horse Race to be run on the Roodes Dee at St. George's day, and also upon his owne cost and charges caused the Dy and two knockers at the south syde of St. Peter's steeple to be made and up, giuinge warninge upon two litell bells. The said Mr. Amerye died the 1 September, 1612, and was buryed at St. Bryde's Church."

Mr. AYRTON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. HUGHES for his kindness in reading the above extracts, and hoped ere long it might have the pleasure of hearing more details of such interesting document.

The motion was cordially agreed to, and

Mr. HUGHES, in acknowledging the compliment, said it ought to feel thankful to the DEAN for requesting their new acquisition to CHESTER to take the Chair that evening. In some shape or other they ought to claim him as a Cheshire man. The name KINGSLEY belonged to the county; there was a townsh as there was also a family, of the same name long associated with the county. He (Mr. HUGHES) was not aware whether the Rev. CANON was able to trace his connection with that family but he had no doubt that to KINGSLEY in CHESHIRE must be attributed the name which he bore. There was another reason why he was personally gratified to see the Rev. Gentleman there that night, and as one of the Canons of CHESTER CATHEDRAL. Mr

ars ago he was impertinent enough to write to the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY asking him whether there was really any foundation for a very beautiful and touching poem which he (Mr. HUGHES) read the time, entitled "Mary, call the cattle home, across the sands Dee,"—a beautiful little poem, wrapt up in as compact a compass any effort of the sort in the language. He was somewhat disappointed to hear from Mr. KINGSLEY that the poem was the emanation of his own brain, and that there was no positive indication for it in fact. The Rev. CANON might have forgotten at trivial matter by this time, but he (Mr. HUGHES) never could. He had much pleasure in proposing that a vote of thanks given to the Chairman for the remarks with which he had honoured them.

Mr. MEADOWS FROST said he had much pleasure in seconding a vote, and he might tell Canon KINGSLEY that no man had received a more hearty welcome there than he. (Applause.) The name of CHARLES KINGSLEY was so well known and highly honoured at it could receive no additional lustre from the appendage of canon. His heart was imbued with the spirit of love for his low-creatures; and his admiration of the good qualities of the working-classes, and his candid portraiture of them, had done more good than innumerable sermons.

The CHAIRMAN said he was exceedingly obliged to them for a very unexpected and kind way in which they had proposed a vote of thanks to him. His own feeling in coming to CHESTER was certainly that he was coming home. Of course, Kingsley at the time belonged to his ancestors, and he supposed he was now at the head of the family,—a landless gentleman, but still retaining a feeling of pride at his connection with the county. The old Tarporley Hunt by song Mr. EGERTON WARBURTON reads:—

In right of his bugle and greyhounds to seize
 Waif, pannage, agistment, and wind-fallen trees;
 His knaves through Din forests Ralph Kingsley dispersed,
 Bow-bearer-in-chief to Earl Randal the First!
 This Horn the Grand Forester wore at his side
 Whene'er his liege lord chose a hunting to ride—
 By Sir Ralph and his heirs for a century blown,
 It passed from their lips to the mouth of a Done!

He had a sort of pride in being a Cheshire man, and was glad to come back to a county with which he had many associations, and where he had many friends; and he had no higher ambition than to live and die amongst them,—a Canon of CHESTER CATHEDRAL. He was by no means an ambitious man, in the sense that the world called ambition. If he could find time to make himself useful to them in any way, one wish of his life would be accomplished. If he were able to help in his usual way any Society in this ancient City,—any Literary or Social, or Scientific Society, or Mechanics Institution, he could only beg the good citizens of Chester to call upon him, and he would be at their service. He did not wish to thrust himself forward, or originate anything grand, or put himself in anybody's way; but if anyone would find any reasonable work for a somewhat hard-worked man to do, he would always be ready to do it, and be at the service of the good citizens of Chester without regard to creed, politics, or rank in any way whatever. He could only thank the gentleman who had done him the honour of saying a few kind but undeserved words in his favour in seconding the resolution, and say that he would try not to forfeit the good opinion he (Mr. Frost) had somewhat hastily formed of him.

The vote passed by acclamation, and the meeting then terminated.

Before dismissing the subject of *Condote*, at all events for the present, from the SOCIETY'S arena for discussion, it seems only fair to the "other side," viz.:—to those who still claim *Kinderton* as the true site of the disputed Station,—to preserve in the *Journal* the following Letter from one who has for almost a generation fought vigorously for *Kinderton*. The letter was contributed to the *Chester Courant* of May 18th, 1870, and runs as follows:—

CONDOTE.

To the Editor of the Chester Courant.

Sir,—All who take an interest in this subject must agree with Canon Kingsley,—that "what they wanted was accuracy,—patient, careful induction from fact, simply to get at the truth," Dr. Robson has ably argued the question in his Paper recently read before the Chester Archaeological Society, but the main fact on which the whole argument is based (to show that Wilderspool is *Gondate*) is this,—that the distances between *Mancro* and *Condote*, and *Condote* and *Deva*, given in the Itinerary of Antonine, exactly agree

with the actual distances between Manchester and Wilderspool and Wilderspool and Chester. Now, as to the locality of *Condats*, several other writers have come to a different conclusion, though these are very summarily disposed of by the Doctor, with the exception of Whittaker and the late Archdeacon Wood. There is one thing in which they all I think agree, and that is the *inaccuracy* of the *Iter* of Antonine. The Doctor says of this, after giving an illustration of the vagueness of Ptolemy,—“another document equally important, but in some respects still more imperfect, is the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus. The object of the work has not hitherto been elucidated, and doubts have been expressed as to the period in which it was composed. I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that it is neither more nor less than a book of the Post Roads formed and managed for and by the Imperial Government.” “A portion of the second of these Post Routes runs from York to Chester; and is thus described :—

Eburacum		York.
Calcaria	M.P. ix	Tadcaster.
Camboduno	„ xx	
Mamucio	„ xviii	Manchester.
Condats	„ xviii	
Deva Leg.	xx vic. xx	Chester.

It is evident that one or more Post Stations have been omitted here, as the actual distance between York and Chester is 106 miles against the 85 miles of the *Itinerary*,”—a discrepancy of 21 miles. This inaccuracy is the difficulty that other writers have encountered, and acknowledged in dealing with the question, and have been obliged to have recourse to speculation; but the Doctor does not speculate at all. He first throws discredit upon his evidence, and then adopts it explicitly to make out his case. Suppose (it is quite legitimate) Wilderspool should be in reality the “one Post Station” which the Doctor says has evidently been omitted from the *Iter* (it may, however, have been obliterated in the original MS. by a mouse or damp), and *Condats* stood next (as it would do), then Kinderton, as regards distance, *exactly fits in*. Though the Doctor has, no doubt, overlooked, and does not notice it, Archdeacon Wood states that there *was* a Roman road from Kinderton to Chester, and that he had himself traced it a short distance. Percival, in the *London Archaeological Society's Journal*, Vol. I., p. 70, mentions this road, and he says also, “I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the *Condats* of the Romans was Kinderton, in Cheshire. The road is visible almost all the way, and the Camp yet visible in Kinderton, where the Dane and the Weaver join; *there is a roadway from thence to Chester*, another to Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, and another by Nantwich and Whitchurch to Wroxeter.” Dr. Robson is quite mistaken in supposing that until the late Archdeacon Wood “found the Roman remains in the Harboro field, there really was no evidence that the Romans had occupied the spot at all.” Percival wrote in 1760; and when the Trent and Mersey Canal was cut (partly intersecting the site of the Camp), more than a century ago, many Roman

remains were found, as I have been told on good local authority. It is probably a misprint in your paper, but King-street is not "*West*" of Northwich. I mention this as the Doctor appears to attach some importance to the position of this road. The *Itiner* referred to appears to be the only authority on which reliance can be placed as to the names and distances of the Stations; and the imperfections of this are acknowledged to be such, that if Wilderspool has a better evidence to fix it as *Condale*, it may have been either there, Northwich or Middlewich, and the question at issue seems to be really left very much where it was.

B. LL. VAWDRY.

Tushingham Hall, 12th May, 1870.

June 13. MR. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., the eminent Architect under whose direction the CATHEDRAL is being restored, gave a Lecture at the Old KING'S SCHOOL on Wednesday afternoon, upon "THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL." The Lecture was under the auspices of the CHESTER ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and there was a numerous attendance. Among those present were the Bishop of Western New York, the DEAN OF CHESTER, the Dean of St. Asaph, the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY, Rev. Canon Eaton, Rev. Canon Glynne, Rev. E. L. Y. Deack, Rev. W. B. Marsden, Rev. C. Bowen, Rev. E. Marston, Rev. R. W. Gleadowe, Sir T. G. Frost, Sir S. R. Glynne, Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., Mr. F. A. Frost, Mr. C. Potts, Mr. C. W. Duncan, Dr. Waters, &c.

The DEAN having been invited by Mr. WYNNE FFOLKES to take the Chair, said he supposed they would expect some prefatory remarks from him, but the last they would wish was that those prefatory remarks should be many. He ought, perhaps, to tell them how it was that this Lecture had been arranged for that occasion. During the process of restoring their CATHEDRAL a great many interesting facts had come to view, and it seemed highly desirable that they should be arranged in some lucid order, so that the public might have the advantage of understanding them, and obviously there was no person so well able to do that as Mr. SCOTT himself. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he (the DEAN) frequently harassed him, he supposed,—(a laugh),—with the request that he would do them this favour, and give them a LECTURE upon this subject; and he had been kind enough to comply with

that request. Another arrangement which seemed to be desirable was this, that the Lecture should coincide as nearly as possible in time with the meeting which was held the day before. He was not going to allude to what happened in another place, but he thought they would agree with him that after what took place yesterday it was fortunate they had met to-day. While the arrangements for that meeting were going on, the representatives of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY came to him and asked him if they could not combine in the preparations for that LECTURE, and he thought the bargain they proposed was a good one; for while that SOCIETY would gain the honour of Mr. SCOTT's credit, they of the CATHEDRAL would be saved all the trouble and reap all the benefit. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Therefore, the arrangements made for that day were not those of the capitular body, but of the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. He thought it was a matter for congratulation that there was so large a meeting, and he believed there never had been a case in the history of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY when the attendance was so large as it was then. He was not at all surprised that this should be the case, and he thought Mr. SCOTT might be congratulated on the extreme interest and enthusiasm now surrounding the work he was bringing forward. (Applause.) There was just one other subject on which he wished to be allowed to make a remark. He hoped they would fully appreciate the opportunity given to them for really understanding many things, which they could not understand in the absence of any competent guide. Several things in the CATHEDRAL had been brought to view which had long been concealed,—things which might have escaped the notice of the casual observer,—and he hoped when the LECTURE was over they would go to the CATHEDRAL, and go over the ground which Mr. SCOTT was prepared to elucidate to them. Everyone must be struck with the appearance of the Nave for the last two years and a half, contrasted with what they had been accustomed to see in former years; and no one could have helped seeing the great benefit to be derived from having plenty of space in the CATHEDRAL. (Hear, hear.) They would remember that the Bishop of Manchester spoke with great force on the breadth and space of our Cathedrals; and if there was a subject in which he (the DEAN) took great interest, it was not alone the work

of Restoration,—although no one would think him indifferent to that,—it was that of doing real religious good through the CATHEDRAL to the souls of men! Therefore, gathering the people into the CATHEDRAL was the thing he cared most about; and with that, he desired them to remember that an abundance of space was conducive to the dignity of all their proceedings. Now came the point to which he wished to call their special attention. If the Parishioners of ST. OSWALD'S were released from the trammels by which they were at present fettered, and could have other parochial accommodation; then he conceived the South Transept could be thrown open and included with the Nave, together with the space under the Tower; and when that was done they could have congregations quite as large as assembled now, partly in the eastern portion of the Nave, partly in the southern portion, and partly in the South Transept and under the Tower; with, at the same time, an abundance of space around them, and one great, grand, ramified, and magnificent roof above them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) This, however, depended upon the will of the People of CHESTER and the Public at large, and if they had the same desire as he had, this would be effected; and if this were the feeling of the Public, and it were expressed, he would promise to work hard in order that this result might be realised. (Applause.) The DEAN concluded by calling upon Mr. GILBERT SCOTT to deliver his promised LECTURE. [For a full and well-illustrated edition of this important local LECTURE, reference should be made to the current Vol. of the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S *Journal*, pp. 159-182.]

Votes of thanks having been given to the LECTURER and Chairman, the company followed the Lecturer from the KING'S SCHOOL to the CHAPTER HOUSE, where he commenced to point out in detail those features in the CATHEDRAL to which he had referred in his Lecture. The CHAPTER HOUSE he regarded as one of the most beautiful rooms he knew of the 13th century. Its exact age was not known; probably it might be placed in the latter quarter of that century. In its predecessor many of the Abbots, including the great SIMON OF WHITCHURCH, were buried, but what became of their tombs he could not say. He thought it probable that the light of the western window was borrowed, and that at one time the Monk's dormitory came up to it. Passing to the North Transept, he called

attention to the veritable work of Earl HUGH LUPUS, which was to be seen in the arcade over the head of the arch. From the eastern side, up to the end of the 12th century, projected an apsidal chapel, and the outline of the arch by which that was entered, had been disclosed by the taking off of the plaster. The piscina was not earlier than 1290 or 1300. Passing through the Vestry, where the details of the Norman arch were more clearly disclosed, Mr. SCOTT then led the way to the outside of the North Aisle, where he called attention to the base of one of the enormous buttresses, then to the corner of the Lady Chapel, where the lighter buttresses were found which gave the true position of the windows and the direction of the mullions. On the south side of the Lady Chapel he called attention to the pierced parapet and toothed ornament discovered when the roof was removed; and also pointed out the arch above the end of the South Aisle, which bore a spire,—and the aisle about being constructed in an apsidal form. Farther on he noticed the sloping form of the buttresses, and a doorway which the DEAN said was used as an entrance to the Choir at one time by the Benedictine Monks, the tomb of RANULPH HIGDEN, the author of the “Polychronicon,” being near it. From this point the Lecturer passed on to the South Transept, then into St. OSWALD’s CHURCH, where he spoke of the Chapels of St. Nicholas and Mary Magdalen; and referred to the sedilia of the former. From thence the route was into the South Aisle, through the Choir, to the end of the North Aisle, but not into the Lady Chapel; then back to the Choir and through the Nave to the westward, and into the Norman Tower; but here the perambulation ended, as it was near five o’clock, the time for evening prayers.

The party separated after a second vote of thanks had been unanimously tendered to Mr. GILBERT SCOTT for this additional service conferred upon the SOCIETY.

1871.

March 21. An ordinary meeting of this SOCIETY was held this evening, at the Society’s apartments, in the old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square. There was a considerable attendance of Members and their friends, and many ladies. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. CANON EATON.

Mr. W. BEAMONT read a Paper on "SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY IV., pointing out the frequent allusions in that drama, and in contemporary history, to CHESHIRE and CHESHIRE MEN." [The First Part of this Paper will be found at length in our SOCIETY'S *Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 215-246.]

Mr. HUGHES having remarked that Mr. BEAMONT was one of the best friends the SOCIETY had had since its establishment, said he was glad to be able to inform the Members that some half-dozen friends and brother Members, including Mr. BEAMONT, had kindly promised to lecture during the coming Session; and, if all fulfilled their promises, he had no doubt that the present would be one of the most successful Sessions of the SOCIETY. Referring to the Paper just read, Mr. HUGHES said that it had been stated by Mr. BEAMONT that Sir RICHARD VENABLES, of Kinderton, had died on the field of SHREWSBURY. On a former occasion he (Mr. Hughes) took the opportunity of questioning whether he had really fallen there, and whether he had not, as others had alleged, been taken prisoner there and afterwards beheaded. Which of the two statements was the true one he did not know; but it was a matter of historical fact, and one which they were in a position to prove, that whereas Sir RICHARD VENABLES' property was seized, on account of his treason, by King Henry IV., the estates remained in the King's hands for a considerable time, and a Pardon was afterwards granted to WILLIAM VENABLES, Constable of CHESTER, a brother of Sir RICHARD. He (Mr. HUGHES) had that Pardon in his own possession, in the shape of a deed re-granting portion of the property previously confiscated. The document recorded the fact that a Pardon had been granted to the family of the VENABLES in the person of WILLIAM DE VENABLES, Constable of CHESTER CASTLE: and it restored to him,—as one not of the direct line from him attainted of treason,—a large proportion of the property taken under the attainder; and it at the same time very considerably provided that WILLIAM DE VENABLES should pay a certain amount per annum to the widow of Sir RICHARD. The document, which was the original one, bore the Royal Seal. Mr. HUGHES concluded by informing the Members that the first of this series of Lectures by Mr. BEAMONT, viz., that on "Richard the Second," was printed in the volume of the SOCIETY'S *Transactions*, then in the hands

of the binder, and which would, he hoped, in a short time be in the hands of every Member of the the SOCIETY. A large amount of pains had been taken in the illustration and preparation of the Volume; and he hoped when issued it would be found to be one of the most interesting and perhaps the best illustrated the SOCIETY had yet issued. .

GRANT OF ARMS TO CHESTER CITY.

MR. AYRTON (by permission of the Mayor) exhibited the original grant of a Coat of Arms to the City of CHESTER, by WILLIAM FLOWER, Norroy King of Arms, in 1580, and read the following short paper illustrative of this very curious local document :—

It may make the perusal of this deed more interesting if I venture to preface it with a few very brief remarks on the honourable science of HERALDRY; of which, however, I can only pretend to a mere smattering acquaintance, and shall feel very much indebted to those much better versed in the mysteries of this very abstruse and, almost, obsolete science to correct or confirm what I shall to-night say. Heraldry proper, as an established profession, dates from about the 12th century; though no doubt distinctive devices or insignia were borne from a very early period, more at the caprice of the owner, or by national custom, than by any established authority. In fact, we have instances of national and of military insignia from the earliest ages. The Egyptian Ox, the Athenian Owl, and the Roman Eagle occur readily to our memory. The standards and symbols of the Jewish tribes are alluded to in the Scriptures. The White Horse of the Saxons, and similar clannish devices, were recognised long anterior to the acceptance of Heraldry as a science, or the reduction of its laws to the rules of an acknowledged profession. It has been contended that instances occur of the emblazonment of arms at an earlier period than the 12th century, and some MSS. exist in which the Saxon Kings are represented as having their shields duly charged; but it is sufficient to remark that these MSS. are belonging to a later date, and the anachronisms betray their inaccuracy.

If we were to trust the dictum of *all* heraldic enthusiasts, we could not have a better specimen than the extent to which they will go in riding their hobby, than is given by that heraldic fancier, *Morgan* (Welsh of course!) who pretends to give us the coat of

arms proper to Adam and Eve, and which he asserts they bore. To Adam he assigns a shield—*Gules*, and to Eve another, *Argent*, which latter Adam bore over his as an inescutcheon, his wife being sole heiress ! He also tells us that after the fall Adam bore a garland of fig leaves, which Abel quartered with *Argent* an *Apple Vert*—in right of his mother.

The Crusades led to the first general bearing of some distinctive device on the arms of warriors, though it was then rather national or clannish than personal ; thus the badge borne by the English was a white cross, worn on the right shoulder of their surcoats ; the French cross was red, the Flemish green, and the Roman States bore two keys in saltire. It was not until the return of RICHARD THE FIRST from Palestine that he assumed for his device the three lions *passant guardant*, which have ever since been borne as the Royal Arms of England. Tournaments shortly after gave an additional impetus to Heraldry ; and it became the custom for knights to assume devices which they considered had a reference to their position or deeds, and which became the arms of their descendants. At the same time it was deemed absolutely incumbent upon every knight or noble to achieve the right to such insignia by some honourable action, either on the battle-field or in the lists,—which gave him the title to the *achievement*,—until which he carried his shield plain. The Welsh bard, Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd, alludes to this in lamenting his failure at a bardic contest. “ Another carries the apple spray, whilst my shield remains white upon my shoulder, not blazoned with the desired achievement.” Old Gwyllim remarks—page 395—that the word “achievement” belongs properly only to such coats of arms as belong to persons to whom supporters are, either by law or custom, properly due ; and that in some countries the assumption of supporters is not permitted to any person inferior to the degree of a knight.

Before the College of Heralds became a court of appeal and of judgment, many disputes arose in consequence of different families arbitrarily assuming the same insignia : and an appeal to the force of arms was a frequent, and not inappropriate method of deciding the issue. An interesting instance of this occurred in 1389, when the three families of SCROPE, CARNEGOW, and GROSVENOR, bore similar arms—“ *Azure, a bend or !*” The

contest between SCROPE and CARNEGOW was not conclusive, and ultimately both families were permitted to bear the same arms, which they still do. In the trial between Lord SCROPE and Sir RICHARD GROSVENOR, the latter was forbidden to carry such arms, unless he surmounted them with a silver bordure as a dimidiation. This he refused to do, and assumed, or was permitted to bear, in its stead, "*Azure, a garb or*," part of the arms of the EARLDOM OF CHESTER, to which he was by courtesy entitled through his descent from RANDOLF DE MESCHINES.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the right of certain families to certain insignia was so defined, and so well recognised, that we find in some writings of the period the family device takes the place of the name. Thus in the old ballad entitled, "The Battle of Towton," the writer thus designates the Earls of March and Warwick, Lord Fauconburg and Lord Scrope of Bolton :—

The way into the North Contre, the *Rose* full fast he saught,
W't hym went ye *Ragged Staf*, y't many men dere bought,
The *Fishe hoke* came into the felde with full egre mode,
So did the *Cornyshe Choughe*, and brot fort all hir brode.

The next era in the progress of Heraldry may be considered as the adoption of the Tabard, by which royal and other accredited heralds sought to ensure the dignity and consideration due to their rank. Its origin may be traced to the surcoat or loose robe which the knights wore over their armour to protect their coat of mail from rust and rain, and themselves from the heat by which the sun would have made the armour unbearable. "Neither hath this habit escaped transformation, but hath passed through the forge of *phanticall* conciet, insomuch that (beside the bare name) there remaineth neither shape nor *shadow* of a *mantle* ; for how can it be imagined that a piece of cloth, or of whatsoever other stuff, that is jagged and frownced after the manner of our common received *manteling*, being imposed upon the shoulders of a man should serve to any of the purposes for which mantles were ordained ? So that these, being compared with those, may be more fitly termed *flourishings* than *mantelings*.—Gwyllim, p. 397." About the close of the 13th century this surcoat was embroidered with armorial bearings. The surcoat being found inconvenient from its length, was succeeded by the Cyclas, a somewhat shorter

and respect, whenever bearing peaceful or hostile messages between contending princes. It was an offence which involved capital punishment to strike a Herald; and to counterfeit the character of a Herald, not being such by the diploma of the College at Arms was considered treason. An amusing illustration of this occurs in Sir Walter Scott's novel of *Quentin Durward*, where an imposition is attempted by a messenger on Louis the 11th and the Duke of Burgundy, and where the penalty incurred by the impostor is quaintly described.

I may here, by way of parenthesis, introduce to your notice a very valuable MS. volume, which I am enabled to exhibit and refer to, by the kindness of the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER: it contains the very voluminous evidence in the famous suit of RICHARD LE SCROP *versus* ROBERT GROSVENOR, and in which the latter party contended for the sole right to bear as their arms—*argent bend or*. Upwards of 180 witnesses, most of them men of distinguished rank and high military reputation, were examined by the commission appointed. The suit lasted six or seven years, and the final result was that the arms were awarded to LE SCROP; ROBERT GROSVENOR was permitted to bear them with a *bar argent* as a dimidiation; this was, however, an indignity he could not submit to, and he adopted the arms of his ancestor RANDOLPH. It would fatigue you too much to do more than take a cursory glance at this ponderous volume—a striking illustration of human vanity and pride—but select the evidence of two witnesses interesting from the associations personally connected with them: CHAUCER the Poet, and HUGH DE CALVELEY, so celebrated in the brilliant pages of *FRYSBURY*—

to appertain to the said Sir RICHARD SCROP of right and heritage ; replies Yes, for he had seen them to be so armed in France before the Ville de Betters ; and Monsr. HENRY L'ESCROP armed in the like manner in his full coat, together with a label *blanc* and a banner, and the said Monsr. RICHARD armed *azure* with a bend *or*, and afterwards he saw them so armed on the whole journey until he, the said GEOFFREY, was taken. Questioned if for what he knew the said arms belonged to the said Monsr. RICHARD—replied that from what he had heard say from old Knights and Esquiers, that they had always remained in possession of the said arms ; and for all his time their arms were so reported by common consent, fame, and public voice ; and also he says that he had seen the said armes in paintings and vestments, and they were commonly called the armes of le SCROP. Questioned if he had at any time heard who was the first ancestor of the said Monsr. RICHARD who first carried the said armes—replied No, nor that he had heard, any time, except that they were come of ancestors who, as gentlemen, were possessed of the said armes. Questioned if he had ever heard for how long a time the ancestors of the said Monsr. RICHARD had used these armes—replies No, but that he had heard say that it passed the memory of man. Questioned if he had heard at any time of any interruption or challenge made by Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR or by his ancestors, or by any of his name, to the said Monsr. RICHARD or to any of his ancestors—replies No, but that he was one time in Friday Street in London ; and as he went along the street he saw hanging out a new sign made of the said armes, which at the *herbergarie* where it was, he asked who it was that had hung out these armes of SCROP—some other one answered and said ' No, they are not hung there for his armes, but they are painted and put there for a Knight of the County of Chester, which man was called Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR,' and that was the first time that ever he heard speak of Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR, or of his ancestors, or of any other bearing the name of Grosvenor."

" HUGH DE CALVELEY, of the County of CHESTER, required by the Commissioners, sworn and examined to tell the truth between Monsr. RICHARD LE SCROP and Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR, of the right of one and the other, replies that he has seen and known Monsr. RICHARD LE SCROP to be armed and to train his banner *azure* with bend *or* ; but that he has heard say that Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR had more right to the said arms than Monsr. LE SCROP ; and says that the first time that he saw the said Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR to be armed with the arms *azure* with a bend *or* was at the last journey in Scotland with our lord the King."

About the reign of Edward the Third was introduced the custom of granting what were termed '*Augmentations*,' which, as the term implies, were supposed to convey additional honour if not rank, and of which we shall find a specimen in the deed before us. Under this name were introduced helmets and coronets over the

shield, and supporters on each side of it; these frequently had some meaning relative to the family whose arms were emblazoned, though usually of an altogether fanciful character. Lastly, there was formerly a practice indicating the very reverse of additional honour; being styled an 'abatement,' by which a knight or noble who incurred censure on account of any unworthy or dishonourable action, had to suffer such erasure from his coat of arms as was deemed sufficient penalty. The consequence is alluded to by Shakespeare—

"Yet though I die, the scandal will survive,
And be an eyesore in my golden coat,
Some loathsome dash the Herald will contrive
To cypher me."

I should have been glad to compare this Document with similar grants of armorial bearings, which belong no doubt to most of our ancient cities (as this deed itself recites), but I had none within my reach. The only book on the science of Heraldry which I possess (by Cussans) gives only two examples, of which, singularly enough, those of the City of CHESTER are one. At page 149 he says:—

"The City of CHESTER impales the Lions of England with the arms of the Earldom: *Azure, three Garbs or*. In this case the dexter Garb in chief is completely absconded from the shield."

NOTE.—The sword which is the crest of the City Arms refers to the high dignity and sovereignty conferred on HUGH LUPUS by his uncle, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, to hold the County and Earldom of CHESTER of himself,—"*Tam liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad coronam*." Consequently in all legal proceedings from the Courts at Westminster, other than at CHESTER, the pleas ran—" *Contra Coronam et dignitatem regis*," but in the County Palatine these pleas were constantly expressed as "*Contra dignitatem gladii Cestrie*."

Mr. HUGHES mentioned that, when the present Cattle Market was erected some twenty years ago, the Council of the day went to the trouble of having the City Arms placed on its gates and walls. These arms were identically the same as those which had been improperly used in the 16th century: and thus the Council of but twenty years ago perpetuated the very error which had then, and more or less ever since, been in existence. Even the city policemen,

instead of having the proper arms on their collar, continued to bear those that were spurious! Mr. AYRTON had drawn attention to the Roll of the GROSVENOR FAMILY, kindly lent for exhibition by LORD WESTMINSTER: this Roll, he might state, was arranged in chronological order down to the middle of last century, from which period it had not been continued. He once suggested to the late LORD WESTMINSTER the propriety of having the Roll continued, but he replied that Heraldry was "not very much in his way; he was satisfied with things as he found them, and had no personal wish to see his own name included in the list." Whether the present MARQUIS would, through the Heralds' College, continue the Roll, time would tell.

Mr. HUGHES then proceeded to show some Heraldic Documents of Local interest, which he had brought from his own private store. He showed a large volume in which was emblazoned the Pedigree and Arms of the SAVAGES OF ROCK SAVAGE, a family which he stated became extinct about the beginning of the last century; and bore a name that once figured in the peerage of the realm. A fine house built, he believed, by the last peer was, within fifty years of its erection, a mass of ruins; and it was recorded that a pack of hounds followed a fox through the ruins within sixty years after the mansion had been built!

Another Document he had the pleasure of possessing was one to him of extreme interest: it was the Heraldic Pedigree of the GAMULS of CHESTER, who intermarried with the BREREWOODS. The document was one of considerable interest to the City: for there was scarcely a member on the male side who appeared on the Roll, that had not, down to the extinction of the family in the last century, been either Mayor or Sheriff, or held some other office in connection with the City. This Pedigree ended with the children of SIR FRANCIS GAMUL, a celebrated man, and whose name was endeared to every loyal CHESHIRE man, as being one who fought for KING CHARLES, and stood by his side on the top of the PHENIX TOWER to witness the Battle of ROWTON MOOR. He was made a Baronet by KING CHARLES, but he believed the patent was never completed. In the document now exhibited, he was however recorded as actually being a Baronet. He had a son, but he died

in the wars, and left him without a successor. Mr. HUGHES then drew attention to the discovery made in the ruins of ST. JOHN'S on the previous day, March 20th, 1871, while the men were sinking in what appeared to be stone rubble; but which on further examination proved to be some splendid bosses belonging perhaps to the latter end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. These had been cleaned for the purposes of inspection, and as they would be left in the open air but for a short time he hoped the Members would take the opportunity of seeing them. They were a beautiful series. One was a representation of the Annunciation—the Angel Gabriel announcing to the Virgin the birth or coming of Our Lord. This was a remarkable piece of sculpture of the Early Decorated period, and in conjunction with the others would well repay a visit from any Member of the SOCIETY. Mr. HUGHES also stated that the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.P., eldest son of LORD EGERTON OF TATTON, had that morning presented the SOCIETY with a volume entitled "*The Cheshire Gentry of 1715*," drawn from their portraits at ASHLEY HALL. It was a private print, and he had kindly requested the SOCIETY'S acceptance of it. He (Mr. Hughes) had looked over the book, and found that it contained a biography of the more prominent of the Cheshire Gentry, who sided mainly with the Jacobites in the first Rebellion of 1715.

The CHAIRMAN said, when he was Rector of ST. MARY'S, his attention was called to a very important old monument there which was then in a very dilapidated state. He set about to find a representative of the family, and from what he discovered he thought he might dispute what Mr. HUGHES had stated as to the extinction of the GAMUL family: for he found a Mr. Gamul Farmer, living in the County of Surrey, and he claimed (of course through a female source), but with what truth he did not know, that he was the descendant of the family, and placed £20 at his disposal for the restoration of the Monument, which was now to be seen in the extreme north-east corner of the Church. There were also one or two other interesting Monuments in the Church. There was one there to RANDAL HOLMES, the great Antiquary and Heraldic Scholar, which he was also able to get restored. One of the

OLDFIELD family also lay there, but that Monument he was unable to get restored during his time. SIR FRANCIS GAMUL lived in St. Mary's Parish, in Boarding-school Yard, a place which would, at the present time, be quite unworthy of the residence of a Baronet. He believed that Mr. Farmer was a descendant of the family, as well as Mr. Edwards, of Aldford.

Mr. HUGHES said the FARMERS of Mollington, or rather of Crabwall, and the EDWARDS family, of Farndon, were connections of the GAMUL family, but on the female side. What he meant when he said the family was extinct was, of course, that it was extinct in the *male* line. He believed there had been no members of that family bearing the surname of GAMUL, in or very near CHESTER, since the middle of the last century.

Mr. R. E. EGERTON WARBURTON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. BEAMONT and Mr. AYETON for the interesting papers they had read.

Alderman M. FROST briefly seconded the proposition.

Mr. BEAMONT, in returning thanks, said that in the trial between SCROPE and GROSVENOR as to who should bear the shield "azure with a bend or," 184 witnesses were examined on that single point. Some proved that the shield had been borne at the Siege of Acre in the time of Richard the First. Among the witnesses called were three sovereigns, three dukes, a score of earls, and he could not tell them how many knights. Amongst the rest was a labourer, or husbandman, who lived at BRADLEY, in CHESHIRE. He said he was 70 years of age, and that the GROSVENORS had painted these arms on the Cross at BRADLEY, as he recollected them being there ever since he was a boy. The trial of the rival claims lasted seven years, and the result was that GROSVENOR was defeated. An appeal was made to the KING, and he, by way of gratifying the loser, gave him the arms the family now bore.

Mr. AYETON having briefly expressed his acknowledgments,

A vote of thanks to the CHAIRMAN was carried, and the meeting terminated.

May 24. A meeting of this SOCIETY was held at the SOCIETY'S apartments, in the OLD EPISCOPAL PALACE, Abbey

Square. There was a considerable attendance of Members and their friends, and many ladies. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY.

Mr. T. HUGHES, F.S.A. (one of the SOCIETY'S Secretaries) read the Paper for the evening, on "CHESTER IN ITS EARLY YOUTH," for which see the *Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 247-266.

The CHAIRMAN said it was due to acknowledge the worth and interest which characterised the very able Paper that had just been read. He was sure the Meeting would agree with him that the Essayist had shown them, more than any other thing, how ignorant they were of the numerous—the multitude of—ROMAN REMAINS about CHESTER. He (the CHAIRMAN) had not the least notion that so much might be shown and seen, even in the limited section of Roman Antiquities which the LECTURER had taken that night; and they would agree with him that, while their thanks should be given for the section then treated, another and another should be handled by Mr. HUGHES, until he had taken up the whole cycle to its completion, as he was so well able to do. It was now for him to invite any one to start a discussion on any subject of interest which might have arisen during the reading of the Paper.

The CHAIRMAN, speaking of the Field previously mentioned as towards the WATER TOWER, and which now belongs to the INFIRMARY, asked if there had been any buildings in the Field? If not permanent houses, might there not have been tents or something of that kind at some early period?

Mr. HUGHES said there was no question that in Roman times the INFIRMARY FIELD site was reserved for Burials; and in mediæval times the west side of the City was occupied largely by religious edifices. But that was long subsequent to the period of which he had been speaking; when it was the genius of the ROMANS to crowd their buildings within a central square, and to leave as much space as possible vacant for the purpose of health inside THE WALLS, but including the usual wide road bounded by the Roman barrier itself. A considerable portion of the City still retained this right of road just within THE WALLS, and he should like to see that road or drive continued from time to time as far as practicable.

Mr. FFOULKES then read a Paper on "TORQUES," of which we regret we are unable to present more than an abstract. He said that LORD WESTMINSTER's "Torque" was found near CAERWYS, in Flintshire, while clearing the surface of a lime rock from soil. It was lying beneath the soil on the surface of the rock. It measures 3ft. 9in. to the hooks, which are each $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. According to the earliest accounts furnished by classical writers, the *torque* appeared to have been used as an ornament for the neck from an early date, by the Asiatic and Northern nations. In a mosaic discovered at Pompeii in 1821, a Persian warrior is represented wearing a *torques*. The British Queen Boadicea was said by Dion Cassius to have worn a great golden *torques*. The word *torques* means twisted, and should not be applied to any other than a twisted ornament. Anciently *torques* were conferred upon Roman soldiers in commemoration of the honours they had obtained. This proved that the *torques* was a common ornament amongst the Gauls and other nations with whom the Romans waged war. More *torques* had been found in Ireland than in Great Britain. There were altogether 37 specimens in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy—probably the finest collection in Europe. The metal of which these ornaments were made was for the most part gold. Sometimes they were made out of a four-flanged straight bar of gold, each flange being about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch in depth, and standing at right angles with each other. The bar twisted, and thus the *torques* acquired its spiral form. Mr. FFOULKES displayed a long strip of thin lead, four-flanged, and at once proceeded to twist it, in the presence of the meeting, into the form of the beautiful specimen now exhibited by LORD WESTMINSTER.

At the conclusion, after a suitable acknowledgment had been made to Mr. FFOULKES from the Chair, a vote of thanks was heartily accorded to the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY, on the motion of Mr. FFOULKES, seconded by Mr. RAIKES, M.P.

The meeting was of the most interesting character throughout, the subject of Mr. HUGHES's Paper on "CHESTER" being illustrated by the whole of the fine Roman Collection belonging to the SOCIETY; enriched by the Roman Altars, the inscribed Pig of Lead, and the celebrated Gold *torques* from Eaton.

CANON KINGSLEY ON "PRIMÆVAL MAN."

July 31. The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY delivered a most interesting and instructive Lecture on "PRIMÆVAL MAN," at a crowded Meeting of the SOCIETY, this evening, at the King's School. The MAYOR, on the motion of The DEAN, was called to the Chair.

The LECTURER, in opening the subject, said he intended on that evening to confine himself strictly to the subject announced, namely, "PRIMÆVAL MAN." He did not intend to enter into the question of the origin of MAN, which physical science and physiologists must decide, or into the questions of Biblical science, which commentators must decide. That SOCIETY was simply a Society of Archaeologists, and he should therefore confine himself to an Archaeological subject.

In his humble opinion, PRIMÆVAL MAN was such a subject. They could only start from the known to form conclusions upon the less known, and they could perhaps conjecture something about the entirely unknown. It might be wrong of him to say what PRIMÆVAL MAN was like, till he met with a PRIMÆVAL MAN. He had no doubt if he did, as he had been brought up in the old fashioned creed to honour his father and mother, and to respect old age,—he should treat him with profound respect, and expect to find him a much better personage than he found himself to be. He might say at the outset that he did not share the opinions lately put forth by some scientific men,—some of them very dear friends of his own,—who asserted that MAN rose from a lower stage of being, and gradually became higher and higher in his development. In that opinion he could not go with them.

He believed the Archaeologists generally of to-day would agree with him that the earth is much older than it was believed to be two generations ago. On that subject he advised them to study the 19th chapter of Sir Charles Lyell's "*History of Man*." They might be certain that, on that subject, whatever Sir Charles Lyell said would be a safe guide. They would find also in the work of the Duke of Argyle, on *Primæval Man*, statements expressed which showed a firm faith in Christianity. He would further recommend them to the study of a book written by

another true Christian, St. GEORGE MIVART. After that terrible period of destruction, the Age of Ice—the glacial epoch,—after the ice retreated again to the northward, a race of men must have been driven northward in search of food ; which they would have found plentiful enough, but rather hard to get,—for the land must have been occupied by huge mammoths, or woolly elephants, rhinoceroses, gigantic oxen, musk oxen, gigantic Irish elks, huge reindeer, mixed up with huge beasts of prey, lions, bears, hyænas, and,—in Spain, leopards, and hippopotamuses. Nor need they be surprised at animals at present found chiefly in tropical climates abounding in the northern latitudes of primæval ages. The tropical beasts of prey had much greater power of sustaining cold than Man. At present the tiger ranged Siberia and as far north as the Amoor, and if the lion was now confined to Africa, Persia, and Northern India, it was only because he had been killed out elsewhere. Readers of old Homer would find a description of a fight between lions and dragons (by which he meant pythons) so vivid and accurate as to show that Homer must have seen, with his own eyes, a fight between a lion and a snake. The last authentic account of the lion in Europe was given by Herodotus, who described the camels and other beasts of burden of the army of Xerxes as being attacked by lions in the mountains of Thrace, now a portion of Northern Turkey.

The relative distribution of land and water must then, too, have been very different to what it was now. Ireland was joined to England, and England to France, till gradually sawn apart by the action of the sea. That accounted for the absence of toads and poisonous snakes from Ireland, those reptiles not having been quick enough in their northern progress to reach that country before the separation ; while frogs, which had arrived before the communication was cut, had got over. In England, too, there were not half the kinds of snakes and reptiles to be met with as there were in France and Belgium. They had reached the straits of Dover, but comparatively few got over into England before her division from the European continent. During this era, which must have been a very long one, the German Sea must probably have been a vast sheet of lowlands, abounding with all kinds of

wild fowl. Also we might be sure that Europe was then joined to Africa, as was proved by the fossil remains of African animals found in the limestone caves of Gibraltar. There was reason to believe that the Greek Archipelago had once formed a solid mass, shattered by some convulsion of nature.

Discoveries had recently, and from time to time been made in several parts of Europe, which left no reasonable doubt of the existence of MAN at those remote periods; because flint instruments and weapons had been found mixed with the bones of animals of species now entirely extinct. When they found, as they had found, upon some of those instruments just such a rude sketch of a Mammoth as a savage would draw, they could have no doubt that MAN and the Mammoth were contemporaries. In the Pyrenees, some years ago, a cave was found which contained seventeen human skeletons. This cave was further searched in 1860. It had, however, been spoiled for scientific research; but in another cavern more than a hundred flint instruments have been discovered, and with them quantities of reindeer horns. Outside of these caves were found traces of feasts, apparently held by the savages before closing them up as places of sepulture, in bones of various animals—elephants, rhinoceroses, horses, and oxen, and amongst them a bone of a young rhinoceros split up evidently by some instrument in just the same way as savages were in the habit of doing. Was not this instance enough to set the question of what some PRIMÆVAL MEN were, at rest? Similar facts were also found in the caverns of the Dordogne, in France, which were explored by Sir JOSEPH LUBBOCK.

In England, too, similar caverns had been found. In particular, there was Kent's Cavern, near Torquay. That was first explored by Mr. McHenry, a Roman Catholic priest, who gave a description of it. Then there was a cave near Brixham, also near Torquay. There, flint knives and other human instruments were found in plenty, together with the bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, lion, and reindeer. These deposits in the Brixham Cave must have been of enormous antiquity. Again, flint instruments have been found in primæval middens which had been brought to light at LAM-
PUDNO,—and mixed with them were bones of animals. It would be

pear, by the various traces of their existence found in these caves that the savages who inhabited them were something like, in their habits, what the Esquimaux are now.

But then came naturally before us the question,—were these Esquimaux-like savages *PRIMÆVAL MEN*? And, first of all, he would premise that he held firmly to the belief that all the Races of Men came originally from one stock. When, therefore, he spoke of Races of Men he used the term in the same sense that he would apply it to races of dogs or of pigeons. With regard to the all-important question whether the Esquimaux were identical with *PRIMÆVAL MAN*, it seemed to him that all that could be said of them was that they were the earliest human race which reappeared in Europe after the great catastrophe of the glacial epoch. But he denied that the Esquimaux were the original type of *MAN*. In the first place, *MAN*—hairless, feeble, and possessed of no natural weapons—must have begun his career in the tropics, somewhere where there were no large and dangerous beasts of prey, and no violent inclemencies of weather—in an earthly Paradise. The hunters then, in the barren moors of France, Belgium, and England, must have come north against their inclination, and were probably of an inferior race: as according to a general rule,—in the extreme north and south of Continents, or amid the most inclement Mountain Ranges,—the lower representatives of the race were to be found, driven from the possession of the richer and warmer districts by stronger and more civilised races.

It must be conceded that the more ancient the human race was assumed to be, the more time was allowed for whole peoples to have risen and become great, strong, civilised, and to have fallen again and become weak, base, and barbarous. Of this they had a proof, in the condition of modern as compared with ancient Greece, and in more modern times with Spain now, and as she was in the Middle Ages. Those who talked of a continual progress in *MAN* forgot that facts were against them. If he had to believe that the human race was of immense antiquity he should see more likelihood, more reasonableness, in those magnificent Arab legends of whole dynasties of pre-Adamite Sultans, and all the gorgeous fables of vaunted greatness and glory of which the East was full; than in the

theory that MAN had existed on as a savage, or semi-savage, for countless ages. And he absolutely declined to accept all theories which rested on the assumption that MAN began as that wretched semi-animal, the modern savage, such as were seen in the tropical parts of America, who spent their time lying in the sun, and brushing off the mosquitos and ants from their irritated skins. Humboldt, beholding such a group, exclaimed that it was difficult to believe the theory that MAN began as a savage, only he must have begun so. It required courage to differ from Humboldt, but he did differ from him!

Facts clearly showed that degradation in mankind was as easy and as common as progress. Human beings had only to be left to themselves to become savages. The struggle of all great and wise men was, therefore, to counteract the tendency in MAN to fall and not to rise. The natural tendency of MAN by the laws of his nature was not to become a Shakespere, still less a Moses; but to become a dirty, lying ruffian like an average savage, and like, alas! too many English men and women and children. And he felt that if MAN had begun in that low animal state, then he must hold with the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Wallace, Archbishop Whateley, and, as he could have said, that consummate metaphysician and philosopher, ST. PAUL, in spite of all said against the theory by friends of his (for whom he had all respect),—that MAN never would have risen out of that state without some special influence—call it supernatural if they would—which had made him what he could never have made himself, a moral and civilized, and even decently decent being.

He wished they would read what the Duke of Argyll had said about PRIMÆVAL MAN. They would at least see why he coupled the words moral and civilized. It was because he attached a different meaning to civilization from that which most people—and, he was sorry to say, most philosophers—now-a-days attached to it. They thought too exclusively that civilization consisted in mere mechanical appliances. Railroads were now the great signs of civilization with some, just as billiard-rooms and the ballet were with others. But these were, at least, only the tools of civilization, and might become hereafter the tools of barbarism. The civilization of a people was as independent of its mechanical appliances, &c., as it was

of the cut of its clothes, or even of its wearing clothes at all. Civilization was not of the outer, but the inner MAN. The old Hebrew Patriarchs were—according to the record—more civilized than an average Parisian.

As for Railways, indeed, they no more made civilized Men than billiard-tables did. He wished everyone would take these words to heart, and consider seriously in what their civilization really consisted. The mistake to which he had referred had been made by certain old Jewish Rabbis; and in the 16th and 17th centuries certain thinkers held that all subsequent science was but a fragmentary reflex of a primæval science. For his part he held to MILTON's conception of the first MAN, as of a being utterly uncivilised, in the modern and cockney sense—but of a magnificent simplicity, stateliness, courtesy, knowing well what was due to himself! Whatever were the faults of "Paradise Lost," we owed to MILTON, at least such an ideal of PRIMÆVAL MAN as had never been before sketched by human pen; and one which would endure and teach when the theories of this generation had gone where theories of MILTON's generation had gone likewise.

He by no means would say that the TROPIC MAN might not have reached a high material as well as social civilization. There were traces that he had,—as in horticulture, for example. A large number of common edible vegetables of the tropics were no longer found wild, having spread all round the world at so remote a period that their original birthplace was unknown. There were, for example, the Banana and Plantain, the Maize, the Cassava, and Peach Palm, the origin of which could not be traced. There was Maize,—a plant which could not have had an origin amongst mere savages, and the original home of which was utterly unknown. Further, there was the Cassava, which contained a deadly poison, the art of separating which certainly carried them back to a lost civilisation. If there was an ancient primæval civilisation, there must have been ancient primæval cities. Where were they? What had become of them? They were probably built of timber or sun-dried brick, the most abundant materials, which, under the fierce suns, heavy rains, and luxuriant vegetation, would return in a few years to their original dust, and

be swallowed up in the retreating forest. There were traces of advanced primæval civilization in India and in America. In Central India they were in the shape of some remarkable wooden carvings and also in America there were the remains of a past civilization which had left no traces except those huge mounds, which were the great puzzle to the antiquaries of the United States, especially in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi.

He would go further than all this. If the human race really was of such immense antiquity, then MAN might have lived in lands now sunk beneath the Ocean, as in the Pacific. They would agree with him that possibly the South Sea Islanders might be the mere remnants of a great race who, as the lands had sunk, had retreated to the mountain tops. Was it impossible, or even improbable, then, that great cities had risen and fallen upon what was now sunken land? It was notorious that, in the most remote eastern island, the astonishment of Captain Cook had been excited upon the discovery, in the crater of an extinct volcano, of huge statues carved out of lava. The natives spoke of them as the work of a superior race which had perished,—which was probable. For his (the CANON's) part, he had long held that he saw everywhere,—in the weapons, the dwellings, the ornaments, the dresses in some instances,—of the South Sea Islanders, evidences of a decay in civilization, among a race which was undeniably decaying in physical power. And it seemed to him that such decay was in certain cases to be easily accounted for. To suppose, for example, the decay in an iron-producing country of the metal, and the want of facilities for obtaining it from elsewhere. If the supply of iron should cease, they would be compelled to go back for the instruments of the various arts, whether of peace or war, to those stone materials which were formerly used by their primæval ancestors,—and that would be retrograding. But while they would lose many of the arts of civilisation, which PRIMEVAL MAN might have possessed, the race, though decaying and retrograding like that of the South Sea Islands, would still retain a certain kind of civilization, which did not depend upon the use of iron,—such as weaving. They would retain and still practise some of the arts derived from the greater civilisation of their forefathers. Hence, too, were to be

found amongst savages many curious customs, sometimes fantastical, often cruel, often disgusting; of which they could give no account except that their forefathers practised them, and therefore they did. He held the same opinion of the religion of savages. The Fetish worship of the Negroes was but some primæval creed which had degenerated in the hands of a priesthood of quacks into juggling and poisoning.

In conclusion, he must now say, he knew *nothing* of PRIMEVAL MAN, nor could know anything, because there were no facts,—no experience on which to ground our knowledge: for we had no proof that modern savages were like PRIMÆVAL MAN; and the more ancient the human race, the more unlikely was it that they were alike. He earnestly advised his hearers, therefore, to receive with caution those works which attempted to prove that MAN had risen to his present state of civilisation by his own efforts from the condition of a savage, or even of a brute. MAN had been rather the subject of some Divine assistance. He said boldly that he thought the mystery, looking at it merely from the scientific side, could only be truly explained in the way in which the Christian Religion explained it. The more he contemplated that extraordinary, abnormal, and one might say, miraculous creature, MAN,—so like the brutes in some respects, so unlike them in others,—the most rational theory about him seemed to be that, at his first start on this planet, some event, or events, happened to him quite out of the ordinary course of nature. And he said boldly again that certain events recorded in the First Chapter of Genesis seemed to him to be a fair and rational explanation of MAN, his power of rising and his power of falling,—his sins and his sorrows, his aspirations and his blisses; and he lived in the faith that in this, as in other things, the true interpretation of Scripture, and the true conclusions of Scientific Reason, would be found to coincide.

The CHAIRMAN, at the close of the Lecture, said the custom of that SOCIETY was to invite discussion at the close of any Lectures which might be delivered before it. Had, then, any gentleman present anything to say upon what CANON KINGSLEY had advanced?

No response having been elicited to this invitation from the Chair,

The DEAN, in moving a vote of thanks to CANON KINGSLEY called upon his hearers unanimously to express their gratitude to him as Citizens of CHESTER, for the good he had done to them during his three months' Residence. For his own part, he felt personally thankful to CANON KINGSLEY for the manner in which he had worked together with him for the good of the people of CHESTER. It seemed to him that there was in large towns like CHESTER a spirit of frivolity which required to be counteracted by such intellectual and moral recreations and pursuits as had been originated in CHESTER by CANON KINGSLEY; and in proposing that vote of thanks, he could not help feeling that it was as if a good PROVIDENCE had brought him amongst them. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM AYRTON cordially seconded the motion of The DEAN, which was carried with the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm.

CANON KINGSLEY, in replying, said he was sincerely obliged to The DEAN for his kind words. He had only been trying to do his duty in the way he conceived his duty should be done. He should not have been encouraged to do it, if he had not found that The DEAN held generally the same views as himself, and had confidence enough in him to let him do his work in his own way; thereby giving him that courage which only a sense of freedom could give, to do what little work he had done. He could only say that, having done what he could during his last term of Residence, he should endeavour to do a little more next time he came,—and a little more the next time after that—(hear, hear),—as the best return he could make for the uniform courtesy, kindness, and hospitality he had always received from the people of that City. (Applause.) He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the MAYOR for his kindness in taking the Chair.

The vote of thanks having been seconded, carried, and briefly replied to, the proceedings of this interesting evening were brought to a termination.*

* The original MS. of the foregoing Lecture having been lost, this Abstract appears to a disadvantage from a mere newspaper report.

1872.

January 3. An ordinary Meeting was held at the SOCIETY'S Rooms in the OLD PALACE, on Friday evening last, Mr. MEADOWS FROST, J.P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN having, in a few appropriate words, introduced the Lecturer of the evening,—

Mr. A RIMMER read a Paper, of which we here append an abstract, on the "Decline of Gothic Architecture after the 14th century."

He began with a brief sketch of the rise and progress of GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE from the end of the 11th to the opening of the 15th century,—making it brief, as he said, because the subject was familiar to every one in the present day. He chiefly wished to point out that there was no abrupt change between the styles that are commonly called Early English and Decorated. Much error even often arose from supposing that the change of style was simultaneous—MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD, for instance (often considered a gem of the Decorated period), was, as a matter of history, built after MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL, a Perpendicular building. He dwelt at considerable length on the wonderful way the old English architects suited their beautiful structures to their sites, and always made them features in the landscape; and he said "the *England*, even of Shakespeare's time, was a scene of picturesque beauty that now, if it could be described, would only be looked upon as the dream of an Antiquary. Plenty is left to show what its glories once were," and quotations were given from Shakespeare to show how he regretted the loss of native art that was beginning at his period.

Speaking of Gothic Architecture, he said that the old designers of England fitted their buildings to the spots they stood on so precisely that, after the solid spires of LICHFIELD, that of SALISBURY at first struck him as being lanky and too thin: and it was only when seen from various approaches on Salisbury Plain, covering over 200 miles, that he fully understood the picturesqueness of the sharp, incisive idea of height it was meant to convey. In order to design a building now, it would be necessary to make many drawings of the surroundings by turnpike roads and all the neighbourhood, to see where a stack of chimneys should show, where

a front or bay window, and where it should be partly hidden by a clump of elms or a hillock. This was not necessary formerly, for the old builders designed as they went on, and had all the accessories in their eye.

A singular picture of the license allowed to them may be found in the agreement for building the TROUTBECK CHAPEL at ST. MARY'S, CHESTER, between WILLIAM TROUTBECK, ESQ., and THOMAS BATES, mason. He describes the length and breadth, and says there must be "V. faire and cleu'ly wrought windows full of light," the best to be devised, &c., &c. But the most touching part of the contract, and one that no mason could read at the present day without emotion, is where he speaks of the height of the chapel, which is to be carried up "as high as it needs reasonably to be." This shows how little the workmen of those days cared about jerrying their work. Unhappily, none of this Chapel is left, and a series of splendid monuments perished with it; among these was one to Sir WILLIAM and LADY TROUTBECK, of great beauty: the lady's head rested on a head-dress that might excite no remark in the present day, but must have been impressive in the 16th century. It consisted of a wreath of Trout on a Moor's head. The real cause of the decadence of English Art is explained in an eloquent passage of Mr. GLADSTONE's, where he says that the lust for cheapness and the contempt for ornament took away the occupation of the true artists of England, and they ceased; this culminated in the time of CROMWELL, where every article of beauty was thought to be idolatrous and carnal:—but baldness does not satisfy, and Mr. GLADSTONE says, "the law of nature arrives at its revenge:" "we have starved out the race that knew the laws and modes for the production of artistic beauty," and end by producing "malformations at a greater cost than would have sufficed for the nourishment among us of chaste and virgin art."

The LECTURER concluded by saying that the revenge was deep and deadly, and the nation is defaced with costly palaces of the reigns of Queen Anne and the Georges (Roman but not classical, and symbolical without meaning): Fauns, infant Bacchuses, and Satyrs leer away in the grounds, and an enormous mansion with vast façades, and rows of Iron columns, startle the visitor out of propriety.

The bitter description of the Marquis of Carabbas's house in Thackeray is a brilliant picture of this incongruous taste. Alluding to the way in which gems of English art had been swept away in the "restoration" of Churches in the 18th century; he said it was a crumb of comfort that the churchwardens who had been guilty of such sacrilege had universally left their names painted on a board behind them, with the year in which their tasteless work had been done!

The stall work of CHESTER CHOIR was of marvellous beauty in design; and it combined lightness, and elegance with grandeur, that astonished him as often as he saw it. Finally, there was, in old work, a patient working out of design, whether the building was completed almost in a single generation like SALISBURY, or in ages, like Cologne. Of the materials used in the handiwork little was known, and of grand principles nothing.

The CHAIRMAN having, in accordance with the SOCIETY's rules, invited discussion and remarks,

Mr. T. HUGHES entirely concurred with the LECTURER in his lamentation over the fall of Gothic Architecture after the accession of the 7th HENRY. It was humiliating to think over the continuous work of destruction that had been going on in this direction during the last four centuries; and the more so as it might be traced more to the ignorance and arrogance of the Churchwardens of past times, than to the attacks of enemies from outside the Church itself. Any one who would look around, even at the Churches of CHESTER and its neighbourhood, would see at once the justice of his remarks. Nothing could be worse, architecturally or pictorially, than the alterations effected in these local temples from the days of Henry VIII. to almost the middle of the present century; when a better and a truer spirit had grown up in this respect, as many surrounding works of our own day amply testified. Mr. HUGHES referred at some length to the two rebuildings of the TROUTBECK Aisle at St. MARY's, to which the Lecturer had called attention; and gave some historic facts in relation to the carved tabernacle-work at CHESTER CATHEDRAL, referred to in terms of fitting praise by Mr. RIMMER.

The CHAIRMAN then gave an interesting account of his recent visit to America, his remarks being mainly connected with the

great Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake City. This was a building capable of containing 14,000 people, and of seating at least 8,000; and yet, vast as were its proportions, every word of the preacher could be distinctly heard at the very extremity of the building. He (the Chairman), seeing that that was an Architectural Meeting of the SOCIETY, would venture to suggest to his professional friends that the science of Acoustics was not sufficiently studied by architects of the present day; for there was scarcely a Church, Chapel, or Public Hall, where the voice of a speaker could be at all distinctly heard halfway across the building. Mr. FROST, at the conclusion of his address, handed round a profusion of photographs of public buildings in America, picked up during his recent sojourn in that country.

Mr. HUGHES then drew attention to the really charming series of Drawings and Photographs of Churches, Schools, and public buildings, either recently erected or in immediate contemplation in the locality, which the various Architects of the city had enabled him to exhibit on the walls of the Lecture Room. There were large drawings of the restored CHESTER CATHEDRAL, including the new CLOISTER and the vaulting of the Nave. These were contributed by Mr. FRATER, the obliging Clerk of the Works there.

Messrs. KELLY AND EDWARDS sent drawings of the new BLUE GIRLS' SCHOOL in Vicars' Lane, a half timber work of high merit; also the accepted design of the new COACH AND HORSES INN, NORTHGATE STREET, which was much and deservedly admired; likewise drawings of the CHESTER DRILL HALL, Mr. McHattie's new Premises in St. Werburgh Street, and WEST-KIRBY CHURCH.

Mr. JOHN DOUGLAS sent quite a display of Drawings and Photographs of recent works executed by him in and about the city and county. Amongst them should be named three choice and elaborate drawings, representing the new Churches at TATTENHALL and DODLESTON, and the interior of St. MARY's, WARRINGTON. Among the photographs, which occupied the whole of one angle of the room, were views of the various Lodges recently erected by Mr. DOUGLAS for the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER, at EATON and PULFORD; the elegant mansion of OAKMERE on Delamere Forest;

the restored VALE ROYAL ABBEY, the seat of LORD DELAMERE; also drawings of a series of compact farm buildings on the estate; Mr. DEWHURST, of Lymm, in the half-timber style at one time common to CHESHIRE farmhouses. The drawing, however, which perhaps elicited the greatest interest, was Mr. DOUGLAS's design for Terrace of Houses on the east side of the new GROSVENOR PARK ROAD,—a group of dwellings in timber and ornamental brick, which will form an elegant and appropriate introduction to the Park and the old City—the Stranger-Visitor's first peep at the picturesque after leaving the Railway Station.

Mr. T. M. LOCKWOOD contributed some admirably-executed drawings of his recent works, and especially of the New Town Hall, WITCHURCH, a competition drawing which was selected by the Committee out of a large number of others from various parts. Another drawing represented the tasteful mansion now in course of erection and nearly completed at CONNAR's QUAY, commissioned by the late James Davison, Esq., a member of the SOCIETY, who unfortunately did not live to see the completion of Mr. LOCKWOOD's labours.

The TOWN CLERK obligingly sent for exhibition a large bound volume, preserved in the Corporation Muniment Room at the TOWN HALL. This Volume contained the set of elevations and working drawings of the NEW TOWN HALL, and which were obtained from the architects, Messrs. Lynn and Co., on the building itself being officially handed over to the City two years ago.

A vote of thanks to the LECTURER and CHAIRMAN closed the proceedings.

March 6. An ordinary meeting of the members of the SOCIETY was held at the OLD EPISCOPAL PALACE, Abbey Square, on Monday evening last, for the purpose of hearing two Papers read, one from Mr. T. RIGBY, of Darnhall, and the other from Mr. T. HUGHES, F.S.A. There was a considerable attendance of members. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. C. BOWEN.

The first Paper read was that by Mr. THOMAS RIGBY, entitled *Gleanings from the History of the Ancient Borough of OVER, with Notices of ROBERT NIXON, the CHESHIRE PROPHET.*"

Mr. RIGBY commenced his Lecture by saying—

Our beloved country is very rich in written histories of brave and daring deeds, and it is richer than most lands in enduring monuments of skill and of substantial protection and defence; but there is a mine of deeply interesting history almost wholly untouched and unwritten. It is true that every village has not borne and nurtured a hero, nor has every hamlet been the scene of a great battle; but almost every town of any note or age has responded to the call to arms, and many a name that was known in its time as an embodiment of patriotic counsel or remarkable prowess has been utterly forgotten. Almost every village has its old Church, around which old gravestones tell of those who lived and laboured at their country's work hundreds of years ago. Almost every line of Railroad runs by some ivy-clad ruin that once housed a garrison of stalwart men, who rested secure in its defences. Old traditions are constantly cropping up which excite our wonder. Old Halls, amid older trees; old Manor Houses, old Thatched Cottages, with small quaint window panes, are all mutely eloquent of the past. The spinning wheels of our granddames, their polished pewter plate and dishes, their lace cushions, their spindle-legged tables, wainscotted walls, cosy chimney nooks, and old arm chairs. Has not each of these its history? And could not many of them "such a tale unfold" as, if they could but speak, would fill our minds with interest and with reverence?

"History," says a modern writer, "in some of its essential features dies, even as generations of men die. If we could call up some of the actors in the world's drama of the old times that are past, and were allowed to propound the proper questions,—how many doubts would be cleared up!—how many perplexing matters would be unravelled! And what a number of interesting anecdotes would be revealed to the eye of posterity! But history comes like a beggarly gleaner on the field,—after Death, the great lord of the domain, has gathered the crop with his mighty hand, and lodged it in that garner that no man can open."

The Place of which I am to speak to-night has a history; but it is one that has to be read from the remembrances of its aged inhabitants, and by comparative inferences with contemporary times, rather than in musty and detailed records; indeed I am sorry to say

that my store of rare and original matter is very limited. I am but a gleaner, and only aspire to gather a few stray straws which the aforesaid reaper has left on the field,—and to arrange them with such ability as I may possess, in the least wearisome manner.

The Borough of OVER embraces the townships of OVER and MARTON and the Hamlet of SWANLOW. It is situate nearly in the centre of Cheshire, on the banks of the River WEAVER; and comprises a part of the land under which the Salt Springs are found which supply a large part of the world with SALT. Its speciality consists in having a MAYOR, but no Council or Corporation; and the appointment of this officer is made annually by LORD DELAMERE, the Lord of the Manor, and not by the voice or votes of a corporate body. The MAYOR has a magisterial jurisdiction within the Borough during his year of office, and all the licences for the sale of beer and spirits therein must have his signature. It is reputed a Borough by prescription, or by immemorial custom; and in this respect it also differs from most other Boroughs both of recent and older date; but I think it must have had some kind of licence or Charter for the possession of this prerogative, although there is no knowledge there now of the existence of such an instrument.

The word Burgh, from which we have Borough, is of German extraction, and originally signified a collection of residences, or of rows of houses, near to each other. It was used sometimes to indicate a place for the receipt of toll or custom, and sometimes a fort or tower; and Brady in his *History of Boroughs*, written in 1690, says, "Whether Burgh be taken to mean a place of trade or a place of strength, it was always guarded by the protection of and endowed with the liberties and privileges granted by Princes and Barons, then altogether necessary to the advantageous buying, selling, and trading." From *Domesday Book* we learn that the traders in all towns were under the protection of the King or of some neighbouring Baron, and sometimes of both: that this protection was essential to their welfare, and that they paid a stipulated custom for the privilege. Of the city of Bath for instance, it is said "The King holds Bath. At the time

of King Edward it was taxed at the rate of twenty hides; now, the King hath 64 burgesses paying him four pounds by the year, and there are 90 under the protection of other men who pay sixty shillings yearly." Of Norwich, it is said "There are 36 French burgesses in the New Burgh and 6 English; and every one paid an annual custom of 5d., besides their mulcts or forfeitures. The King had two parts of the whole, and the Earl the third part. In the Old Burgh the King and Earl have the jurisdiction of 1,238 burgesses. Stigand had the money for the protection of 50 and Harold of 22, whereof one was so much his vassal that he could not depart, or do homage to any other, without his licence.

These short extracts throw some light upon the relation of tradesmen to their patrons, both before and immediately after the Conquest, and the charter confirmed by the first Norman King to the City of LONDON, will give an idea of the privileges such instruments conferred. "I, William, the King, greet William, the Bishop, and Godfrey, the Port Reeve, and the burgesses within London, both French and friendly English; and I declare to you that I will that ye all be law-worthy, as ye were in King Edward's days. And I will that each child be his father's heir at his decease. And I will not that any man command any wrong to be done you. God you hold or keep." In the reign of Henry II. a bondman became free by residence in a burgh a year and a day, and additional privileges were granted to the burgesses in his reign and that of his successor; and in the year 1295 the largest boroughs were summoned to send Members to Parliament. That they did not value this right, as much as some boroughs in the present day would, is clear. "They never complained," says Brady, "of the sheriffs for not sending them precepts, nor did they clamour against it as hard usage or injustice; on the contrary, it was reputed a burden and a grievance for poor and small boroughs to send Members to Parliament; and several petitions were sent to the King praying that they might be discharged of the obligation, because it was a great trouble and charge, and to their manifest damage and depression."

It is not likely that the Borough of OVER ever sent a Member

to Parliament. An aged man, who had lived all his life therein, assured me, twenty years ago, however, that it did do so at one time; and he asserted his belief that it was once a populous part of the county, and extended from the site of the ancient Saxon City of EDISBURY, on DELAMERE FOREST, to the end of the Hamlet of SWANLOW; and he certainly named some things in corroboration that gave his faith a tinge of probability. But I am inclined to think its distance from the metropolis, and the difficulty of travel thither, and the objects for which Parliaments were chiefly summoned then,—which was to assent to and to grant taxes for the Royal Treasury,—would cause the old burgesses to hesitate and to say “it was great trouble and charge, and to their manifest depression.”

It is probable that OVER became a burgh at an early date, in the manner described in *Domesday Book*. A number of people had built houses near to each other, say, and begun to live in a rudely civilized manner: they had been the vassals—perhaps the bondmen—of some neighbouring baron, and had obtained some measure of release upon condition of rendering him certain services; or paying certain fees or custom for the right of living on his territory, and for the protection in some legal or forceful manner in their industrial or trading pursuits. In those days —

“ Might gave right,”—and
 “ The good old law, the simple plan,
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can,”

was the universal motto; and protection, in its most expressive sense, was essential to peaceful-minded traders, both for person and property. It may be that OVER had the protection of the ancient NORMAN EARLS of CHESTER “as a place of trade, or a place of strength.” HUGH LUPUS, the first EARL, had a seat or residence at DARNHALL, a township adjoining OVER, and JOHN, surnamed *Scot*, the seventh EARL, died there from the effects of poison, administered, it was suspected, with his wife's knowledge and contrivance, in the year 1237. It was the practice of these local monarchs to confirm the charters given to such settlements in the previous Saxon times, and to confer similar favours on rising burghs to secure their

allegiance to themselves more completely ; and it is on record that "OVER was numbered among the immediate possessions of the EARL till the 54th of HENRY III., when it was granted by Prince EDWARD to the Abbey of VALE ROYAL."

It is probable, also, that the appointment of Mayor of OVER originated with the Abbot of VALE ROYAL, from inability to attend to all the Magisterial duties of his position himself. "This potent Churchman lived in all the splendour of a powerful Baron, having judicial and almost kingly power over the Manors with which the Abbey was endowed." He had an extensive right of "Advowry" or protection of criminals fleeing from justice in other Manors (OVER Church being the sanctuary for such criminals, it is supposed); and he was even invested by the King with the power of capital punishment ! One of several plots of land in the Town-fields is still called the "Gallows Loont," and it is believed was the place of execution. The following description by Mr. ORMEROD confirms my supposition :—"Surrounded by his seneschal and under seneschal, the prior, the bailiffs, and many of the neighbouring gentry, the Abbot held his Court at VALE ROYAL, and there received the oath of fidelity to the Church from all large landowners, their recitation of the obligations they were under to the Crown, and the acknowledgment of suit and service of the tenants and dependents of the Abbey. He also appointed a deputy called a Coroner to hold a similar court for him in his Manors of OVER and WEAVERHAM, and for the administration of justice," and to this officer thus appointed may be traced, I think, the appointment of a MAYOR OF OVER, which appointment still remains, as the prerogative of the owner of VALE ROYAL ; and I am further confirmed in this view by the remark of *Webb*, in his *Cheshire Itinerary*, who says, "OVER was made a Mayor town by means of the Abbot and Convent of VALE ROYAL."

It is worthy of note that "All persons who owe suit and service to the Right Hon. Hugh Cholmondeley, LORD DELAMERE," (and all householders in the borough of OVER do this), are still cited to appear on the Court-day in November every year, to answer to their names when called out by the Recorder of the Court, and all who fail to do this are mulcted in a fine of twopence each : and so



OVER CHURCH, CHESHIRE.



much is the custom respected, that the sum received from this source averages nearly five pounds annually. All travellers passing the courthouse on horseback, or in a vehicle, on this day are liable to the same toll.

Whether OVER having a MAYOR may be considered a privilege to the Borough is probably debatable matter. It is at least an honourable and an ancient office, and it is interesting to note that the "MAYOR of OVER" still retains the power of the ABBOT, from whom the office first emanated. He had the power of *Infangthof* and *Utfangthef*, two expressive though now obsolete words, the former signifying the right of trying and judging a thief taken within his jurisdiction; the latter, right and liberty to pursue a thief beyond the Borough, and bring him back to be tried—and the machinery of the law is still at the disposal of the Mayor to do this. The Abbot had also the privilege of *Tol* and *Stallagium*, the former the right to make a charge on all animals sold in the Fairs of the Borough, of which there are two annually, both always largely attended; and the latter a similar charge on the stalls of itinerant vendors,—and these privileges still remain and are enforced in connection with the office of Mayor.

It has been asserted, and it is believed by some ancient and worthy inhabitants of the Borough, that the office of "MAYOR of OVER" is more ancient one than that of the MAYOR of CHESTER, and that the former would be entitled to precedence in any State ceremonial, in which the Mayors of Boroughs in the county might be called upon to take part. But if the Borough of OVER received its first appointment of Mayor at the hands of the Abbot of VALE ROYAL, as I have assumed, this must be a mistake: as the first MAYOR of CHESTER (Walter Lynnet) was created in 1242 according to *Ormerod*, at least fifty years before the ABBEY rejoiced in its powerful influence. The Mayor of OVER is, however, entitled to a seat on the Bench at the County Quarter Sessions at KNUTSFORD, which may perhaps be esteemed a greater honour than that of which the MAYOR of CHESTER can boast.

The Mayors of OVER are mostly selected from the tenants of the VALE ROYAL estate, but not exclusively; as several gentlemen resident in the borough, not LORD DELAMERE's tenants, have

held the office. They have always been men of good position and character,—not much learned in the law perhaps, but quite capable, with the aid of their legal adviser, of giving a fair and correct decision on cases tried before them ; and, to their historic honour be it said, they have never used their power arbitrarily, but for the most part have wisely tempered Justice with Mercy. Some of those who held the office at an early period were evidently unable to write,—as “the MAYOR of OVER his mark,” is found on some old legal documents relating to the vicinity of the Borough. Education was not so accessible then as now, and there have been Kings who could do no more, and warriors of renown whose only signature was the pommel of their sword handles !

There are one or two customs that date back as far as the memory of the oldest inhabitant will serve, but which are beginning to be forgotten, and that deserve a passing notice. The “Walking of the Fair” was one of these, and it was thus observed. The MAYOR, arrayed in regalia dress, was met at the Market Cross by some of the previous Mayors of the Borough and by a few of his personal friends, and, preceded by the Town Bailiff carrying the silver Mace I have the honour of exhibiting here to-night, and by a band of music and an escort of javelin men, proceeded with all gravity to walk from end to end of the old street in which the Fair was being held, and then to dinner at the principal inn.

Another was the “Chairing of the MAYOR” upon his being sworn in on the annual Court-day. I was present at one of these scenes some years ago and shall not soon forget the sight. The room in which the ceremony took place was barely seven feet high. Two strong rough hewn crooked oak beams ran longitudinally under the floor above, and upon these lay roughly split joists to carry the boards: no ceiling under these, but the boards and the walls covered with a thick coat of lime wash. The retiring Mayor and about twenty-five gentlemen (all that the room would seat) had just dined, and the Juries who had been summoned to elect Officers for the Town, and who had also been feasting, came into the room, and returned the names of those whom they had elected to the offices of Burleymen, Constables, and Ale-tasters. And then, after these had been sworn by the Recorder, the MAYOR elect was also sworn

‘to serve our Lady the Queen as MAYOR of this Borough for the space of one year ; to administer equal justice to the poor as to the rich ; to uphold the commonwealth of the town and its customs, rights, and liberties ; and to behave himself in all things pertaining to the Office as shall be for the benefit of the Borough.” Whereupon he was seated in his Chair, and some half-dozen men, most of whom were in high spirits, seized it, and with a good will and loud cheers tried to show their pleasure at his election by lifting him so high as to bump his head against the floor above ! His Worship had, however, provided himself with a stout staff which he held in upright position so as to prevent the concussion thus threatened : and had also arranged, I afterwards learned, with two trusty friends to counteract their homicidal intentions by holding down the Chair ; but it was with no little relief he seemed to regain his feet, and found himself safely through the trying ordeal. This custom has been given up for about six years, and we shall all think it more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

It was also the custom for the MAYOR to distribute lengths of ribbon to the innkeepers and waiters at the inns ; and to his personal friends to wear as favours in the breast on the two Fair days named, and his outlay for this purpose frequently exceeded £20. His example was also followed by some of the rustic frequenters of the Fair. One old lady who had a stall used to say that her principal sales consisted of streamers of ribbon, sold to the farm servant-men and lads to give to their sweet-hearts as “fairings.”

There is some evidence, as I have suggested, that OVER CHURCH was once a Sanctuary for criminals fleeing from the pursuit of summary justice. The Abbot of VALE ROYAL had, as has been said, the right of protecting such fugitives : and it was the practice of these potentates to allot a portion of their territory as an asylum for this purpose, placing it under such rules and regulations as the following :—

“When a fugitive entered the limits of this ground or Sanctuary he should be instantly protected from the summary vengeance of his pursuers, and could only be proceeded against by course of law.

"If he preferred to remain in the territory of his protector rather than submit to a legal trial in the place from which he fled, he was required to take an oath of allegiance to him, and become one of his vassals or retainers. But he was not allowed to build himself a substantial house to live in. He must be content with a tent or booth fastened together with cords and pins only; and it may be that the Abbot limited his Sanctuary to the Church, as is done, I believe, in many places on the Continent still.

And Smith, writing of the village of OVER 230 years ago, says,—“It is but a small thing, yet I put it here because of the great prerogative that it hath; for it hath a Mayor,—and the Church which is a quarter of a mile south of the town, is lawless,—which privilege I think it hath since the destruction of the city of EDISBURY.”

The CHURCH itself is situated *not* a quarter of a mile from the village, but nearly a mile. It is difficult to say with certainty why it stands so far distant. Various reasons are given. One based upon the assumption already named, that the population of the district was once much greater than it is now, and that it was then settled around and near to the old Church; but it is difficult to conceive this, as there are no remnants of buildings standing, nor any traces of them met with in the cultivation of the land around. The late ARCHDEACON WOOD once told me that he thought the Church had been built on its present site to accommodate the owner or resident at Darnhall Hall, as it is about the same distance from that place as from the village of OVER. Common tradition assigns its choice of situation to his Satanic Majesty's interference. “It did once stand in the village,” says this oracle, “and was well attended by the people. This annoyed Satan very much, and he conceived the bold idea of stealing the Church and flying away with it bodily; but he was caught in the act, and, like a detected thief who drops his spoil when pursued to facilitate his escape from capture, so Satan dropped the Church in the valley where it now stands, fled away himself, and has not since molested it.” The legend is ingeniously told in *Cheshire Ballads*, lately published by MAJOR EGERTON LEIGH.

The precise date of building the Church is unknown. It

was *rebuilt* in the year 1548, and it is believed that it stands upon the foundations on which a Church stood in the Norman period. The tower or steeple is massive, well built, and in perfect proportion. In the inner wall of the porch is an old carved font or, some say, holy water basin, but with one side broken out; and, in the chancel end, the tomb of HUGH STARKEY, of Darley Hall, who rebuilt the Church, but who seems to have been otherwise not of unblemished character. Dying without lawful issue in 1555, his brother JAMES, who succeeded him, and survived him but two years, left two sons, one of whom was HUGH STARKEY, "The Traveller." A memorial window in honour of the late REV. JOHN JACKSON, vicar of the parish for 42 years, and a local poet, has lately been placed there by some of his loving pupils; and another is about to be added to the memory of his widow, lately deceased, by their surviving children. The interior of the Church was re-seated and several improvements were made some years ago, at a cost of £2,000, and it is now as neat and comfortable a place of worship as any of the old Churches in the county.

The parish of OVER was divided into two parishes in 1868, upon the erection of a new Church by the Right Hon. LORD DELAMERE at the other end of the village,—the Old Parish Church retaining the name of its patron, St. CHAD, once Bishop of Lichfield; the new one being named St. JOHN'S. The REV. NATHAN JACKSON succeeded his father in the Old Church in 1868, and the Rev. Edward Woodyatt is vicar at the New Church, and has been so since its opening. One of the churches, built by the "River Weaver Trust," stands at WINSFORD within the Borough, of which the Rev. JOHN BIRKETT has been incumbent for upwards of 25 years. About the centre of the village stands a place of worship built by the Congregationalists 60 years since, but now used as a Sunday School, and near it another erected by them four years ago; and of the Church assembling here the Rev. JOHN MARSHALL has been pastor for nearly 52 years. In DARNHALL, on the edge of the Borough, stands the DARNHALL Endowed Schools, of which Mr. and Mrs. Richard Woodward have been teachers for nearly 50 years; and another gentleman (Mr. SLATER, of Woodford Hall), has served the ratepayers for nearly 35 years as Guardian, and

lately as waywarden, and has thrice been **MAYOR**. Facts like these, I think, are alike creditable to the men and to the people. The population of the Borough at the Census taken in 1871 was 5,681; and in 1881, 6,534.

An old stone **CROSS** used to stand in the centre of the village, where a modern erection of this character now stands; and there were formerly at least six other old **CROSSES** within the Borough.

As **MR. HUGHES** is to follow me with a Paper on "**MACEs**," I will only say of the **OVER** Mayor's before you, that **MR. LOWE**, the assay master, tells me it is silver of standard quality, but that the assay mark has nearly been rubbed out by repeated polishing. This prevents its age being accurately determined, but it is probably of the time of **Charles II.**, or **James II.** When in the **HOUSE OF COMMONS** last month, I noticed that the **Gold MACE** on the **SPEAKER's** table was of exactly the same pattern.

There is but little written record of public doings, or of the scenes of gaiety or gravity, that have been enacted in the ancient Borough. In a rare pamphlet, entitled *Cheshires Succes*, printed in 1642, and written evidently for a purpose by a Parliament man, we read:—"SIR THOMAS ASTON and his party in **CHESTER**, recovering strength after their late overthrow, exercised the same in mischief and all wicked outrages: on Sabbath, March 12, having a little before advanced to **MIDDLEWICH**, they plundered all that day as a most proper season for it, and commanded the carts, in all the country about, to carry away the goods to **TARPORLEY**, and kept a fair there to sell them. In **OVER**, when they had plundered, they left ratbane in the houses, wrapt in paper for the children, which by God's Providence was taken from them before they could eat it, after their parents durst return to them."

THE PROPHET NIXON.

I now come to speak of a remarkable man (if there ever was such a man), "**ROBERT NIXON**, the **Cheshire Prophet**." "His father's name was John or Jonathan Nixon, a husbandman, who held a farm under lease from the Abbey of **VALE ROYAL**, to this day known by the name of **Bark** or—**Bridge House**, in

the parish of OVER. He was born at Whitsuntide, and was christened by the name of Robert, in the year 1467," says one history of his life: but with somewhat suspicious exactness, seeing that another account gives his life to the world in the Seventeenth Century, and that there are no Registers of his name in the WHITEGATE or OVER Church Books of either period.

Here is a "Life of Nixon, the Cheshire Prophet." It bears all the marks of age upon it that paper and type can give. It testifies to his first becoming notorious as a ploughboy to Farmer Crowton, of Swanlow; and describes him both by portrait and letterpress as "a short squab fellow with great head and goggle eyes, who used to drivel as he spoke, and particularly had a spite against children; that he would run at them to beat them if they made sport at him; that he was stubborn, rarely said more than 'yes' or 'no,' and had to be beaten well before he could be made to do anything useful." Not a very prepossessing likeness, and yet his sayings or supposed sayings are engraved into the traditions of the centre of the county as deeply as any parts of its more certain wisdom.

He is described as little better than an idiot in mental capacity; and to have been of a taciturn and morose disposition, and his prophetic utterances are said to have been made only when he was entranced. "One day he came from his ploughing in the field, and laying down the things he had in his hand he remained a little while in his dumps" says one edition, "in a seemingly deep and thoughtful meditation" says another, and then with a hoarse voice said "Now I will prophecy!" and proceeded,—

"When a raven shall build in a stone lion's mouth on the top of a church in Cheshire, then a king of England shall be driven out of his kingdom and never return," &c., &c. The industrious collector of his supposed sayings, Mr. Oldmixon, is painfully anxious to prove their truth by pointing out their fulfilment, and this fact shakes one's faith in their genuineness most completely. Take the following as a specimen.

On the Christmas before he went to Court, being among the servants at Mr. CHOLMONDELEY's house, to the surprise of them all, he suddenly started up, and said,

"I must prophecy!" He went on, "If the favourite* of a King shall be slain, the master's neck shall be cleft in twain. And the men of the North† shall sell precious blood; yea, their own blood. And they shall sacrifice a noble warrior‡ to the idol.

"The departure of a great man's† soul shall trouble a river hard by, and overthrow trees, houses, and estates. From that part of the house, from whence the mischief came, you must look for the cure. First comes joy, then sorrow; after mirth‡ comes mourning.

"I see men, women, and children, spotted§ like beasts, and their nearest and dearest friends affrighted at them. I see towns on fire, and innocent blood shed: but when men and horses walk upon water, then shall come peace and plenty to the people, but trouble is preparing for Kings: and the great yellow fruit‡ shall come over to this country."

It is said that he predicted he should be sent for to the Court in London, and be starved to death in the King's household: indeed a very graphic and circumstantial account of the fulfilment of this prophecy is also given, and tradition still points out the very closet in Hampton Court in which he came to his unfortunate end.

The three following occur in some of his prophecies, and are more definite than most—

"Darnhall Park shall be hacked and hewn,"

"Bidley Pool shall be sown and mown,"

"Through Weaver Hall shall be a lone;"

all of which have received fulfilment; but any clever, far-seeing man might have said these things, because highly probable. Timber- was likely to come into request for naval purposes. The position of RIDLEY Pool it could have been seen rendered it easy of drainage: and the draining of the salt water from under WEAVER HALL, by the salt works at WINSFORD, might have suggested the sinking which has taken place; and which has raised parts of it, and made divisions quite through that which is standing, and so reduced the level of the land near,—on the river banks, as to have formed a lake of water of upwards

* The Duke of Buckingham (favourite of James, and Charles I., who was beheaded) assassinated by J. Felton.

† The Scots, who sold their King, Charles I., for a large sum of money, to the English rebels.

‡ Suppose the Marquis of Montrose.

§ Suppose Oliver Cromwell, at whose death the greatest storm of wind happened that had been known in England.

¶ The Plague and Fire of London are here plainly referred to.

‡ The Great Yellow Fruit, suppose the Prince of Orange, King William III.

of 100 acres. Of course this is reasoning like the man who said he could have discovered America, after Columbus had effected his wonderful work! but most of these prophecies were fulfilled before they were uttered, and the whole history is overlaid with so much mystification that he (Mr. RIGBY) took leave to doubt its authenticity, and but perhaps for the following circumstance, the existence of the man himself:—

The late Dean CHOLMONDELEY spent some days in searching for any traces of NIXON having lived at Hampton Court,—and more especially for a “portrait,” as he thought the prints given in the pamphlets were copies of some original; but without success. Some years after his death the late LORD DELAMERE, the Dean’s brother, saw a picture in a dealer’s shop in London which he instantly recognized as a portrait of Nixon, and which he found upon enquiry had been purchased by the dealer with a lot of other things from Hampton Court. One of the Royal Dukes had then lately been refurnishing apartments, and had swept out this picture among others at a nominal sum, and it thus came into his (the dealer’s) possession. LORD DELAMERE at once purchased the portrait, and it is now preserved at VALE ROYAL. There may have been a sharp-witted man (not a fool) who, possessing an imaginative mind, exercised it in fancying probabilities, and, as occasion served, writing them out and perhaps publishing them.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Lecturer for his able and interesting Paper.

Mr. HUGHES, referring to the remark in Mr. RIGBY’s Paper as to the difficulty of determining why the Church of OVER was situated a mile from the town, said he knew many places where the church was in like manner (and as it were to our modern minds erratically) placed. As to the “Prophet” NIXON—whom Mr. RIGBY believed to be a mythical person, he (Mr. HUGHES) was very sorry to say that he largely shared that feeling, and for a very good reason. He happened to be possessed of as good a collection of the various editions of this so-called Prophet’s prophecies as was perhaps to be found anywhere, and on comparing the various editions with facts, he had always found that the prophecies followed the events! (Laughter.)

Mr. RIGBY, in returning thanks for the complimentary vote which he had received, said he had spent a very pleasant evening on that occasion; for it had been a source of great satisfaction to draw his mind away from matters connected with the business of every-day life, and to wander into the past and collect what information was possible of an early period in their history. The more he knew of the past history of his own country, the more he felt proud of it! the more we knew of local history the more we respected those whom we called our forefathers! with regard to the reference he had made to the "ale tasters" in his Paper, he might add that the "ale taster" was appointed to go into the public-houses for the purpose of tasting the ale sold there, and if he found any adulterated, the person selling it was fined. That officer existed still at OVER, and on a certain day he could go into any tavern and drink as much as he liked!

The next Paper, by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, on "THE CORPORATE AND OTHER MACES OF CHESHIRE," was called for by the CHAIRMAN, and at once read by its author. This Paper, so thoroughly local in its character and treatment, and dealing entirely with original authorities never before published, may possibly be accorded insertion in full in the SOCIETY's next Volume of the *Journal*, but must at any rate be passed over here with this merely passing notice.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Lecturer if he had ever heard of the City Plate being sent to Guilden Sutton for safety during the Civil War, as that village was deemed in that day so very hard a place to find out?

Mr. HUGHES had heard that CROMWELL had tried to find it out, but had never succeeded. The same story slightly varied, was said, after the Restoration, of other retired villages in many of our English counties. Personally he believed there was nothing in the story. The business of the evening having there-upon terminated,

Mr. HUGHES explained to those members who desired to remain the various MACES, SEALS, CHARTERS, and other interesting official relics and emblems which had been kindly lent for the

occasion. The collection from CONGLETON was a most interesting one, including the Sweeps' Bells of that borough, and attracted much attention, and not a little pleasantry and happy comment.

April 22. A meeting was held at the Old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square, Mr. SHERIFF GERRARD in the chair.

Mr. CHARLES W. DUNCAN read a scholarly and most interesting Paper "ON ANCIENT ENGLISH LAND TENURES," illustrating his subject almost entirely from Local Authorities gathered with much judgment and ability from the Historic Records of the County of CHESTER. It may yet be determined to publish Mr. DUNCAN's Paper *in extenso*.

The CHAIRMAN having expressed the pleasure he had derived from the interesting matter contained in the Paper, invited discussion.

Mr. T. HUGHES, responding to the call, said he had listened with very great pleasure to the admirable Paper which had just been read, and he rejoiced that he had a hand in inducing Mr. DUNCAN to come before the SOCIETY on that occasion. Referring to incidents relating to Cheshire history mentioned in the Paper, Mr. HUGHES said he should like to add a few remarks of his own. He believed the custom in former times, when the heads of criminals were presented to CHESTER, was to exhibit them on the top of the old Eastgate, a spike being in the centre of the Gate, and on this the head was placed and allowed to remain probably for a year or two, when it was removed. As to the Sergeants of the several Gates of the City, he might remark that LORD CREWE held the Sergeanty of the Eastgate at the present time, and had the power to appoint a Deputy-Sergeant of the Gate; nay, there was actually at present a Deputy-Sergeant, who had held the office for nearly 40 years, and was now between 80 and 90 years of age, and he received annually from LORD CREWE his stipend in right of such appointment. With respect to the pepper-corn rent referred to by Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. HUGHES produced an interesting deed, conveying land to the extent of several thousand acres in Pennsylvania, to one JOHN BROCK, of CHESHIRE, at a rent of one pepper-corn annually. The deed was signed by WILLIAM PENN, whose signature was perfectly legible. He also showed a deed of conveyance

about 500 years old, in which a Middlewich lady conveyed large property to her son for the mere fancy payment of four-pence annually, and on every Christmas Day he was specially charged to make her a present of a pair of gloves.

After a few remarks from Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES on the "tenure of sergeanty," and from Mr. AYRTON on the custom of blowing the horn, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. DUNCAN for his valuable and interesting Paper, and to the SHERIFF for his kindness in presiding, and also for presenting the SOCIETY with a valuable Medical MS.

The proceedings then terminated.

September 22nd. The Winter Session of the SOCIETY was commenced in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, where a large and influential audience assembled to listen to a Lecture from the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD on the "Old Episcopal Palace and its History," with a sketch also of the several Bishops who had been appointed to the See of Chester. The Chair was occupied by the DEAN OF CHESTER, and a very pleasant evening was spent.

The EARL OF HADDINGTON proposed a vote of thanks to CANON BLOMFIELD for his very able and interesting Lecture.

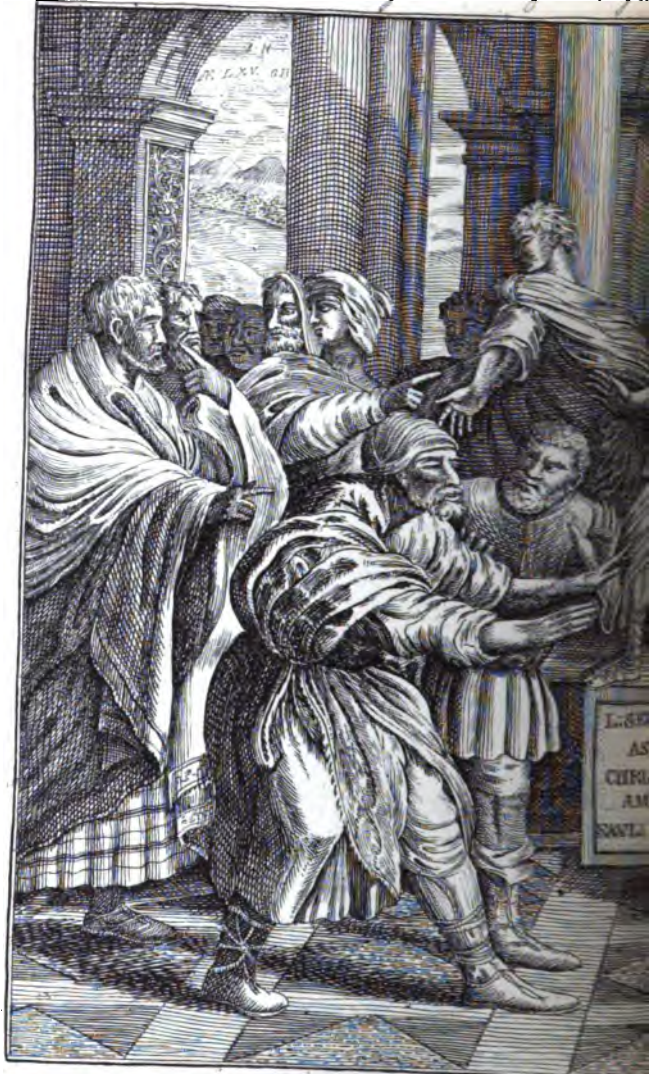
The LORD BISHOP of the DIOCESE seconded the motion, and remarked that he considered the Lecture not only able and interesting, but instructive and amusing.

CANON BLOMFIELD replied, and the Meeting came to a close.

The party then proceeded to visit and inspect various parts of the Cathedral Precincts, including the old Abbot's Wine Cellar, the Shrine of St. WERBURGH, the Crypts, the Abbot's Parlour, and the Vestibule leading to the Palace, the interesting features in connection with which were lucidly explained by the learned CANON.

Nov. 13. A Meeting was held at the Old Bishop's Palace, when Mr. EWEN read a most interesting Paper on "ANCIENT TAPESTRY;" and the DEAN OF CHESTER, who lent the large Tapestry preserved in the Cathedral, and which is popularly known as "Elymas, the Sorcerer, struck blind before St. Paul," made

The A
Elymas the Sorcerer
Eng & Printed by Francis & Co.



B Y
*To the very Reverend Rob. Hodgson Dean of
 this Plate is Inscribed by their*

P I C C.
 Lindnells. Acts XIII.

1665 Chester Cathedral 1910.



TER, D.D. & all the Gentlemen of the Chapter
 and Obedient Servant
James Hunter

some Remarks on this and other Ancient Representations of St. PAUL in Art. The Chair was occupied by the Right Reverend DR. WILLIAM JACOBSON, Lord Bishop of Chester. The attendance was most numerous; among the audience being the late Mr. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, the celebrated American Writer and Poet, who was just then on a visit to this country to improve his health.

Mr. EWEN's Paper was a complete digest of all that was known in our times of the History and Manufacture of the valuable Tapestries preserved in many different parts of this country and the Continent, including especially the grand specimen in CHESTER CATHEDRAL; and was highly appreciated by all who heard it read, or who afterwards perused it in the Chester Newspapers, in which it was at the time very fully reported.

The BISHOP said the best thanks of those present were due to Mr. EWEN for his most instructive and interesting Paper. Reference had been made to the Tapestries in the House of Lords. There was a story connected with them that would be interesting to those who had not heard it before. On one occasion when the struggle between this country and France was being fought out on that great Western Continent, from which they had a distinguished visitor amongst them that evening—(applause)—the question was raised in the House of Lords, how far it was proper and becoming for any Christian nation to employ in its war with another Christian Nation the assistance of Indians, who fought with the knife and the scalpel. The Earl of Suffolk of that day unfortunately took the side of the Indians, and wound up his speech by saying "I see no reason why the Government of this country should not avail themselves of the help and advantages which God and Nature has placed within their reach." The great Earl of Chatham sprang up and exclaimed,—“God and Nature! Did I hear the Noble Earl aright? Did he not fear that his illustrious ancestor would frown upon him from yonder Tapestry?” The ancestor referred to was Admiral-in-Chief at the time when, with the aid of God's Providence, we defeated the Spanish Armada. Referring to the piece of Tapestry lent by Dr. Thomas, the Bishop said his theory regarding what it meant differed from that given by Mr. EWEN.

As many of those around him were no doubt aware, there were in England what were popularly known in Ecclesiastical Art as "Jesse" Windows, in which the genealogy of our Blessed Lord was traced; and he (the Bishop) believed that this was a "Jesse" Tapestry, and contained the genealogical tree branching out in different stages, and including the Four Evangelists, with allegorical animals, &c.

The DEAN of CHESTER then offered some remarks on the CATHEDRAL TAPESTRY, and then upon the "Representations of St. Paul in Art." THE DEAN's observations were fully reported at the time in the Chester Newspapers.

With reference to the ANCIENT NEEDLEWORK at the Cathedral, he said it was a matter of extreme interest to Chester people to learn when it was made, and how it came to the Cathedral. He had not been able to ascertain those facts quite beyond doubt. It was formerly a reredos in the Cathedral. There was a brick wall at the east side of the Choir, and between it and the Lady Chapel hung the Tapestry. They knew that this NEEDLEWORK was in the Cathedral in 1720, as it was spoken of then as a Tapestry from Raphael's Cartoon, and in such a manner as to imply that it had been there for a considerable time: and he (The Dean) thought, from that mode of speaking, they might presume that it had been there quite twenty years previously. That would bring them back to 1700, to the period of William the Third. It was rather remarkable that it exactly corresponded with the same subject in the Vatican; and hence it was extremely probable—almost certain—that it was worked from the Cartoon itself,—and if so, that circumstance greatly enhanced its value.

Mr. T. HUGHES said the Cathedral Tapestry was certainly in that building in the year 1698; for he found in the Treasurers' Books of the Dean and Chapter, to which he had had access through the Dean's kindness, that there were several entries referring to this very work. On the 28th April, 1698, there was "paid for cleaning the Tapestry at the Altar, £1 10s.;" 1699, "paid for mending Altar Cloth, 6s. 10d." In going on with his investigations in the Bishop's Registry, he found several items among the "treasures" in 1684 and 1686, one of which was "one Tapestry Hanging at the

Altar." There was reason for going back even further than 1684; for in 1664 and 1668 they found there was "paid for carrying the new hanging to the Cathedral, 4s. 6d." He believed this work was a present to the Chapter from LADY CALVELEY, widow of Sir HUGH CALVELEY, of Lea Hall, in this county. In 1666, also, there was "paid to Mr. Maycock for lining the Tapestry hanging, £2 17s." This being so, they traced the Needlework to the days of Charles the Second. At the time of the dissolution of the Monasteries he read that one or two things were graciously left in Chester Cathedral. The Commissioners of Henry the Eighth stated they left "one Veil and one Velvet Hanging on the wall where the Altar was." If that were the same, this Tapestry was nearly contemporary with the original work under the control of Raphael; but he apprehended *that* referred to one which preceded that which they had at present. Mr. Hughes also produced an engraving of the Tapestry, done by Mr. J. HUNTER, a Verger of the Cathedral in the year 1813, and that engraving contained upon the square panel the very inscription which was upon the cartoon, yet *now* the Tapestry did not contain it. He presumed that some Dean and Chapter objected to the letters, and had since that period removed the inscription. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the DEAN for his remarks.

Mr. EWEN seconded the motion, and acknowledged the services rendered to him by numerous friends of the Society, in the loan of specimens to illustrate his Lecture. He was specially indebted to Mr Scott-Bankes, Mr. Cotton, Dr. Thomas, Messrs. Brown and Lamont, as well as the Society of Antiquaries, London, from whose Library he exhibited a handsome copy of the "Bayeux Tapestry Illustrations," published by that Society some years ago.

THE DEAN OF CHESTER having responded proposed a vote of thanks to the BISHOP for presiding over the Meeting, and on the appropriate suggestion of one present this motion was seconded by

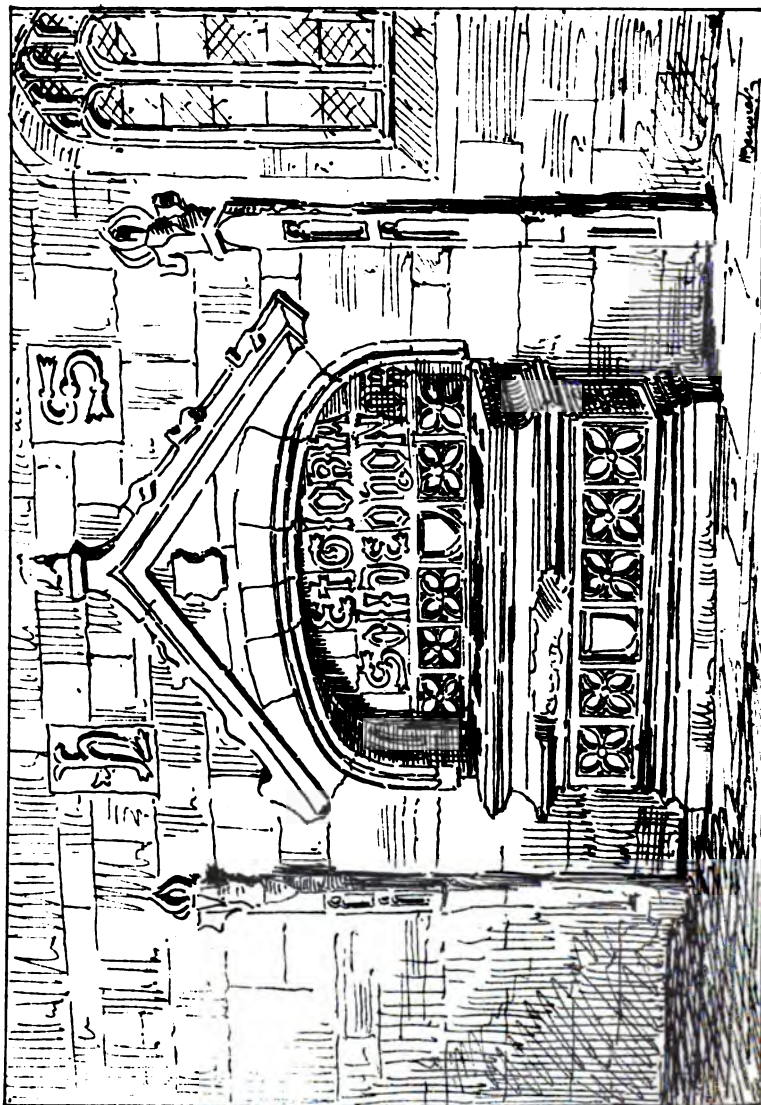
MR. EMERSON, who returned the audience thanks for their unexpected kindness to a stranger who had the happiness that day of seeing for the first time this City, and viewing their grandly designed old temple which in its old age, when in ruins and

crumbling away, was now being restored to its best and more than its best condition,—all which was an object very charming to the stranger to see. Not only did he experience great happiness in meeting the presiding officers of the CATHEDRAL, and those of the CHESTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—and in renewing an old acquaintance with his good friend the BISHOP,—but it had given him great pleasure and satisfaction to hear the statements made with respect to that interesting relic of the CATHEDRAL. He felt his day in CHESTER had been most happily spent, and he had great pleasure in seconding the vote just proposed to the BISHOP.

To this motion, which was carried amidst applause, his LORDSHIP briefly replied,—and so the ordinary business was brought to a close.

Many of the company then stayed and inspected, under Mr. EWEN's direction, the large and interesting collection of Tapestry which was displayed here and there about the room, from the walls of which depended some very interesting specimens.

Mr. Whitehall Dod, of Llanerch, sent for exhibition a beautifully illuminated Charter from QUEEN MARY I. conveying, to an ancestor of his, estates in Kilken and other parishes in the neighbouring county of Flint.



MONUMENT TO HUGH STARKY, ESQUIRE.
Over Church, Cheshire.

Designed by W. H. Starky, London.

APPENDIX.

ST. CHAD'S CHURCH, OVER.

In Mr. RIGBY's interesting Paper on OVER, Vol. III, pp. 533-48, and of which we much regret we were unable to find room for more than a slight abstract, we omitted to describe so particularly as it deserved the curious and noteworthy, though rather late, ALTAR TOMB and BRASS to the memory of the re-Founder of the Church, HUGH STARKY, of DARLEY HALL.

Mr. H. BESWICK, the Artist who furnished the Architectural Drawings that accompany the Paper, has, in conjunction with Mr. JOHN HEWITT, one of our Members, obliged us with the following sufficient description of a hitherto almost unknown relic of CHESHIRE Monumental Art :—

The OLD CHURCH at OVER, as we have said dedicated to ST. CHAD, is situated in a retired glen, about a mile from the town, and a short distance from the highway leading from NANTWICH to OVER, near the River Weaver. It was rebuilt in 1543, by HUGH STARKY, Esq., and comprises a Nave, Chancel, and Aisles. It is a fair specimen of the perpendicular period of Gothic Architecture, but somewhat late in character. The TOWER is of pleasing proportion, four stories in height and embattled; and has had the Buttresses terminated by finials, which are now missing. A richly decorated frieze runs round the Tower beneath the Cornice.

On the South side of the Tower is a Niche with inscription, but so perished by time or ill-usage as not to be deciphered. The Porch or Parvise is two stories in height, and likewise embattled. Over the window above the Arch is a shield in a panel, with the Arms of STARKY and OULTON carried thereon.

We give a sketch of the PORCH and TOWER from the South side of the Church. So far as we know it has never been before engraved.

The SUN-DIAL shewn on this sketch, not however on account of its Architectural features, but because of its proximity to the PORCH, &c., was erected in 1745, and has the following Inscription :—

“William Tomlinson,
Hugh Woodfent,
Churchwardens.
1745.”

Within the PORCH is a richly decorated Holy-water Basin, projecting from the wall, surmounted by a fine Crocketed Arch. Unfortunately this has been mutilated and broken.

The TOMB of the Re-builder of the Church, HUGH STARKY, Esq., is situated on the North Side of the Chancel, under a recessed obtuse Arch, having crocketed gables over the same, and projecting buttress (upon each side). The upper slab of the tomb is of black marble, bearing a very fine EFFIGY in BRASS of the above-named gentleman, with four shields engraved with the family arms, (an illustration is given of this Brass, see opposite page. A curious feature in connection with this Tomb is the inscription “*Et Gloria Soli deo honor,*” underneath the Arch; which has the letters left raised in stone three-quarters of an inch above the surface of the wall. The initials “H. S.” above the Tomb are similarly executed.

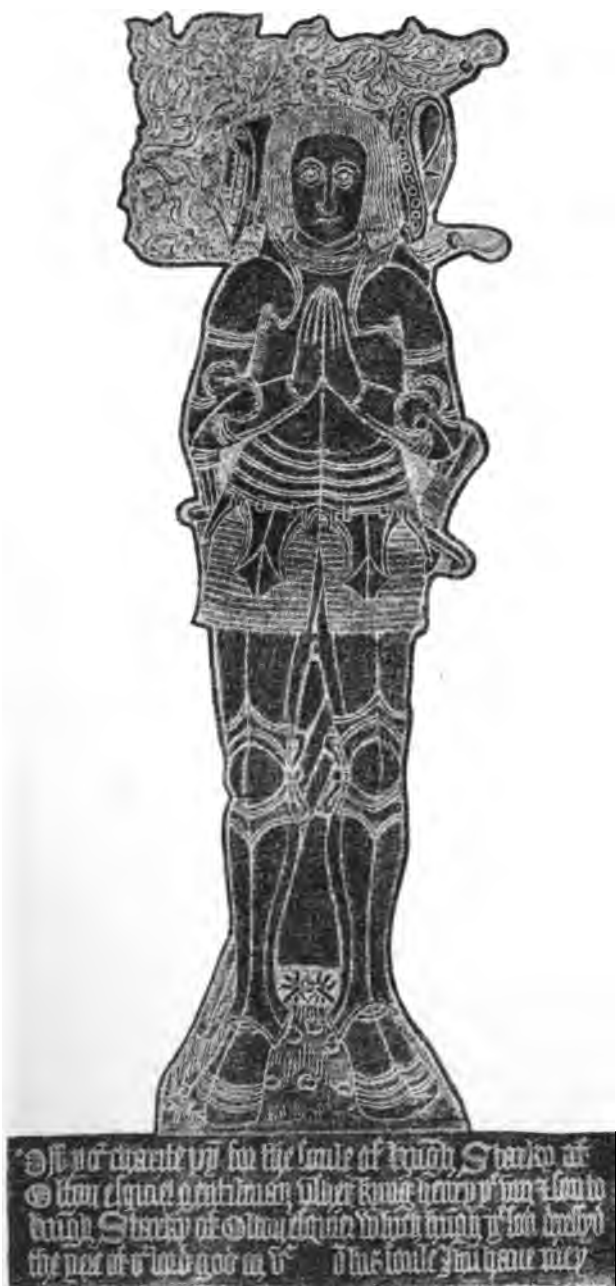
The following is a record of the Inscription on the Brass :—

“Of p^r charite p^y for the soule of Hugh Starky of Olton
esquier gentleman hsher [to] king henry ye sixt & son to Hugh
Starky of Olton esquier which Hugh ye son becom the p^rer
of o^r lord god m.b.’ o^r his soule Jhu haue m^{er}cy.”

From this it is evident that the Tomb was built during the lifetime of the said HUGH STARKY, and that the date of his death was not at the time (and has not since been) filled in.

In reference to this MONUMENT, the following extract from his WILL may prove interesting,—both the Will and Tomb having been made in the same year, though apparently not in conjunction.

* We give an illustration of this Inscribed Brass, reduced from a rubbing taken on the spot by Mr. JOHN HAWITT. The word [to] within the brackets in Roman type, was not originally on the Brass, but was added in probably the 17th century.



MONUMENTAL BRASS ON TOMB OF HUGH STARKY, ESQUIRE.
 Over Church, Cheshire.

"I will y't iff [it] fortune me to dye w'th in the Countie of Chest'r that then my bodye shall be buried in ye Chansell of Ov', in my tombe there."

"Unto my said executors the advowson of ye vicarige of Ov', w'ch I haue by grant for the next avowdance therof; and I will y't my executors shall at ye next avowdance p'sent therunto Omfrey Lyghtfoote, Clerk, if he be then livinge."

"Unto ye said vicar of Ov' *ls.* for my mortuarie to pray for me."

Another ALTAR TOMB, to the memory of the above HUGH STARKY's father and his wife MARGARET, formerly stood in the Chancel but has since been removed; the same fate befalling some stained glass figures of these persons in one of the windows (for description of which see Ormerod).

In 1870, the CHURCH was restored by removing the Galleries, cleansing the interior from the hideous whitewash that formerly disfigured this, like many of our Churches, and renewing the roof and seats throughout.

We conclude with the following slight description of the mottoes and inscriptions on the BELLS:—

- 1.—Peace and good neighbourhood, A. R. 1733.
- 2.—Joseph Lees, Vicar, A. R. 1733.
- 3.—Prosperity to this Parish, A. R. 1733.
- 4.—Charles Pickaring and Thos. Robinson, Churchwardens, A. R. 1733.
- 5.—The gift of Vicar Harden, recast 1733.

This cage of BELLS came from the celebrated Bell Foundry of Messrs. ABRAHAM RUDHALL & SON, of Gloucester; who were about that time engaged on similar work at St. JOHN's Church, CHESTER.



ERRATUM.—The EDITOR regrets that, through a transposition of the Press at pp. 376-9, the chronological sequence of Mr. EWEN's Paper on St. PETER's Church has not been fully maintained. For this, however, the EDITOR desires that he, and not Mr. EWEN, may be held responsible.



Leaf-shaped Stop, once supposed to be an "*Omega*," on ROMAN CENTURIAT TABLET NO
in the SOCIETY'S MUSEUM.—*Vide* JOURNAL (Vol. III., pp. 8, 125) and Plate.

Dr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1883. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Thomas Pritchard, One Year's Salary	20	0	0
" Natural Sciences Society, One Year's Rent	3	0	0
" G. E. Griffin, for Printing	0	13	0
" Minihull & Hughes, for Stationery	0	18	8
" Gregg & Son's Account, Derby House	9	6	10
" W. T. Watkin, for One Copy of "Roman Lancashire"	1	5	0
" H. Hitchen, for Joiners Work	2	5	6
" H. Bewick, for Drawings of St. Peter's Church	5	0	0
" Sprague & Co., for Engravings for <i>Journals</i>	15	10	0
" W. W. Tasker, for sundry Coins, &c., &c.	3	7	6
" John Sounce, for Binding <i>Journals</i>	2	5	0
" Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co., to him	3	0	0
" Mr. Thomas Hughes, being first portion of the amount due to him	63	10	4
" Secretary's Account for Sundries and Postage	3	11	8
" Balance in Williams & Co's. Bank	57	4	4
	2193	15	10

Dr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1884. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Chester Society of Natural Sciences, One Year's Rent	20	0	0	By Balance	57	4	4
" Thomas Pritchard, Salary for One Year	8	0	0	" Annual Subscriptions for 1884 :-	90	0	0
" Mr. Thomas Hughes's second moiety of the amount due to him	63	10	4	60 Full Members at 20/-	1	1	0
Courant, Balance of Account to 1879	28	17	0	1 Ditto, ditto at 21/-	23	0	0
" M. Pullan, for Printing, &c.	9	18	0	46 Associate ditto at 10/-	0	10	0
" H. Bewrick, Illustrations for <i>Journal</i>	0	17	6	3 Lady ditto at 5/-	1	0	0
" Minshull & Meeson, for Stationery	0	3	6	" Mr. Warburton's Extra Subscription	1	0	0
" M. Pownall, for Framing Photographs	0	8	10	" Arrears of Subscriptions for 1883	43	0	8
" Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co.	2	0	0	" Derby House Rents, per Mr. William Shone	13	10	8
" Secretary's Account for Sundries and Postages	4	8	0	" Balance of Derby House Rents, per Mr. James Rogers	1	16	8
" Cheque Book	0	5	0	" Bankers' Interest			
" Balance in Williams & Co.'s Bank	63	18	5				
	£202	3	7				

26th May, 1884.—Examined and found correct, H. W. JONES.

Dr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1885. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Chester Society of Natural Sciences, One Year's Rent	20	0	0	By Balance	63	18	5
" Joseph Jones, Salary for One Year	8	0	0	" One Copy of <i>Journal</i> sold	0	5	0
" Wm. Haswell, Moving Stones from White Friars	17	17	0	" Annual Subscriptions for 1885 :-	90	0	0
" M. Pullan, for Printing, &c.	5	4	6	60 Full Members at 20/-	1	1	0
" Chester Town Council, Moving Stones to Water Tower Grounds	5	6	10	1 Ditto, ditto at 21/-	18	10	0
" G. W. Shrubsole, for sundry Coins, &c., &c.	3	8	9	1 Ditto ditto	0	10	6
" H. Bewrick, for Illustrations for <i>Journal</i>	2	14	6	4 Lady ditto at 5/-	1	0	0
" Jno. Hewitt, for preparing Index for Vol. III. of <i>Journal</i>	3	2	0	" Mr. Warburton's Extra Subscription	1	0	0
" Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co.	2	0	0	" Arrears of Subscriptions for 1884	1	0	0
" Secretary's Account for Sundries, Postages, &c.	3	15	0	" Derby House Rents, per Mr. William Shone	23	8	8
" Balance in Williams & Co.'s Bank	103	0	5	" Bankers' Interest	1	17	8
	£173	9	0				

May, 1886.—Examined and found correct, H. W. JONES.

Dr. SUMMARY OF INCOME ACCOUNT, BETWEEN JAN., 1865, & DEC., 1882. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Disbursements by Secretary	1028	3	3	1865.			
" Payments on Derby House Purchase Account	769	17	6	Jan. 1.—By Balance	188	14	0
Dec. 31.—" Cash in Bank.....	63	4	11	1882.			
				" Receipts from all sources	1566	11	0
				Dec. 31. " Amount due to Hon. Secretary	127	0	8
					21,838	5	8

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.

Dr. SUMMARY OF DERBY HOUSE PURCHASE ACCOUNT. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Purchase Money.....	775	0	0	By Bents received, per Mr. James Rogers	833	4	6
" J. Jones, in discharge of his claim.....	18	0	5	" Transfers from General Account.....	766	17	6
" Interest on Purchase Money, 1866 to 1880	312	1	7				
					21,105	2	0

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.

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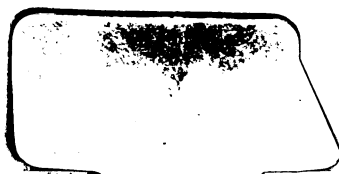
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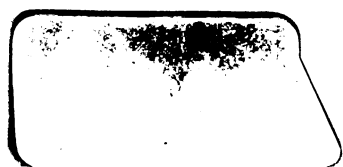
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